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STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.

ESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

TRANSLATED FROM RÖDIGER'S EDITION

BY

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PROBABLY REVISED AND ENLARGED WITH THE HELP OF
PROF. E. KAUTZSCH'S GERMAN EDITION, AND OTHER
RECENT AUTHORITIES

LV

EDWARD C. MITCHELL, D.D.

WITH LIII

SUBJECT, SCRIPTURE AND HEBREW INDEXES.

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—
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P R E F A C E.

But little over a year had passed after the third edition of this grammar was issued, before both the German Editor and the English Translator finished their earthly labors. Dr. Rœdiger of Berlin died on the 15th of June 1874 and Dr. Davies of London on the 19th of July 1875, each eminent in his sphere and honored by all as painstaking and conscientious workers in the field of Biblical science.

After the decease of Prof. Rœdiger the work of revising and editing the Grammar of Gesenius was committed to Prof. E. Kautzsch, D.D., then of Basle, whose thorough scholarship and well known skill as a Hebrew teacher eminently fitted him for the task. His edition, published in 1878, has already been accepted as a standard authority among teachers, on both continents. His revision of the work of Rœdiger has been so extensive and thorough that it has become practically a new grammar, though retaining, for convenience of reference, the old divisions of chapters and sections. Hardly a sentence has remained unaltered and some whole sections have been substantially or entirely rewritten, such as the sections on the accents (§ 15), the methugh (§ 16), the daghesh euphonic (§ 20, 2) and the noun (§§ 93, 94, 95), and one new section (§ 144 *a*) has been added.

So radical a change in the original work has prepared the way for a corresponding thoroughness in the revision of the English edition. The endeavor has been to prepare a grammar specially adapted to the wants of English students, in all that pertains to simplicity of method and practical convenience, at the same time that it combines the best results of

modern Semitic research. For this purpose the Editor has availed himself of the essential improvements of Kautzsch, with such modifications of the text as were thereby rendered necessary and has drawn from other recent sources whatever would contribute to the real usefulness of the work.

The notes of Dr. Davies have been retained so far as they have not been superseded by the text in its present shape. They are designated by the signature *Tr.*

Some hints derived from the grammars of Ewald and Stade have also been incorporated, and a few notes more fully illustrating certain points have been derived from Delitzsch and others. The references have been carefully verified, (using the corrected text of Bær-Delitzsch upon Genesis, Job, Psalms and Isaiah), and the 8th edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (by Mühlau and Volck), has been constantly consulted.

A new and important feature of this edition consists in the addition of very full indexes of Subjects, of Scripture and of Hebrew words, by means of which the entire contents of the grammar are made available to the students. The Hebrew index will be found especially useful, converting the grammar into a philological clavis in which a large share of all the difficult forms in the language may find explanation.

The work has been performed in the midst of a heavy pressure of other labors and in the accomplishment of it the editor has received efficient help from his son as an amanuensis, preparing all the copy for the printers, and from his friend Mr. Max Meyer of this city, a native German and an accomplished linguist, who has revised all the translations and performed much patient toil in the reading of proofs.

E. C. M.

Paris, August, 1880.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TABLES AND PARADIGMS	I—XXXII

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The Semitic Languages in General	1
§ 2. Historical Survey of the Hebrew Language	8
§ 3. Grammatical Treatment of the Hebrew Language	16
§ 4. Division and Arrangement of the Grammar	19

PART I. THE ELEMENTS.

CHAPTER I. *Reading and Orthography.*

§ 5. The Consonants, their Forms and Names	21
§ 6. Pronunciation and Division of Consonants	25
§ 7. The Vowels in General, Vowel-Letters, and Vowel-Signs	30
§ 8. The Vowel-Signs	33
§ 9. Character and Value of the several Vowels	38
§ 10. The Half-Vowels and the Syllable-Divider (Sh ^e wā)	45
§ 11. Signs which affect the Reading of Consonants	48
§ 12. Dāghē'sh in General, and Dāghē'sh fortè in Particular	48
§ 13. Dāghē'sh Le nè	49
§ 14. Māppi'q and Rāphè	50
§ 15. The Accents	51
§ 16. Māqqē'ph and Mēthēgh	55
§ 17. Q'rī and K ^e thībh	57

CHAPTER II. Peculiarities and Changes of Letters; the Syllables and the Tone.

	Page
§ 18. General Remark	58
§ 19. Changes of Consonants	59
§ 20. Doubling of Consonants	61
§ 21. Aspiration: where it occurs and where not	65
§ 22. Peculiarities of the Gutturals	67
§ 23. The Feebleness of the Breathing-s and n	71
§ 24. Changes of the Feeble Letters t and d	73
§ 25. Immovable or Firm Vowels	75
§ 26. Syllables, and their Influence on the Quantity of Vowels	77
§ 27. Changes of Vowels, especially in Respect to Quantity	80
§ 28. Rise of New Vowels and Syllables	85
§ 29. The Tone and its Changes; the Pause	87

PART II. FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30. The Stem-Words and Roots (Biliterals, Triliterals, Quadrilaterals)	91
§ 31. Grammatical Structure	97

CHAPTER I. The Pronoun.

§ 32. The Personal or Separate Pronoun	98
§ 33. Suffix Pronoun	101
§ 34. The Demonstrative Pronoun	102
§ 35. The Article	103
§ 36. The Relative Pronoun	105
§ 37. The Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns	106

CHAPTER II. The Verb.

§ 38—41. General View	107
---------------------------------	-----

I. The Strong or Regular Verb. Parad. B.

§ 42. In General	112
----------------------------	-----

A. The Simple Form, or Qăl.

	Page
§ 43. Its Form and Signification	112
§ 44. Perfect of Qăl, and its Inflection	113
§ 45. The Infinitive of Qăl	116
§ 46. The Imperative of Qăl	117
§ 47. The Imperfect of Qăl and its Inflection	118
§ 48. Shortening and Lengthening of the Imperfect and Imperative (Jussive and Cohortative Forms)	122
§ 49. Perfect and Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive	125
§ 50. The Participle of Qăl	127

B. Derived Conjugations.

§ 51. Niph'ăl	128
§ 52. Pi'ĕl and Pū'ăl	131
§ 53. Hiph'îl and Höph'ăl	134
§ 54. Hithpă'ĕl	138
§ 55. Rarer Conjugations	140
§ 56. Quadrilaterals	142

C. Strong or Regular Verb with Pronominal Suffixes. Parad. C.

§ 57. In General	143
§ 58. Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb	143
§ 59. The Perfect with Pronominal Suffixes	147
§ 60. Imperfect with Pronominal Suffixes	149
§ 61. Infinitive, Imperative, and Participle with the Suffixes	150

II. The Weak or Irregular Verb.*A. Verbs with Gutturals.*

§ 62. In General	151
§ 63. Verbs Pē (פֶ) Guttural. E. g. פַּסְגֵּן to stand. Parad. D.	152
§ 64. Verbs 'Āyin (אָיִן) Guttural. E. g. פַּרְאֵן to slaughter. Pa- rad. E.	155
§ 65. Verbs Lā'mēdh (לָמֶד) Guttural. E. g. פַּרְאֵן to send. Parad. F.	157

B. Contracted Verbs.

	Page
§ 66. Verbs Pē Nún (פֶּן). E. g. פָּאַ to approach. Parad. H.	159
§ 67. Verbs 'Āyin doubled (אֲאֵין). E. g. אֲבָבָאֵ to surround. Parad. G.	161

C. Weakest Verbs (Verba Quiescentia).

§ 68. Verbs נְבָאַ. E. g. נְאַתָּה to eat. Parad. I.	167
§ 69. Verbs וְנָ. First Class, or Verbs originally יְנָ. E. g. וְנָבָדָל to dwell. Parad. K.	169
§ 70. Verbs יְנָ. Second Class, or Verbs properly יְנָ. E. g. יְנָבָדָל to be good. Parad. L.	173
§ 71. Verbs יְנָ. Third Class, or Contracted Verbs יְנָ.	174
§ 72. Verbs יְרָאַ. E. g. יְרָאַ to rise up. Parad. M.	175
§ 73. Verbs יְרָאַ. E. g. יְרָאַ to discern. Parad. N.	181
§ 74. Verbs נְרָאַ. E. g. נְרָאַ to find. Parad. O.	183
§ 75. Verbs הְרָאַ. E. g. הְרָאַ to reveal. Parad. P.	185
§ 76. Verbs doubly weak or irregular	193
§ 77. Relation of the weak Verbs to one another	195
§ 78. Defective Verbs	195

CHAPTER III. *The Noun (Substantive and Adjective).*

§ 79. General View	197
§ 80. Forms which mark the Gender of Nouns	198
§ 81. Derivation of Nouns	200
§ 82. Primitive Nouns	201
§ 83. Verbal Nouns in General	202
§ 84. Nouns derived from Strong or Regular Verbs	203
§ 85. Nouns derived from Weak or Irregular Verbs	208
§ 86. Denominative Nouns	210
§ 87. Of the Plural	212
§ 88. Of the Dual	215
§ 89. The Genitive and the Construct State	217
§ 90. Traces of Ancient Case-Endings [Paragogic Letters]	219
§ 91. The Noun with Pronominal Suffixes	223
§ 92. Vowel-Changes in the Noun	227
§ 93. Inflections of Masculine Nouns	230
§ 94. Vowel-Changes in the Formation of Feminine Nouns	240
§ 95. Inflections of Feminine Nouns	242
§ 96. Nouns of peculiar form	247
§ 97. Numerals. I. Cardinal Numbers	249
§ 98. Numerals. II. Ordinal Numbers	253

CHAPTER IV. *The Particles.*

	Page
§ 99. General View	254
§ 100. Adverbs	255
§ 101. Prepositions	257
§ 102. Prefix Prepositions	258
§ 103. Preposition with Suffixes and in the Plural Form	260
§ 104. Conjunctions	264
§ 105. Interjections	266

PART III. SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I. *Syntax of the Noun.*

§ 106. Expression of the Adjectives through Substantives,—the Abstract for the Concrete	267
§ 107. Indications the Genders	269
§ 108. The Plural, and Collective Nouns	273
§ 109. Use of the Article	276
§ 110. Ditto	279
§ 111. Ditto	280
§ 112. Construction of Substantive with Adjective	282
§ 113. Apposition	283
§ 114. The Genitive	284
§ 115. Expression of the Genitive by Circumlocution	286
§ 116. Further use of the Construct State	287
§ 117. Indication of the other Cases	288
§ 118. Use of the Accusative	290
§ 119. How to express the Comparative and Superlative	292
§ 120. Syntax of the Numerals	294

CHAPTER II. *Syntax of the Pronoun.*

§ 121. Use of the Personal Pronoun	296
§ 122. The Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns	299
§ 123. Relative Pronoun and Relative Clauses	301
§ 124. How to express those Pronouns for which the Hebrew has no proper forms	304

CHAPTER III. *Syntax of the Verb.*

	Page
§ 125. Use of the Tenses in General	306
§ 126. Use of the Perfect	307
§ 127. Use of the Imperfect	311
§ 128. Use of the Lengthened and Shortened Imperfect (Cohortative and Jussive)	315
§ 129. Use of the Imperfect with Wāw Consecutive	317
§ 130. The Imperative	318
§ 131. Use of the Infinitive Absolute	319
§ 132. Infinitive Construct	320
§ 133. Construction of the Infinitive Construct with Subject and Object	324
§ 134. Use of the Participle	326
§ 135. Construction of the Participle	328
§ 136. Expression of the Optative	330
§ 137. Persons of the Verb	331
§ 138. Verbs with the Accusative	332
§ 139. Verbs with two Accusatives	333
§ 140. Verbs with Prepositions	336
§ 141. <i>Constructio Prægnans</i>	337
§ 142. Construction of two Verbs to express one Idea	338
§ 143. Construction of Passive Verbs	340

CHAPTER IV. *Connection of the Subject with the Predicate.*

§ 144a. Difference between the Nominal and Verbal Sentence	342
§ 144b. Manner of expressing the Copula in the Nominal sentence	343
§ 145. Arrangement of Words in a Sentence. Absolute Case	344
§ 146. Relation of the Subject and Predicate as to Gender and Number	346
§ 147. Ditto	349
§ 148. Construction of Compound Subjects	350

CHAPTER V. *Use of the Particles.*

§ 149. General Remark	352
§ 150. The Adverbs	352
§ 151. Construction of Adverbs	354
§ 152. Words which express Negation	355
§ 153. Interrogative Words and Sentences	357

CONTENTS.

XI

	Page
§ 154. The Prepositions	359
§ 155. The Conjunctions	365
§ 156. The Interjections	371
I. INDEX OF SUBJECTS	373
II. INDEX OF THE TEXTS ILLUSTRATED OR CITED	379
III. INDEX OF HEBREW WORDS OR LETTERS EXPLAINED OR CITED	402

**TABLES
OF
SEMITIC ALPHABETS;**

PARADIGMS

**OF
VERBS AND NOUNS,**

ETC.

Ancient Semitic Alphabets

Modern Semitic Alphabets.

Hebrew	Babbin- ical	Sama- ritan	Syriac	Arabic		
				Final	Medial	Initial
א	ה	א	ا	ا	ه	أ
ב	ב	ב	ب	ب	ب	ب
ג	ג	ג	س	س	س	س
ד	ד	ד	د	د	د	د
ה	ה	ה	هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ
ו	ו	ו	وـ	وـ	وـ	وـ
ז	ז	ז	زـ	زـ	زـ	زـ
ח	ח	ח	خـ	خـ	خـ	خـ
ט	ט	ט	طـ	طـ	طـ	طـ
י	ي	ي	يـ	يـ	يـ	يـ
ך	ך	ך	ڻـ	ڻـ	ڻـ	ڻـ
ל	ل	ل	لـ	لـ	لـ	لـ
מ	م	م	مـ	مـ	مـ	مـ
נ	ن	ن	نـ	نـ	نـ	نـ
ס	س	س	سـ	سـ	سـ	سـ
פ	فـ	فـ	فـ	فـ	فـ	فـ
ף	فـ	فـ	فـ	فـ	فـ	فـ
כ	كـ	كـ	كـ	كـ	كـ	كـ
ך	كـ	كـ	كـ	كـ	كـ	كـ
ק	قـ	قـ	قـ	قـ	قـ	قـ
ר	رـ	رـ	رـ	رـ	رـ	رـ
ש	شـ	شـ	شـ	شـ	شـ	شـ
ת	تـ	تـ	تـ	تـ	تـ	تـ

Syr. Vowels: ^۱ a, ^۲ e, ^۳ i, ^۴ o, ^۵ u.

Arab. Vowels: ^۱ a, ^۲ i, ^۳ u.

Nominative of the Pronoun,

or

Separate Pronoun.

Sing. 1. *com.* יְאָנָּא, in pause
יְאָנָּא; יְאָנָּא, in pause
יְאָנָּא I.

2. {
m. יְאָנָּא (יְאָנָּא), in
pause יְאָנָּא } *thou.*
f. יְאָנָּה (יְאָנָּה)

3. {
m. אֵת he.
f. אֵת she.

Plur. 1. *com.* אַנְחָנוּ (אַנְחָנוּ) אַנְחָנוּ
(אַנְחָנוּ) we.

2. {
m. אַנְחָנוּ
f. אַנְחָנוּ, אַנְחָנוּ } *ye.*

3. {
m. הֵם, הֵם
f. הֵם, הֵם }

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

By itself.

יְהִי; יְהִי; יְהִי me.

יְהִי; יְהִי, in p. יְהִי, יְהִי }
יְהִי; יְהִי; יְהִי, יְהִי } thee.הָנָה, הָנָה (הָנָה), הָנָה; הָנָה
him.
יְהִי; יְהִי; יְהִי her.

נָה; נָה; נָה us.

כֶּם; כֶּם
כֶּם; כֶּם } you.(הָנָה), הָנָה; הָנָה, הָנָה, הָנָה, הָנָה *;
* בָּנָה; בָּנָה, בָּנָה, בָּנָה, בָּנָה *;
them.
(הָנָה), הָנָה, הָנָה; הָנָה them.

* The forms with an asterisk are only poetical; those in parenthesis

or Suffix of the Verb.

Genitive of the Pronoun, or Suffix of
the Noun (possessive Pron.).

8

B.

With Nun demonstrative.

נָאָתָה, נָאָתָה

not found.

נָאָתָה, נָאָתָה, (נָאָתָה)

נָאָתָה

נָאָתָה

These forms

are not
found.*A.*

With Nouns Singu'lar.

מֵי my (prop. Gen.
mei).תְּ, תְּ, in
pause תְּ
תְּ, תְּ, (תְּ)
תְּ, תְּ, (תְּ)חָ, חָ; הָ, הָ
his (ejus and suus).הָ; הָ; הָ
her.מֵ; מֵ; (מֵ)
our.כָּם; כָּם;
כָּם; כָּםמָ; מָ; מָ
their.

וְ, וְ, וְ

B.

With Nouns Plur. & Dual.

מַי my.

תְּ
תְּחָ, חָ; הָ, הָ
his.הָ
her.מֵ
our.

כָּם; כָּם;

מָ; מָ; מָ
their.

וְ; וְ; וְ

are rarely used, but are put here to give a full view of the analogy.

		<i>Qəl.</i>		<i>Niph'əl.</i>	<i>Pi'əl.</i>
<i>PERF Sing.</i>	<i>3. m.</i>	*קָטֵל	*כָּבֵד	*נִקְטֶל *נִקְטַּל	*אָכַל, קָטֵל *אָכַל
	<i>3. f.</i>	*קָטַלה	*כָּבָדָה	*נִקְטַּה *נִקְטָלָה	*קָטַלה *קָטַלה
	<i>2. m.</i>	*קָטַת	*כָּבָדָת	*נִקְטַּת *נִקְטָלָת	*קָטַלָת *קָטַלָת
	<i>2. f.</i>	קָטַלָת	כָּבָרָת	קָטַלָת	קָטַלָת
	<i>1. c.</i>	קָטַלְתִּי	כָּבָרְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>3. c.</i>	קָטָלוּ	כָּבָרוּ	קָטָנוּ	קָטָלוּ
	<i>2. m.</i>	נִקְטָלָם *נִקְטָלָם	*כָּבָרָם	נִקְטָלָם *נִקְטָלָם	נִקְטָלָם *נִקְטָלָם
	<i>2. f.</i>	נִקְטָלָן	כָּבָרָן	נִקְטָלָן	נִקְטָלָן
	<i>1. c.</i>	נִקְטָלָנוּ	כָּבָרָנוּ	נִקְטָלָנוּ	נִקְטָלָנוּ
<i>INF</i>		קָטֵל *קָטֵל		*הָקְטָל *הָקְטָל	*קָטֵל *קָטֵל
<i>INF absol.</i>		קָטָול *קָטָול		קָטָל, נִקְטָל *הָקְטָל, נִקְטָל	*קָטָל, נִקְטָל *קָטָל, נִקְטָל
<i>IMP Sing.</i>	<i>2. m.</i>	*קָטֵל	*כָּבֵד	*הָקְטָל *הָקְטָל	*קָטֵל *קָטֵל
	<i>2. f.</i>	*קָטָלוּ	*כָּבָרִי	*הָקְטָלִי *הָקְטָלִי	*קָטָלוּ *קָטָלוּ
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>2. m.</i>	קָטָלוּ	כָּבָדוּ	הָקְטָלוּ	קָטָלוּ
	<i>2. f.</i>	הָקְטָלָה *הָקְטָלָה	*כָּבָרָה	*הָקְטָלָה *הָקְטָלָה	*קָטָלָה *קָטָלָה
<i>IMPF Sing.</i>	<i>3. m.</i>	+יְקַטֵּל	*כָּבֵד	*יְקַטֵּל *יְקַטֵּל	*יְקַטֵּל *יְקַטֵּל
	<i>3. f.</i>	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּכָבֵד	תְּקַטֵּל *תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּל *תְּקַטֵּל
	<i>2. m.</i>	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּכָבֵד	תְּקַטֵּל *תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּל *תְּקַטֵּל
	<i>2. f.</i>	*תְּקַטְּלִי *תְּקַטְּלִי	*תְּכָבְּדִי	*תְּקַטְּלִי *תְּקַטְּלִי	*תְּקַטְּלִי *תְּקַטְּלִי
	<i>1. c.</i>	אֲקַטֵּל	אֲכָבֵד	אֲקַטֵּל *אֲקַטֵּל	אֲקַטֵּל *אֲקַטֵּל
<i>Plur.</i>	<i>3. m.</i>	יְקַטֵּל	תְּכָבֵרוּ	יְקַטֵּל *יְקַטֵּל	יְקַטֵּל *יְקַטֵּל
	<i>3. f.</i>	*תְּקַטְּלָה *תְּקַטְּלָה	*תְּכָבְּדָה	*תְּקַטְּלָה *תְּקַטְּלָה	*תְּקַטְּלָה *תְּקַטְּלָה
	<i>2. m.</i>	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּכָבֵר	תְּקַטֵּל *תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּל *תְּקַטֵּל
	<i>2. f.</i>	תְּקַטְּלָה *תְּקַטְּלָה	תְּכָבְּדָה	תְּקַטְּלָה *תְּקַטְּלָה	תְּקַטְּלָה *תְּקַטְּלָה
	<i>1. c.</i>	נִקְטָל	כָּבֵד	נִקְטָל *נִקְטָל	נִקְטָל *נִקְטָל

IMPF. Shortened (Jussive).

<i>PART. act.</i>		*קָטֵל	*כָּבֵד	קָטֵן	*נִקְטָל *נִקְטָל
<i>pass.</i>		*קָטַיל			

<i>Pū'a'l.</i>	<i>Hiph'îl.</i>	<i>Hoph'âl.</i>	<i>Hithpâ'e'l.</i>
*קָטַל *קָטְלָה *קָטְלָת קָטָלָת קָטְלָתִי קָטָלָה קָטָלָתָם קָטָלָתָנוּ קָטָלָתָךְ	*הַקָּטֵל *הַקָּטְלָה *הַקָּטְלָת הַקָּטָלָת הַקָּטָלָתִי הַקָּטָלָה הַקָּטָלָתָם הַקָּטָלָתָנוּ הַקָּטָלָתָךְ	*הַקָּטֵל *הַקָּטְלָה *הַקָּטְלָת הַקָּטָלָת הַקָּטָלָתִי הַקָּטָלָה הַקָּטָלָתָם הַקָּטָלָתָנוּ הַקָּטָלָתָךְ	*הַחֲקֹטֶל *זְהַקְטָלָה *הַחֲקֹטָלָת הַחֲקֹטָלָת הַחֲקֹטָלָתִי הַחֲקֹטָלָה הַחֲקֹטָלָתָם הַחֲקֹטָלָתָנוּ הַחֲקֹטָלָתָךְ
wanting קָטָל*	*זְהַקְטִיל *הַקָּטֵל	wanting הַקָּטֵל*	*הַחֲקֹטֶל הַחֲקֹטָלָה
wanting	*זְהַקְטִיל *הַקָּטִיל הַקָּטִיל *הַקָּטְלָה	wanting	*הַחֲקֹטֶל *הַחֲקֹטָלָה הַחֲקֹטָלָה *הַחֲקֹטָלָה
*קָטָל תָּקָטָל תָּקָטָל *תָּקָטָל אָקָטָל וָקָטָל *תָּקָטָלָה תָּקָטָלָה תָּקָטָלָה גָּקָטָל	*קָטִיל פָּקָטִיל פָּקָטִיל *פָּקָטִיל אָקָטִיל וָקָטִיל *פָּקָטָלָה פָּקָטָלָה פָּקָטָלָה גָּקָטָל	*יְקָטֶל פָּקָטֶל פָּקָטֶל *יְקָטֶל אָקָטֶל וָקָטֶל *תְּקָטְלָה פְּקָטְלָה פְּקָטְלָה גְּקָטְלָה	*יְחַקְטֶל תְּחַקְטָל פְּחַקְטָל *תְּחַקְטָל אֲחַקְטָל וָחַקְטָל *זְחַקְטָלָה פְּחַקְטָלָה פְּחַקְטָלָה גְּחַקְטָלָה
*קָטָל *בָּקָטָל	*זְקָטֶל		*מִזְחַקְטָל

	<i>Suffixes</i>	1 Sing.	2 Sing. m.	2 Sing.f.	3 Sing. m.
<i>PERF.</i> <i>Qäl S. 3. m.</i>		קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְנוּ
	3. f.	קָטַלְתִּי	קָטַלְתְּךָ	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְתִּנוּ
	2. m.	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—	קָטַלְתִּים
	2. f.	קָטַלְתִּי	—	—	קָטַלְתִּים
	1. c.	—	קָטַלְתִּיךְ	קָטַלְתִּיךְ	קָטַלְתִּיר
<i>Plur.</i> <i>3. c.</i>	קָטַלְנוּ	קָטַלְנוּךְ	קָטַלְנוּךְ	קָטַלְנוּהָ	קָטַלְנוּהָ
2. m.	קָטַלְתִּינוּ	—	—	קָטַלְתִּינוּהָ	קָטַלְתִּינוּהָ
1. c.	—	קָטַלְנוּךְ	קָטַלְנוּךְ	קָטַלְנוּהָ	קָטַלְנוּהָ

<i>INFR.</i> <i>Qäl</i>		קָטַלְנִי	קָטַלְךָ	קָטַלְתָּךְ	קָטַלְנוּ
		{ קָטַלְנִי	{ קָטַלְךָ	{ קָטַלְתָּךְ	{ קָטַלְנוּ

<i>IMP.</i> <i>Qäl 2. m. sing.</i>		קָטַלְנִי	—	—	קָטַלְהָ
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<i>IMPF.</i> <i>Qäl 3. m. sing.</i>		וַיָּקְטַלְנִי	וַיָּקְטַלְךָ	וַיָּקְטַלְתָּךְ	וַיָּקְטַלְנוּ
<i>3. m. with Nun demonstrative.</i>		וַיָּקְטַלְנִי	וַיָּקְטַלְךָ	—	וַיָּקְטַלְנִי
<i>3. m. plur.</i>		וַיָּקְטַלְנוּךְ	וַיָּקְטַלְתָּךְ	וַיָּקְטַלְנוּךְ	וַיָּקְטַלְנוּהָ

<i>PERF.</i> <i>Pi'el 3. m. sing.</i>		קָפַלְנִי	קָפַלְךָ	קָפַלְתָּךְ	קָפַלְנוּ
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3 Sing.f. 1 Plur. 2 Plur.m. 2 Plur.f. 3 Plur.m. 3 Plur.f.

קְטַלָּנָה	קְטַלְנִי	קְטַלְנָה	קְטַלְכֶם	[קְטַלְכָן]	קְטַלְכֶם	קְטַלְנִי
קְטַלְתָּה	קְטַלְתִּי	קְטַלְתָּה	wanting	wanting	קְטַלְתָּה	קְטַלְתִּי
קְטַלָּתָה	קְטַלְתִּי	קְטַלְתִּי	—	—	קְטַלְתָּה	קְטַלְתִּי
קְטַלְתִּיהָ	קְטַלְתִּינִי	קְטַלְתִּיהָ	—	—	קְטַלְתִּים	קְטַלְתִּין
—	קְטַלְתִּיכָם	—	קְטַלְתִּיכָם	קְטַלְתִּיכָם	קְטַלְתִּים	קְטַלְתִּין
קְטַלְתִּיהָ	קְטַלְתִּינִי	קְטַלְתִּיהָ	wanting	wanting	קְטַלְוִים	קְטַלְוִין
קְטַלְתִּיהָ	קְטַלְתִּינִי	קְטַלְתִּיהָ	—	—	קְטַלְתִּים	קְטַלְתִּין
קְטַלְנָה	—	קְטַלְנוּכָם	קְטַלְנוּכָם	קְטַלְנוּגָם	קְטַלְנוּגָם	קְטַלְנוּגָם

קְטַלָּה	קְטַלְנִי	קְטַלְכֶם	{קְטַלְכָן}	קְטַלְכֶם	{קְטַלְכָן}	קְטַלָּה
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{קְטַלָּה}	קְטַלְנִי	—	—	—	—	—
{יִקְטַלָּה}	יִקְטַלְנִי	יִקְטַלְכֶם	יִקְטַלְכָן	יִקְטַלְכֶם	יִקְטַלְכָן	יִקְטַלָּה
יִקְטַלָּה	—	—	—	—	—	—
יִקְטַלָּה	יִקְטַלְנִי	יִקְטַלְכֶם	יִקְטַלְכָן	יִקְטַלְכֶם	יִקְטַלְכָן	יִקְטַלָּה

קְטַלָּה	קְטַלְנִי	קְטַלְכֶם	{קְטַלְכָן}	קְטַלָּה	קְטַלְנִי
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	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niph'āl.</i>	<i>Hiph'āl.</i>	<i>Hoph'āl.</i>
<i>PFRF. S.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	צָבֵד	*צָבַד	*צָבַדְיִר	*צָבַדְיִיר
3. <i>f.</i>	צָבֵדָה	*צָבַדָּה	צָבַדְיָה	צָבַדְיָה
2. <i>m.</i>	צָבֵדָךְ	צָבַדָּךְ	צָבַדְךְ	צָבַדְךְ
2. <i>f.</i>	צָבֵדָתְךְ	צָבַדָּתְךְ	צָבַדְתָּךְ	צָבַדְתָּךְ
1. <i>c.</i>	צָבֵדָתִי	צָבַדָּתִי	צָבַדְתִּי	צָבַדְתִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	צָבָדָה	צָבַדָּה	צָבַדְיָה	צָבַדְיָה
2. <i>m.</i>	*צָבָדָתָם	צָבַדָּתָם	צָבַדְקָתָם	צָבַדְקָתָם
2. <i>f.</i>	*צָבָדָתְךָן	*צָבַדָּתְךָן	צָבַדְתָּתָן	צָבַדְתָּתָן
1. <i>c.</i>	צָבָדָתִינוּ	צָבַדָּתִינוּ	צָבַדְתִּינוּ	צָבַדְתִּינוּ
<i>INF</i>	צָבֵד	*צָבֵד	*צָבַדְיִר	*צָבַדְיִיר
<i>INF absol.</i>	צָבֹד	*צָבֹד	*צָבַדְוֹד	*צָבַדְוֹד
<i>IMP. S.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	*צָבֵד	*צָבֵד	צָבַד	צָבַד
2. <i>f.</i>	צָבֵדָה	צָבֵדָה	צָבַדְיִר	צָבַדְיִר
<i>Pl. 2. m.</i>	צָבָדָה	צָבָדָה	צָבַדְיָה	צָבַדְיָה
2. <i>f.</i>	*צָבָדָתָה	*צָבָדָתָה	צָבַדְתָּה	צָבַדְתָּה
<i>IMPF. S.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	*צָבָדָל	*צָבָזָק	*צָבַדְיִר	*צָבַדְיִיר
3. <i>f.</i>	צָבָדָלָה	צָבָזָקָה	צָבַדְיִרָּה	צָבַדְיִירָה
2. <i>m.</i>	צָבָדָלָךְ	צָבָזָקָךְ	צָבַדְיִרָּךְ	צָבַדְיִירָה
2. <i>f.</i>	*צָבָדָלְךְיִ	*צָבָזָקְיִ	צָבַדְיִרְךְיִ	*צָבַדְיִירְךְיִ
1. <i>c.</i>	*צָבָדָלִי	צָבָזָקִי	צָבַדְיִרִי	צָבַדְיִירִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	*צָבָדָלָה	*צָבָזָקָה	צָבַדְיָה	צָבַדְיָה
3. <i>f.</i>	*צָבָדָלָתָה	*צָבָזָקָתָה	צָבַדְיָתָה	צָבַדְיָתָה
2. <i>m.</i>	צָבָדָלָתְךְ	צָבָזָקָתְךְ	צָבַדְיָתְךְ	צָבַדְיָתְךְ
2. <i>f.</i>	*צָבָדָלָתְךָנִי	*צָבָזָקָתְךָנִי	צָבַדְיָתְךָנִי	צָבַדְיָתְךָנִי
1. <i>c.</i>	צָבָדָלִינוּ	צָבָזָקִינוּ	צָבַדְיִנוּ	צָבַדְיִנוּ
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>			צָבַד	צָבַד
<i>PART. act.</i>	צָבֵד	*צָבַד	*צָבַדְיִר	*צָבַדְיִיר
<i>pass.</i>	צָבֹד	*צָבֹד		*צָבֹד

wanting

	<i>Qāl.</i>	<i>Niphāl.</i>	<i>Pī'ēl.</i>	<i>Pā'ēl.</i>	<i>Hithpā'ēl.</i>
<i>PERF. S.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	*בָּרָךְ	*בָּרָךְ	*הִתְבִּרְךָ
3. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטָה*	נִשְׁחַטָה*	בָּרָכָה	בָּרָכָה	הִתְבִּרְכָה
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטֶת	נִשְׁחַטֶת	בָּרְכָת	בָּרְכָת	הִתְבִּרְכָת
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטֶתָה	נִשְׁחַטֶתָה	בָּרְכָתָה	בָּרְכָתָה	הִתְבִּרְכָתָה
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטֵתִי	נִשְׁחַטֵתִי	בָּרְכָתִי	בָּרְכָתִי	הִתְבִּרְכָתִי
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטֹו*	נִשְׁחַטֹו*	בָּרְכִי	בָּרְכִי	הִתְבִּרְכִי
2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטֹם	נִשְׁחַטֹם	בָּרְכִתָם	בָּרְכִתָם	הִתְבִּרְכִתָם
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטֹתָן	נִשְׁחַטֹתָן	בָּרְכִתָן	בָּרְכִתָן	הִתְבִּרְכִתָן
1. <i>c.</i>	שָׁחַטֹנו	נִשְׁחַטֹנו	בָּרְכִינו	בָּרְכִינו	הִתְבִּרְכִינו
<i>INF</i>	שָׁחַט	הִשְׁחַט	*בָּרָךְ	*בָּרָךְ	*הִתְבִּרְךָ
<i>INF absol.</i>	שָׁחוֹת	נִשְׁחוֹת	*בָּרָךְ	*בָּרָךְ	
<i>IMP. S.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַט*	הִשְׁחַט	*בָּרָךְ	*בָּרָךְ	*הִתְבִּרְךָ
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטִי*	הִשְׁחַטִי*	*בָּרִיכִי	*בָּרִיכִי	הִתְבִּרְכִי
<i>Pl.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁחַטִו	הִשְׁחַטִו	בָּרְכִי	wanting	הִתְבִּרְכִי
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁחַטֹתָה	הִשְׁחַטֹתָה	בָּרְכִתָה		הִתְבִּרְכָתָה
<i>IMPF S.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁחַט*	יִשְׁחַט	*בָּרָךְ	*בָּרָךְ	*יִתְבִּרְךָ
3. <i>f.</i>	יִשְׁחַטָה	יִשְׁחַטָה	פָּבָרָךְ	פָּבָרָךְ	יִתְבִּרְךָ
2. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֶת	יִשְׁחַטֶת	פָּבָרְךָ	פָּבָרְךָ	יִתְבִּרְךָ
2. <i>f.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֶתָה	יִשְׁחַטֶתָה	פָּבָרְכִי	פָּבָרְכִי	יִתְבִּרְכִי
1. <i>c.</i>	יִשְׁחַטִתִי	יִשְׁחַטִתִי	אֲבָרָךְ	אֲבָרָךְ	אִתְבִּרְךָ
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֹו	יִשְׁחַטֹו	יִבְרָכִי	יִבְרָכִי	יִתְבִּרְכִי
3. <i>f.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֹתָה	יִשְׁחַטֹתָה	פָּבָרְכָנָה	פָּבָרְכָנָה	יִתְבִּרְכָנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֹתָן	יִשְׁחַטֹתָן	פָּבָרְכִי	פָּבָרְכִי	יִתְבִּרְכִי
2. <i>f.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֹתָהָה	יִשְׁחַטֹתָהָה	פָּבָרְכָנָה	פָּבָרְכָנָה	יִתְבִּרְכָנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	יִשְׁחַטֹנו	יִשְׁחַטֹנו	נִבְרָךְ	נִבְרָךְ	יִתְבִּרְךָ
<i>IMPF with Suf.</i>	יִשְׁחַטְדָה				
<i>PART act.</i>	שָׁחַט	נִשְׁחַט	*מִבָּרָךְ	*מִבָּרָךְ	*מִתְבִּרְךָ
<i>pass.</i>	שָׁחוֹת	נִשְׁחוֹת			*מִבָּרָךְ

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niphi al.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i>	שָׁלֵחַ*	נִשְׁלַחַ	שִׁלְחָ*
3. f.	שָׁלַחֲתָה	נִשְׁלַחֲתָה	שִׁלְחָתָה
2. m.	שָׁלַחֲךָ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךָ	שִׁלְחָתָךָ
2. f.	שָׁלַחֲתָךְ*	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*	שִׁלְחָתָךְ*
1. c.	שָׁלַחֲתִי	נִשְׁלַחֲתִי	שִׁלְחָתִי
<i>Plur. 3. c.</i>	שָׁלַחֲתָו	נִשְׁלַחֲתָו	שִׁלְחָתָו
2. m.	שָׁלַחֲתָם	נִשְׁלַחֲתָם	שִׁלְחָתָם
2. f.	שָׁלַחֲתָן	נִשְׁלַחֲתָן	שִׁלְחָתָן
1. c.	שָׁלַחֲתָנוּ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָנוּ	שִׁלְחָתָנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	שְׁלֵחַ*	הַשְׁלֵחַ*	שִׁלְחָ*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	שְׁלֵחָ	נִשְׁלֵחָ	שִׁלְחָ
<i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i>	שְׁלֵחַ*	הַשְׁלֵחַ*	שִׁלְחָ*
2. f.	שְׁלֵחוֹ	הַשְׁלֵחוֹ	שִׁלְחוֹ*
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	שְׁלֵחָ	הַשְׁלֵחָ	שִׁלְחוֹ
2. f.	שְׁלֵחוֹתָה	הַשְׁלֵחוֹתָה	שִׁלְחוֹתָה*
<i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i>	נִשְׁלַחַ*	נִשְׁלַחַ	נִשְׁלַחַ*
3. f.	נִשְׁלַחֲתָה	נִשְׁלַחֲתָה	נִשְׁלַחֲתָה*
2. m.	נִשְׁלַחֲךָ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךָ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךָ
2. f.	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*
1. c.	נִשְׁלַחֲתִי	נִשְׁלַחֲתִי	נִשְׁלַחֲתִי
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	נִשְׁלַחֲתָו	נִשְׁלַחֲתָו	נִשְׁלַחֲתָו
3. f.	נִשְׁלַחֲתָמָה*	נִשְׁלַחֲתָמָה	נִשְׁלַחֲתָמָה*
2. m.	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךָ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךָ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךָ
2. f.	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*	נִשְׁלַחֲתָךְ*
1. c.	נִשְׁלַחֲתָנוּ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָנוּ	נִשְׁלַחֲתָנוּ

*IMPF. shortened (Jussive).**IMPF. with Suff.* נִשְׁלַחֲנָי

<i>PART. act.</i>	שְׁלֵחָ	נִשְׁלַחַ	נִשְׁלַחַ*
<i>pass.</i>	שְׁלֵחוֹתָה*		

<i>Pū'el.</i>	<i>Hiph'îl.</i>	<i>Hoph'âl.</i>	<i>Hithp'â'el.</i>
לְאַח	*הָשֵׁלֵח	הָשֵׁלָח	*הָשִׁפְתָּלָח
לְכַלָּה	הָשֵׁלִיחָה	הָשֵׁלָה	*הָשִׁפְתָּלָה
לְעַחַת	הָשֵׁלָחַת	הָשֵׁלָחַת	הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַת
לְעַדְתָּה*	*הָשֵׁלָחַת	*הָשֵׁלָחַת	*הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַת
לְלֹאַיִל	הָשֵׁלָחַיִל	הָשֵׁלָחַיִל	הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַיִל
לְלֹאַרְגָּה	הָשֵׁלָחַאַרְגָּה	הָשֵׁלָחַאַרְגָּה	הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַאַרְגָּה
לְלֹחֶם	הָשֵׁלָחַם	הָשֵׁלָחַם	הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַם
לְלֹחֲפָן	הָשֵׁלָחַעֲפָן	הָשֵׁלָחַעֲפָן	הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַעֲפָן
לְלֹחָנִי	הָשֵׁלָחַעֲנִי	הָשֵׁלָחַעֲנִי	הָשִׁפְתָּלָחַעֲנִי
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	*הָשֵׁלֵח	*הָשֵׁלֵח	*הָשִׁפְתָּלָח
	*הָשֵׁלֵח	*הָשֵׁלֵח	
<hr/>			
wanting	הָשֵׁלָח	wanting	*הָשִׁפְתָּלָח
	הָשֵׁלִיחָה		הָשִׁפְתָּלִיחָה
	הָשֵׁלִיחָו		הָשִׁפְתָּלִיחָו
	הָשֵׁלִיחָנוּ		*הָשִׁפְתָּלִיחָנוּ
<hr/>			
שְׁלָח	*שְׁלֵחָה	שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלִפָּה
שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלֵחָה	שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלִפָּה
שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלֵחָה	שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלִפָּה
שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלֵחָה	שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלִפָּה
שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלֵחָה	שְׁלָחָה	שְׁלִפָּה
אַשְׁלָח	אַשְׁלֵיה	אַשְׁלָח	אַשְׁלִיה
אַשְׁלָח	אַשְׁלֵיה	אַשְׁלָח	אַשְׁלִיה
אַשְׁלָח	אַשְׁלֵיה	אַשְׁלָח	אַשְׁלִיה
אַשְׁלָחָה	אַשְׁלֵיהָה	אַשְׁלָחָה	אַשְׁלִיהָה
אַשְׁלָחָנוּ	אַשְׁלֵיהָנוּ	אַשְׁלָחָנוּ	אַשְׁלִיהָנוּ
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בְּשֻׁלָּה	בְּשֵׁלָה	בְּשֵׁלָה	בְּשִׁלָּה
<hr/>			
מְשֻׁלָּה	*מְשֵׁלִיחָה	Mְשֵׁלָה	*מְשִׁלָּה

<i>Höph'el.</i>	<i>Pö'el.</i>	<i>Pö'el.</i>	<i>Hithpö'el.</i>
*הִסְבֵּב הַיְשָׁבֵב הַיְשָׁבֵת הַיְשָׁבֹת הַיְשָׁבֶתִי הַיְשָׁבֶבְיִ הַיְשָׁבֶבְיִ הַיְשָׁבֹתִים הַיְשָׁבֹתִין הַיְשָׁבֹתִינוּ	*סָבֵב סָבֵבָה סָבֵבָת סָבֵבָת סָבֵבָתִי סָבֵבָתִי סָבֵבָתִי סָבֵבָתִם סָבֵבָתִין סָבֵבָתִינוּ	*סָבֵב סָבֵבָה סָבֵבָת סָבֵבָת סָבֵבָתִי סָבֵבָתִי סָבֵבָתִי סָבֵבָתִם סָבֵבָתִין סָבֵבָתִינוּ	הַסְּטוּבֵב הַסְּטוּבָה הַסְּטוּבָת הַסְּטוּבָת הַסְּטוּבָתִי הַסְּטוּבָתִי הַסְּטוּבָתִי הַסְּטוּבָתִם הַסְּטוּבָתִין הַסְּטוּבָתִינוּ
wanting	סָבֵב סָבֵבִי סָבֵבִי סָבֵבָה	סָבֵב סָבֵבִי סָבֵבִי סָבֵבָה	הַסְּטוּבֵב הַסְּטוּבָבִי הַסְּטוּבָבִי הַסְּטוּבָבָה
*יָסַב *יָסַב יָסַב יָסַב יָסַב יָסַבְיִ אָסַב יָסַבְיִ *תְּיָסַבְיִנְהָ תְּיָסַבְיִ תְּיָסַבְיִנְהָ נָסַב	יָסַב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּבִי אָסַבָּב יָסַבָּבִי תְּסַבְבָּנה תְּסַבְבָּבִי תְּסַבְבָּבָה נָסַבָּב	יָסַב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּבִי אָסַבָּב יָסַבָּבִי תְּסַבְבָּנה תְּסַבְבָּבִי תְּסַבְבָּבָה נָסַבָּב	יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּב יָסַבָּבִי אָסַבָּב יָסַבָּבִי תְּסַבְבָּנה תְּסַבְבָּבִי תְּסַבְבָּבָה נָסַבָּב
*	יָסַבָּבִי מָסַבָּב בִּיסַּבָּב	*	מָסַבָּבִב בִּיסַּבָּב

	Qal.		Niph'el. Hiph'el. Höph'el.	
<i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i>	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	נִפְנַת*
3. f.	etc.	etc.	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָה נִגְנַתָּה
2. m.			נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
2. f.			נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
1. c.	regular		נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
<i>Plur.</i>		נִתְחַנָּת	נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
3. c.			נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
2. m.			נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
2. f.			נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
1. c.			נִתְחַנָּת	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
<i>INF.</i>	נִפְנַת*		נִפְלֵל*	נִפְנַת*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
<i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i>	נִפְנַת*	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָת*
2. f.	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָת
<i>Plur. 2. m.</i>	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָת
2. f.	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּת	wanting
<i>Impf. Sing. 3. m.</i>	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	נִפְנַת*
3. f.	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	etc. הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
2. m.	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
2. f.	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	הִגְבִּיחָת נִגְנַתָּת
1. c.	אֲנַפְת	אֲנַפְלֵל	אֲנַחַנָּה	אֲנַפְת
<i>Plur. 3. m.</i>	רַגְשָׂר	רַגְשָׂר	רַתְחָנָה	regu- בְּגַשְׂרָה
3. f.	רַגְשָׂר	רַגְשָׂר	רַתְחָנָה	lar. תְּגַשְׁנָה תְּגַשְׁנָה
2. m.	רַגְשָׂר	רַגְשָׂר	רַתְחָנָה	תְּגַשְׁנָה תְּגַשְׁנָה
2. f.	רַגְשָׂר	רַגְשָׂר	רַתְחָנָה	תְּגַשְׁנָה תְּגַשְׁנָה
1. c.	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	נִפְנַת נִפְנַת
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>				
<i>PART. act.</i>	נִפְנַת	נִפְלֵל	נִתְחַנָּה	*מִנְפִּית
<i>pass.</i>	נִפְנַת	—	נִתְחַנָּה	נִפְנַת

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'el.</i>	<i>Hiph'el.</i>	<i>Hopli'l.</i>
<i>PERF.</i>	אָכַל	*נָאכַל	*הָאכִיל	*הָאכַל

As the Verb *Pe Guttural*, Paradigm D.

<i>INF.</i>	*אָכַל	הָאכַל	הָאכִיל	הָאכַל
<i>INF. absol.</i>	אָכֹל	הָאכֹל	wanting	wanting
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. m.	*אָכַל	הָאכַל	הָאכִיל	
2. f.	אָכְלִי	etc.	etc.	wanting
<i>Plur.</i> 2. m.	אָכְלָה			
2. f.	אָכְלָתָה			
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3 m.	*יָאַכֵּל (in P. יָאַכְלָה)	*יָאַכֵּל	*יָאַכְלִיל	*יָאַכֵּל
3. f.	חָאַכְלָה	etc.	etc.	etc.
2. m.	חָאַכְלָה			
2. f.	חָאַכְלִי			
1. c.	אָכְלָה*			
<i>Plur.</i> 3. m.	יָאַכְלָה			
3. f.	חָאַכְלָתָה			
2. m.	חָאַכְלָה			
2. f.	חָאַכְלָתָה			
1. c.	נָאַכְלָה			
<i>IMPF. with Wāw consecutive.</i>	{ *יָאַמֵּר, *יָאַכְלָה			
<i>PART. act.</i> <i>pass.</i>	אָכְלָה	נָאַכְלָה	בְּאַכְלִיל	מָאַכְלָה

	<i>Qdl.</i>	<i>Nqphel</i>
<i>PERF. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יָשַׁב	*נָשַׁב
3. <i>f.</i>		*נָשְׁבָה
2. <i>m.</i>		נָשְׁבָת
2. <i>f.</i>	regular	נָשְׁבָת
1. <i>c.</i>		נָשְׁבָת
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>		נָשְׁבָנוּ
2. <i>m.</i>		נָשְׁבָתָם
2. <i>f.</i>		נָשְׁבָתִין
1. <i>c.</i>		נָשְׁבָנוּ
<i>INF.</i>	יָסַד*, *שָׁבַת	*הָנָשַׁב
<i>INF. absol.</i>	יָשֹׁוב	wanting
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁב*	הָנָשַׁב
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁבִי	הָנָשְׁבִּי
<i>Plur.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	שָׁבָת	הָנָשְׁבָת
2. <i>f.</i>	שָׁבָתָה	הָנָשְׁבָתָה
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יָשַׁב*	*יָשַׁב
3. <i>f.</i>	תָּשַׁב	תָּשַׁבְּ
2. <i>m.</i>	תָּשַׁב	תָּשַׁבְּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תָּשַׁבְּיִ	תָּשַׁבְּרִי
1. <i>c.</i>	אָשַׁב	*אָשַׁב
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	יָשַׁבִּי	יָשַׁבְּיִ
3. <i>f.</i>	תָּשַׁבְּנָה	תָּשַׁבְּנָה
2. <i>m.</i>	תָּשַׁבְּ	תָּשַׁבְּ
2. <i>f.</i>	תָּשַׁבְּנָה	תָּשַׁבְּנָה
1. <i>c.</i>	נָשַׁבָּ	נָשַׁבָּ

*IMPF. shortened (Jussive).**IMPF. with Waw consec.* בָּרַשְׁבָּ*

<i>PART. act.</i>	יָשַׁב	*נָשַׁב
<i>pass</i>	יָשֹׁוב	

	<i>Qäl.</i>	<i>Niphäel.</i>	<i>Hiphäil.</i>	<i>Hophäel.</i>
<i>PERF. S. 3.m.</i>	קָם *מִתְבָּשֵׂל	נִקְרָם	*הַקְרִים	*הַזְקִים
3. f.	*מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָה	*נִקְרָם	*חַקְרִיאָה	*חַקְרִיאָה
2.m.	*מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָת	*נִקְרָמוֹת	*הַקְרִימֹת	*הַזְקִימֹת
2. f.	מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָת	נִקְרָמוֹת	הַקְרִימֹת	הַזְקִימֹת
1. c.	מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָת	נִקְרָמוֹת	הַקְרִימֹת	הַזְקִימֹת
<i>Plur.</i>	קָמָר בְּשָׁר	בְּקָרְמוֹת	הַקְרִימָיוֹת	הַזְקִימָיוֹת
3. c.	קָמָר בְּשָׁר	בְּקָרְמוֹת	הַקְרִימָיוֹת	הַזְקִימָיוֹת
2.m.	מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָת	נִקְרָמוֹת	הַקְרִימָות	הַזְקִימָות
2. f.	מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָת	נִקְרָמוֹת	הַקְרִימָות	הַזְקִימָות
1. c.	מִתְבָּשֵׂל קָמָת	נִקְרָמוֹת	הַקְרִימָוֹת	הַזְקִימָוֹת
<i>INF.</i>	קוֹם *	בוֹשׁ	*הַקְרָם	*הַזְקִים
<i>INF. absol.</i>	קוֹם *		*הַקְרָם	*הַזְקִם
<i>IMP. S. 2.m.</i>	קוֹם *		*הַקְרָם	*הַזְקִם
2. f.	*קְרָבִי		*הַקְרָבִי	*הַזְקִיבִי
<i>Pl. 2.m.</i>	קְרָבִי		הַקְרָמוֹת	wanting
2. f.	*קְמָנָה	הַקְמָנָה	הַקְמָנָה	.
<i>IMPF. S. 3.m.</i>	יְקָרָם *	יְבָשָׂל	*יְקָרִים	*יְקָרִים
3. f.	תְּקָרָם	תְּבָשָׂל	תְּקָרִים	תְּקָרִים
2.m.	תְּקָרָם	etc.	תְּקָרִים	תְּקָרִים
2. f.	*תְּקָרִים		*תְּקָרִים	*תְּקָרִים
1. c.	אֲקָרָם		אֲקָרִים	אֲקָרִים
<i>Plur.</i>	יְקָרָמוֹת		יְקָרָמוֹת	יְקָרָמוֹת
3. f.	*תְּקָרְמָנָה		תְּקָרְמָנָה	*תְּקָרְמָנָה
2.m.	תְּקָרְמָנָה		תְּקָרְמָנוֹת	תְּקָרְמָנוֹת
2. f.	תְּקָרְמָנָה		תְּקָרְמָנָה	תְּקָרְמָנָה
1. c.	נִקְרָם	נִקְרָם	נִקְרָם	נִקְרָם
<i>IMPF. shortened.</i>	רִקְם		רִקְם	*
<i>IMPF. with ¹consec.</i>	וְרִקְם		וְרִקְם	*
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	*קְרָמֶנִי		קְרָמֶנִי	*
<i>PART. act.</i>	מִקְרָם *	בְּשָׁר	*מִקְרָם	*
<i>pass.</i>	מִקְרָם *		מִקְרָם	*

² *YIN WAW* (יִנְוָאָה). § 72. N. *Feeble Verb* *AYIN YODH* (יַיְנָה). § 73. XXIII.

	<i>Qäl.</i>	<i>Niph'äl.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>
<i>PERF Sing. 3.m.</i>	*בָּמַצֵּא	מִלְאָה	*נִמְצֵאתָ
3. f.	בָּמַצֵּה	מִלְאָה	נִמְצֵה
2. m.	*בָּמַצֵּת	מִלְאָתָן	*נִמְצֵאתָן
2. f.	בָּמַצֵּת	מִלְאָתָה	נִמְצֵאתָה
1. c.	בָּמַצֵּתי	מִלְאָתִי	נִמְצֵאתִי
<i>Plur.</i>	3. c.	מִלְאָה	נִמְצֵאותָ
	2. m.	מִלְאָתָם	נִמְצֵאותָם
	2. f.	מִלְאָתָן	נִמְצֵאותָן
	1. c.	מִלְאָתִי	נִמְצֵאותִי
<i>INF</i>	בָּמַצֵּא	רִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
<i>INF. absol.</i>	בָּמַצֵּא	נִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
<i>IMP. Sing. 2.m.</i>	*בָּמַצֵּא	רִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
	2. f.	רִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
<i>Plur.</i>	2. m.	רִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵאותָ
	2. f.	*רִמְצֵאתָה	רִמְצֵאותָה
<i>IMPF. Sing. 3.m.</i>	*יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵא	*יִמְצֵא
	3. f.	יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵא
	2. m.	יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵא
	2. f.	יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵא
	1. c.	אָמֵן	אָמֵן
<i>Plur.</i>	3. m.	יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵאותָ
	3. f.	*יִמְצֵאתָה	*יִמְצֵאותָה
	2. m.	יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵא
	2. f.	יִמְצֵא	יִמְצֵאותָה
	1. c.	נִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
<i>IMPF shortened (Jussive).</i>			
<i>IMPF with Suff.</i>	בָּמַצֵּתִי		נִמְצֵאתִי
<i>PART. act.</i>	מִצְאָה	נִמְצֵא	נִמְצֵא
<i>pass.</i>	בָּמַצֵּא		

	<i>Qal.</i>	<i>Niph'al.</i>	<i>Piel.</i>
<i>PERF. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	*בָּלָה	*נִגְלָה*	*גָּלָה*
3. <i>f.</i>	*בָּלָתָה	*נִגְלָתָה*	*גָּלָתָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	*בָּלָתָה	(נִגְלָתָה) (נִגְלָתָה)	*גָּלָתָה (גָּלָתָה)
2. <i>f.</i>	בָּלָתָה	נִגְלָתָה	*גָּלָתָה
1. <i>c.</i>	בָּלָתָה	נִגְלָתָה	גָּלָתָה
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i>	*בָּלָה	נִגְלָוֹת	גָּלָוֹת
2. <i>m.</i>	בָּלָותָם	נִגְלָוֹתָם	גָּלָוֹתָם
2. <i>f.</i>	בָּלָותָן	נִגְלָוֹתָן	גָּלָוֹתָן
1. <i>c.</i>	בָּלָותָן	נִגְלָוֹתָן	גָּלָוֹתָן
<i>INF.</i>	*בָּלוֹתָה	*חַבְלָוֹתָה*	*בָּלוֹתָה*
<i>INF. absol.</i>	בָּלוֹתָה	נִגְלָה	פָּלוֹת, בָּלוֹת
<i>IMP. Sing.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	*בָּלָה	*חַבְלָה*	*בָּלָה*
2. <i>f.</i>	*בָּלִי	*חַבְלִי*	*בָּלִי*
<i>Plur.</i> 2. <i>m.</i>	בָּלוֹתָה	חַבְלָוֹתָה	פָּלוֹת
2. <i>f.</i>	*בָּלוֹתָה	*חַבְלָוֹתָה*	*בָּלוֹתָה*
<i>IMPF. Sing.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	*וַיְגַלֵּה	*וַיְגַלֵּה*	*גָּלָה*
3. <i>f.</i>	וַיְגַלְתָּה	וַיְגַלְתָּה	וַיְגַלְתָּה
2. <i>m.</i>	וַיְגַלְתָּה	וַיְגַלְתָּה	וַיְגַלְתָּה
2. <i>f.</i>	*וַיְגַלְתִּי	*וַיְגַלְתִּי*	*גָּלָלִי*
1. <i>c.</i>	וַיְגַלֵּה	וַיְגַלֵּה	וַיְגַלֵּה
<i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>m.</i>	וַיְגַלְוּ	וַיְגַלְוּ	וַיְגַלְוּ
3. <i>f.</i>	*וַיְגַלְּקְתָּה	*וַיְגַלְּקְתָּה*	*גָּלְלִינָה*
2. <i>m.</i>	וַיְגַלְוָתָה	וַיְגַלְוָתָה	וַיְגַלְוָתָה
2. <i>f.</i>	וַיְגַלְּקְתָּה	וַיְגַלְּקְתָּה	וַיְגַלְּקְתָּה
1. <i>c.</i>	וַיְגַלֵּה	וַיְגַלֵּה	וַיְגַלֵּה
<i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i>	*בָּלָל	*רַבְלָל*	*רַבְלָל*
<i>IMPF. with Suff.</i>	*בָּלָלְךָ		*רַבְלָלְךָ
<i>PART. act.</i>	בָּלוֹתָה	*נִגְלָה*	*מִגְלָה*
<i>pass.</i>	*בָּלָלָה		

<i>Pā'el.</i>	<i>Hiph'îl.</i>	<i>Hōph'âl.</i>	<i>Hithpâ'el.</i>
*גָּלַה	*הָגַלְהָ	*הָגַלְהָ	*הַתְּפִלָּה
*גָּלַתְהָ	*הָגַלְתָּה	*הָגַלְתָּה	*הַתְּפִלָּתָה
*גָּלֵת	*הָגַלְתִּת (—יִתְ)	*הָגַלְתִּת	*הַתְּפִלְתִּת
גָּלִית	הָגַלִּית (—יִתְ)	הָגַלִּית	הַתְּפִלִּית
גָּלֶת	הָגַלְתִּי (—יִתְ)	הָגַלְתִּי	הַתְּפִלְתִּי
גָּלָה	הָגַלְוָה	הָגַלְוָה	הַתְּפִלְוָה
גָּלִות	*הָגַלִּות (—יִתְ)	הָגַלִּות	הַתְּפִלִּיות
גָּלִיתן	הָגַלִּיתן (—יִתְ)	הָגַלִּיתן	הַתְּפִלִּיתן
גָּלָתָה	הָגַלְתָּה	הָגַלְתָּה	הַתְּפִלָּתָה
*בָּגָלוֹת	*הָגַלּוֹת	*הָגַלּוֹת	*הַתְּפִלּוֹת
wanting	הָגַלָּה	הָגַלָּה	wanting
wanting	*הָגַלְנִיהָ	*הָגַלְנִיהָ	*הַתְּפִלְנִיהָ
*יִגְלָה	*יִגְלָה	*גָּלָה	*יִתְפִּלָּה
יִגְלָה	יִגְלָה	גָּלָה	תִּתְפִּלָּה
יִגְלָה	יִגְלָה	גָּלָה	תִּתְפִּלָּה
*יִתְגָּלֵי	*יִתְגָּלֵי	*גָּלֵי	*יִתְפִּלְיִ
אִגְלָה	אִגְלָה	גָּלָה	אִתְפִּלָּה
יִגְלָה	יִגְלָה	גָּלָה	תִּתְפִּלָּה
*תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	*תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	*תִּתְפְּלִיתָה
תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	תִּתְפְּלִיתָה
תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	תִּתְפְּלִיתָה
תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	תִּתְפְּלִיתָה
*יִתְגְּלִיתָה	*יִתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	*יִתְפִּלִּיתָה
תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	תִּתְפִּלִּיתָה
תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	תִּתְפִּלִּיתָה
תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּתְגְּלִיתָה	תִּגְלִיתָה	תִּתְפִּלִּיתָה
*מִגְלָה	*מִגְלָה	*מִגְלָה	*מִתְפִּלָּה
*מִגְלָתָה			

XXVIII Q. NOUNS WITH THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES. § 91.

Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.

Singular.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סֵת	a horse	סִטְתָּה	a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סֶתֶסֶת	horse-of.	סִטְתָּה	mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סַטִּי	my horse.	סִיטְתִּי	my mare.
2. { masc. fem.	סַטְּשׁ סַטְּקָה	thy horse. thy horse	סִיטְתָּךְ סִיטְתִּךְ	thy mare. thy mare.
3. { masc. fem.	סַטְּשׁ סַטְּקָה	his horse. her horse.	סִיטְתָּחוֹ סִיטְתִּחָה	his mare. her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סַטְּנָרְנוֹ	our horse.	סִיטְתָּנָה	our mare.
2. { masc. fem.	סַטְּנָכְםָ סַטְּקָנָה	your horse. your horse.	סִיטְתָּכְמָ סִיטְתָּכָה	your mare. your mare.
3. { masc. fem.	סַטְּשׁ סַטְּקָה	their horse. their horse.	סִיטְתָּהָם סִיטְתָּחָן	their mare. their mare.

Plural.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סְטוּסִים	horses.	סְטוּסָות	mares.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סְטוּסִי	horses-of.	סְטוּסָות	mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סְטוּסִי	my horses.	סְטוּסְלִי	my mares.
2. { masc. fem.	סְטוּשָׁךְ סְטוּקִיךְ	thy horses. thy horses.	סְטוּשָׁנִיךְ סְטוּקִינָה	thy mares. thy mares.
3. { masc. fem.	סְטוּסִירֹ סְטוּרִיחָה	his horses. her horses.	סְטוּסְלִיךְ סְטוּרִינָה	his mares. her mares.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סְטוּסְנִינוֹ	our horses.	סְטוּסְלִינוֹ	our mares.
2. { masc. fem.	סְטוּסְנִיכְםָ סְטוּרִינָה	your horses. your horses.	סְטוּשָׁנִיכְמָ סְטוּרִינָה	your mares. your mares.
3. { masc. fem.	סְטוּסִירָם סְטוּרִינָה	their horses. their horses.	סְטוּסְוִיהָם סְטוּרִינָה	their mares. their mares.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

L

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מלך	ספר	קדש	נער	נצח	פָּגֵל
	(king)	(book)	(sanctuary)	(a youth)	(perpetuity)	(work)
„ constr.	מלך	ספר	קדש	נער	נצח	פָּגֵל
„ with light suff.	מלךי	ספרי	קדשי	נערי	נצח	פָּגֵלי
„ with grave suff.	מלךם	ספרם	קדשם	נערכם	נצחם	פָּגֵלים
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מלךים	ספרים	קדשים	נעירים	נצחים	נצחים
„ constr.	מלךי	ספרי	קדשי	נערי	נצח	פָּגֵלי
„ with light suff.	מלךי	ספרי	קדשי	נערי	נצח	פָּגֵלי
„ with grave suff.	מלךים	ספרים	קדשים	נערכם	נצחיכם	נצחיכם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רגלים	קפחים	מתנות	נעליים	אתרים	
	(feet)	(double)	(loins)	(sandals)	(noon, prop.)	2 lights)
„ constr.	rangle	PILE	מתני	נעלי		

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מוות	זיה	שׁוֹט	פרי	ים	אם	חוק
	(death)	(olive)	(scourge)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(law)
„ constr.	מוות	זיה	שׁוֹט	פרי	ים, ים	אם	חקד
„ with light suff.	מוותי	זיהו	שׁוטה	פרי	ימרי	אבי	חקרי
„ with grave suff.	מוותם	זיהם	שׁוטם	פרי	ימפם	אפסם	תקנים
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מוותים	זיהם	שׁוטם	פרי	ימפים	אמורות	חקים
„ constr.	מוותי	זיהו	שׁוטה	פרי	ימרי	אמורות	חקרי
„ with light suff.	מוותי	זיהו	שׁוטה	פרי	ימרי	אמורה	חקרי
„ with grave suff.	מוותם	זיהם	שׁוטם	פרי	ימפם	אמורם	חקים אמוריהם ימפיקם
<i>Dual absol.</i>							שׁוֹרִים כְּפִים לְחַיִם יוֹמִים עִירִים
							(eyes) (two days) (cheeks) (hands) (teeth)
„ constr.							שׁנִי כְּפִי לְחַיִי צְבִי

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חַיִּים (wisc.)	זָקֵן (an old man)	צְהַפֵּךְ (shoulder)	חַצֵּר (court)	שָׂדָה (field)
" <i>constr.</i>	דָּבָר	חַכְמָה	זָקֵן	לְתַחַת	חַצֵּר	שָׂדָה
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חַכְמִי	זָקִינִי	כְּתַאי	חַצְרִי	שָׂדְרוֹי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דָּבָרִים	חַכְמָנִים				שָׂדָם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דָּבָרִים	חַכְמִים	זָקִינִים		חַצְרִים	[שָׂדִים]
" <i>constr.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חַכְמִי	זָקִינִי		חַצְרִי	שָׂדְרוֹי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חַכְמִי	זָקִינִי		חַצְרִי	שָׂדְרוֹי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דָּבָרִים	חַכְמִים	זָקִינִים		חַצְרִים	שָׂדִים
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנָפָרִים (wings)	תְּלִיאִים (thighs)	חַזְוִים (loins)	יְרֻכִּים (loins)		
" <i>constr.</i>	כְּנָפֶר					

III.

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עוֹלָם (perpetuity)	אָרָב (enemy)	חוֹה (prophet)	פָּקִיד (overseer)	עֲנֵי (poor)	פְּתֻבָּה (writing)
" <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָם	אָרָב	חוֹה	פָּקִיד	עֲנֵי	פְּתֻבִּי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אָרָבי	חוֹוי	פָּקִידי	פְּתֻבִּי	כְּתַבְכָּם
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמָנִים	אָרָבָנִים	חוֹנָם	פָּקִירָנִים	עֲנֵיָנִים	כְּתֻבָּנִים
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	פְּתֻבִּים	עֲנֵיִים	חוֹזִים	פָּקִירִים		
" <i>constr.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אָרָבי	חוֹוי	פָּקִידי	עֲנֵיִיר	פְּתֻבִּי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִי	אָרָבי	חוֹוי	פָּקִידי	פְּתֻבִּי	פְּתֻבִּי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עוֹלָמִיכָם	אָרָבִיכָם	חוֹזִיכָם	פָּקִירִיכָם	עֲנֵיִיכָם	כְּתַבְיכָם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מַלְקֹתִים (tongs)	מַלְקֹתָה (balance)		שְׁבָלִים (fortnight)		
" <i>constr.</i>	מַלְקֹנִי					

Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>		מִלְפָה	תְּרֵפָה	חַרְבָּה	חֲקָה
		(queen)	(reproach)	(waste)	(law) (mistress)
„ <i>constr.</i>		מִלְכָת	תְּרֵפָת	חַרְבָּת	חֲקָת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>		מִלְפָתִי	תְּרֵפָתִי	חַרְבָּתִי	חֲקָתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>		מִלְחָנָם	חַרְפָּתָם	חַרְפָּתָם	גְּבָרָתָם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>		מֶלֶכֶת	תְּרֵפָות	חַרְבָּות	חֲקָות
„ <i>constr.</i>		מֶלֶכֶת	תְּרֵפָות	חַרְבָּות	חֲקָות
„ <i>with suff.</i>		מֶלֶכֶתִי	חַרְפָּותִי	חַרְבָּותִי	חֲקָותִי
<i>Dual absol.</i>		רַקְמָלִים			מַצְלָתִים
			(double embroidery)		(cymbals)

II.

	a.	b.	c.		a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>		זְדֻקָה	זְדֻקָה	שָׁנָה	יוֹנָקָת	גָּלְגָלָת
		(justice)	(outrcy)	(year)	(sprout)	(skull)
„ <i>constr.</i>		זְדֻקָת	זְעַקָת	שָׁנִית	יוֹנָקָת	גָּלְגָלָת
„ <i>with light suff.</i>		זְדֻקִתִי	זְעַקִתִי	שָׁנִיתִי	יוֹנָקִתִי	גָּלְגָלִתִי
„ <i>with grave suff.</i>		זְדֻקָתָם	זְעַקָתָם	שָׁנִיתָם	יוֹנָקָתָם	גָּלְגָלָתָם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>		זְדֻקּוֹת		שָׁנּוֹת	[יְוֹנָקּוֹת]	גָּלְגָלּוֹת
„ <i>constr.</i>		זְדֻקּוֹת		שָׁנּוֹת	[יְוֹנָקּוֹת]	גָּלְגָלּוֹת
„ <i>with suff.</i>		זְדֻקּוֹתִי		שָׁנּוֹתִי	יוֹנָקּוֹתִי	גָּלְגָלּוֹתִי
<i>Dual absol.</i>				שְׁפָתִים	[נְחַשְׁתָּרִים]	
				(lips)		(pair of fetters)
„ <i>constr.</i>				שְׁפָתִי		

NUMERALS. §§ 97, 98.

With the Masculine.

	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אחד	אחד
2.	שְׁנִים	שְׁנִי
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת
4.	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּעַת
5.	חֲמִשָּׁה	חֲמִשָּׁת
6.	שְׁשָׁה	שְׁשֶׁת
7.	שְׁבֻעָה	שְׁבֻעָת
8.	שְׁמִינִית	שְׁמִינִית
9.	תְּשִׁבְעָה	תְּשִׁבְעָת
10.	עַשְׂרָה	עַשְׂרָת

With the Feminine.

	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
	אַחַת	אַחַת
	שְׁנִיר	שְׁנִירִים
	שְׁלֵשִׁי	שְׁלֵשִׁים
	אַרְבֵּעִי	אַרְבֵּעִים
	חֲמִישִׁי	חֲמִישִׁים
	שְׁשִׁי	שְׁשִׁים
	שְׁבֻעִי	שְׁבֻעִים
	שְׁמִינִית	שְׁמִינִית
	תְּשִׁבְעִית	תְּשִׁבְעִים
	עַשְׂרִית	עַשְׂרִים

*Masc.**Fem.*

11.	אחד עשר	אחת עשרה
	עֲשָׂרִים עַשְׂרֵה	עֲשָׂרִים עַשְׂרֵה
12.	שְׁנִים עַשְׂרֵה	שְׁנִירִים עַשְׂרֵה
	שְׁנִי עַשְׂרֵה	שְׁנִיר עַשְׂרֵה
13.	שְׁלֹשָׁה עַשְׂרֵה	שְׁלֵשִׁים עַשְׂרֵה

100 מאה *fem.*, *constr.* מאות *plur.* *hundreds.*

200 מאתיים *dual* (*for* מאיתים).

300 שלש מאות.

400 ארבע מאות etc.

1000 אלף *masc.*, *plur.* אלףים *thousands.*

2000 אלףים (*dual*).

3000 שלש אלףים.

4000 ארבע אלףים, etc.

10000 רבבה but, in later books;

 רבבות *pl.*, רבבים.

20000 שני רבבות (*dual*), also רבבות.

40000 ארבע רבבים etc.

60000 ששים רבבות Ezra 2. 69.

U. PREFIX PREPOSITIONS WITH THE SUFFIXES. § 103. XXXIII

a) ל with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. לְ to me.	לָנוּ to us.
2. { <i>m.</i> לְךָ , (לְךָ , in pause לְךָ) <i>f.</i> לְךָ } to thee.	{ לָכֶם , לָכֶם , לְכָנֶה [לְכָנֶה ¹] } to you.
3. { <i>m.</i> לְךָ to him. <i>f.</i> לְכָה to her.	{ לְהַמְּרוֹת , לְהַמְּרוֹת , poet. לְהַמְּרוֹת ² } to them. לְהַנְּהָה ³ לְהַנְּהָה

ב takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have **בָּהִנָּת**, **בָּהִנָּת**, *fem.* **בָּהִנָּת** or **בָּהִנָּת**. **בָּהִנָּת**, **בָּהִנָּת**.

b) כ with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. כְּמַנְוִי ⁴ as I.	כְּמַנוֹּנוּ as we.
2. { <i>m.</i> כְּמַךְ , <i>f.</i> —} as thou.	{ כְּמַנוֹּכְם , כְּכָמְכָמְם , seldom — } as ye.
3. { <i>m.</i> כְּמַהֲרָה as he. <i>f.</i> כְּמַהֲרָה as she.	{ כְּמַחְסָפָה [כְּהַרְחָה] כְּהַרְחָה , כְּהַרְחָה } as they.

c) מ with the suffixes:—

<i>Sing.</i>	<i>Plur.</i>
1. מִנְבָּר , poet. מִנְבָּר , in pause מִמְנָה from us. מִנְבָּר from me.	מִמְנָה from us.
2. { <i>m.</i> מִמְךָ , in p. מִמְךָ , <i>f.</i> מִמְךָ } from thee.	{ מִכֶּם , מִכֶּם } from you.
3. { <i>m.</i> מִמְנָה , poet. in pause מִמְנָה , <i>f.</i> מִמְנָה } from her.	{ מִמְחָם , מִמְחָם , poet. מִמְחָם , מִמְחָם } from them.

¹ **לְכָנֶה** happens not to occur in the Old Testament.

² See Note ² on p. 261.

³ Not **לְהַנְּהָה**, which signifies *therefore*.

⁴ The use of **י** for **י** here is simply for euphony.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.

1. The Hebrew tongue is only a single branch of a great family of languages in western Asia, which was native in Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria and Arabia; that is, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean sea to beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. But in very early antiquity, this family of languages had spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and, through Phœnician colonies, over several of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and particularly over the whole Carthaginian coast. There is no ancient collective name for the nations and languages of this family. We have, however, retained the now generally received names *Shemites*, *Semitic languages*, borrowed from the fact that nearly all the nations, who spoke these languages, were descended from Shem (see Gen. 10, 21—29)¹.

2. From this Semitic family have proceeded four principal branches. I. The South Semitic or *Arabic*, both the classic and modern (vulgar). To this belongs the Ethiopic

¹ From Shem proceeded (Gen. ch. 10) the Aramaean and Arab tribes, as well as the Hebrews; but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), who are referred to Ham (vs. 6, 15—18); though their language belongs decidedly to those called Semitic. Among the Shemites are reckoned also (compare Genesis 10: 22) Assyrians, whose language, after long uncertainty, has now been proved Semitic.

(in Abyssinia), as an offshoot of the older South-Arabic (Himyaritic).¹ II. The Middle Semitic, or *Canaanitic*. The *Hebrew*, with which the *Canaanitic* and *Phœnician* (Punic) nearly coincide, holds a position, both in its character and geographically, about midway between the Arabic and the Aramaean. III. The North Semitic or *Aramæan*. This is subdivided into 1) the Eastern Aramaean or *Syriac* (the literary language of the Christian Syrians) of which the religious books of the *Mandæans*² (Nasoræans, Sabians, the so-called disciples of John) are in a degraded dialect. A Jewish modification of the Syriac is exhibited in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. 2) The Western or Palestinian Aramaean (inaccurately called Chaldee). This dialect is represented, in the Old Testament, by two words in Genesis 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and by the passages: Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezra 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26. But principally in Jewish literature such as the Targums, the Palestine Gemara, etc. To the same branch belongs the *Samaritan* with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and also the idiom of the *Nabatæan*,³ inscriptions, in the east of Palestine and the region of Sinai. IV. As a distinct and fourth chief-branch, the East Semitic, we may regard the *Assyrian-Babylonian Cuneiform* (3^d class of socalled Achæmenide) Inscriptions.⁴

¹ On the Himyaritic Inscriptions, see *Rodiger's Excursus* to Wellsted's *Reisen in Arabien* (Halle, 1842) Bd. II, *Ewald* in *Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl.* Bd. V, and in *Häser's Zeitsch.*, Bd. I, *M. A. Levy* and *Osiander* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. X, XIX, XX, XXIV, *Prætorius*, *ibid.* Bd. XXVI.

² See *Noldeke* über d. Mundart d. Mandæer, Göttingen, 1863. 4to. He traces the name, *Sabians*, to the root  to dip; comp. *Am. Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1851, p. 563.

³ Yet the names found in these inscriptions are rather Arabic: see *Tuch* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. III, S. 129 ff., *M. A. Levy* *ibid.*, Bd. XIV, S. 363 ff., *Blau* *ibid.*, Bd. XVI, S. 331 ff., *E. Meier* *ibid.* Bd. XVII, S. 575 ff., *de Voguë* in *Revue archéologique*, nouv. série, IX, 1864, p. 284—288, and his *Syrie centrale*, Paris, 1868, p. 89 ff.

⁴ The deciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform writing has been chiefly advanced by *Ed. Hincks*, *Jul. Oppert* and *Eberh. Schrader* after the example of *Baclinson's* first attempts; see *Oppert's Éléments de la gramm. assyrienne*, 2^e édition, Paris, 1868; *Olshausen's Prufung des Charakters der in den assyrischen Keilschriften enthaltenen semitischen Sprache*, in den *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akademie*, 1864; *Joach.*

If the above division into four branches were reduced to two principal groups, No. I as the South Semitic would stand in contradistinction to the other three branches as the North Semitic.

All these languages are related to each other in much the same manner as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old-Norse, Danish, Swedish; high and low German, in the earlier and later dialects); or as those of the Slavic tongues (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old-Slavic, Servian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as is the case with the Phœnician and the Assyrian, or they exist only in a debased and dwindling form, as the modern Syriac among the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan¹, the Ethiopic (called *Gheez*) in the modern Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Amharic), and as the Hebrew, among a part of the modern Jews, though the latter in their writings often aim at the reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. The Arabic alone, in a form but slightly altered, has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but also penetrated in all directions into the domains of other tongues.

The Semitic class of languages is bordered, on the east and north, by another of still wider extent, which has spread itself from India into the west of Europe, and which is called the *Indo-Germanic* (also called *Aryan*), as it comprehends, under the most varied forms, the Indian (Sanskrit), ancient and modern Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic with the other Germanic languages and the Keltic. With the Old-Egyptian language, the offspring of which is the Coptic, the Semitic has had, from earliest antiquity, much in common; but also much of fundamental difference.² The Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartar and other languages, exhibit a radically different character from the Semitic.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic stock, as compared with that of other languages, particularly the Indo-Germanic, exhibits many peculiarities, which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. Thus we find: *a)* among

Ménant, *Exposé des Elements de la Gramm. Assyr.*, Paris, 1868; Schrader's valuable articles on the Assyrian Inscriptions and Language, in the *Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. XXIII (1869), pp. 337—74, also Bd. XXVI (1872), pp. 1—392.

¹ See Rödiger in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II., S. 77 ff., Stoddard's Gramm. of the Modern Syriac Language, London, 1854, Nöldeke's Gramm. der neusyrischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1868.

² For comparisons of the Egyptian and Semitic, see Gesenius in d. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1839, No. 77 ff., 1841, No. 40, and in his Thes. Ling. Hebræo; Schwarze in his Altes Aegypten and in Bunsen's Aegypten, I, S. 520 ff.; Ewald in Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissen., Bd. IX, 1860, S. 157 ff.; Birch in the new ed. of Bunsen's Egypt., Vol. II; Brugsch's Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterbuch, and others.

the consonants which, in general, form the pith and substance of these languages, many gutturals of different gradations; the vowels proceeding all from the three primary sounds (*a*, *i*, *u*), and serving to mark more subordinate distinctions: *b*) word-stems, generally consisting of three consonants: *c*) in the Verb, only two tense-forms, each having a peculiarly marked out usage; and a pervading regularity in the formation of verbals: *d*) in the Noun, only two genders (masc. and fem.), and a peculiar indication of case: *e*) in the Pronoun, the oblique cases indicated by appended forms (*suffixa*): *f*) scarcely any compounds, either in the Noun (except many proper names) or in the Verb: *g*) in the Syntax, a great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations (small number of particles, prevalence of simple succession of clauses without periodic structure) to which, however, the classic Arabic furnishes a not unimportant exception.

4. In respect to the *Lexicon* also, the Semitic store of words differs essentially from the Indo-Germanic; though there is here apparently more agreement than in grammatical structure. Very many stems and roots¹ are coincident in sound with those of the Indo-Germanic class. But aside from expressions directly borrowed (see next p.), the actual similarity restricts itself, partly to words imitating² natural sounds (*onomatopoetica*), partly to those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither of these establishes any *historical* (gentilic) relationship; to the direct proof of which, the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.³

As examples of *onomatopoetic* stems, imitating² the same natural

¹ See the distinction between *stems* and *roots* in § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—Tr.

² Hence words of this sort are aptly called *mimetic* (or *onomatopoetic*) and the curious student can find them generally indicated and compared in the Hebrew Lexicon, e. g. under בָּבָר, סְנָה, כְּבָבָה.—Tr.

³ The earlier empirical comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues were of no scientific value. The later attempts of *Rud. von Baumer*, *Ascoli* and others to solve the question, are partly not yet carried out and partly self-contradictory; so that there is altogether need of still farther thorough investigations. *Ewald* gives a survey of the whole subject in the

sound, we may class together the following: פָּקַד, לְחַקֵּק, לְאַלְמֹחַ, *lingo*, Sans. *likh*, F. *lècher*, Germ. *lecken*, Eng. *to lick*, and Erse *lighim* = Welsh *lhyvi*¹; בָּנָה, (kindr. בָּנֶל אֲגָלָה), חֶלְלָה, כִּילָּה, כֻּלִּה, *volvo*, Welsh *olwyn* = E. *wheel*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, and Eng. *to well*; בָּרַךְ, בָּרַת, חָרַךְ, חָרַתָּה, Pers. *kharidān*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Germ. *kratzen*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, and Welsh *carthu*, *cravi*; בָּרַק frango, Germ. *brechen*, Eng. *to break*, Armoric *frika* = Welsh *briwo*, &c. An example of another kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the signification *with*, *together*; e. g. in Heb. בָּנָה (hence בָּנָה people, prop. assemblage), בְּזָה together-with, בְּמָה (hence בְּמָה also), Arab. عَمَلَ to collect; Pers. *ham*, *hama* (at once), Sans. *amā* (*with*); Gr. ἀμά (ἀμφι), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (ὅμιλος, ὅμαδος), and harder in sound, κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, Welsh *cym* = Lat. *com*, and with the corresponding sibilant, Sans. *sam*. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *sammeln*: though doubts may still be felt in regard to several of the instances quoted.

Essentially different from such internal relationship, are the adoption and naturalisation of single words from one language into another (borrowed words). Thus,

a) When Indian, Egyptian, Persian objects are called in the Hebrew by their native names: e. g. יַאֲרָה (Egypt, *iar*, *iero*, *iaro*) river, Nile; יַהְרָה (Egypt, *ake*) Nile-grass, פָּרָדָה (old Pers. *pauridāz* = παράδεισος) park; דָּרִיכְמָוָן *daric*, Persian gold-coin, חַמְרִים *chamriyim*, from the Sanscr. *cikhi* Malabar *togai*, peacocks. Several of them are found also in Greek, as קָפִי (Sans. *kapi*) ape, χῆπος, χῆβος; קָרְפָּס (Sans. *karpasa*) cotton, κάρπασος, *carbasus*.

b) When Semitic words, names of Asiatic products and articles of traffic, have passed over to the Greeks along with the things: e. g. γύρη βύσσος, *byssus*; כְּנָהָה λιθανωτός (frankincense); כְּנָהָה κάνη, κάννα, *canna*, cane; כְּמָעָם κύμινον, *cuminum*, *cumin*; מַר μύrrh, *myrrha*, *myrrh*; קָסֵיָה κασσία, *cassia*; לְבָבָן κάμηλος, *camelus*, *camel*; עַבְּדָן ἀρράβων, *arrhabon*, *arrha*, pledge. Such transitions would be facilitated, especially, by the commerce of the Phoenicians.

5. As the writing of a language is never so perfect as to express all its various shades of sound, so the *writing of the*

Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1862, Bd. X, S. 1—80. This at least appears certain, viz. that these two families *do not stand in a sisterly or any close relationship to each other*.

1 That the *Keltic* dialects (not unlike the Semitic in their relation to each other), namely Welsh, Cornish, Armoric (or Breton); *Gælic*, Erse; and Manks, belong to the Indo-Germanic family has been abundantly proved by Dr. Pritchard in his Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, and by Pictet in his *Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; see also the Grammatica Celtica of *Zeuss* and *Lhuyd's Archaeologia Britannica*.—Tr.

Shemites has decidedly one very remarkable imperfection; viz. that only the consonants (which indeed constitute the pith and substance of the language) were marked down in the line as real letters; whilst, of the vowel-sounds, only the fuller ones, and even these not always, were represented by certain consonants (§ 7). Not till a later period were all the vowel-sounds indicated to the eye, by attaching to the consonants (§ 8) particular small signs (points, or strokes, below and above them); which however, for more practised readers, are wholly omitted. The letters are always written, moreover, from right to left¹.—Dissimilar as the different Semitic characters may appear, they yet all proceed, by various tendencies and modifications, from one and the same original alphabet, of which the truest type among all the existing varieties of alphabetic writing, is preserved in *old Phœnician*, with which the *Early Hebrew* was nearly identical (§ 5, 1), and from which came also the old Greek, and through it all the European alphabets.

See the Table at the beginning of this Grammar, showing the relation of some of the older Semitic Alphabets to each other, and specially the origin of the present Heb. characters from the older forms. For a more detailed view of the Phœnician alphabet, and of those which have proceeded from it, see *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnica* (Lipsiae, 1837, 4) p. 15. ff. and Tab. 1—5, and his article *Palæographie*, in *Ersch* and *Gruber's Encyclop.*, Sect. III, Bd. 9. Of late years, the discovery of numerous monuments has considerably extended and rectified our knowledge of the Semitic alphabet; see *Schröder's Phœnizische Sprache*, 1869, S. 75 ff.; *de Vogüé's tables* in Vol. XI of the *Revue Archéol.* (Paris 1865) and his *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1868); *Lenormant*, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phœnicien dans l'ancien Monde*. Tome I (2d ed. Paris 1875) and the appendix to *Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's Grundriss der hebr. Sprache* (Leipz. 1877).

c

¹ The Himyaritic writing runs usually from left to right, but at times also from right to left, and even both ways by turns. The Ethiopic is now written from left to right. But this is perhaps in consequence of Greek influence; but a few ancient inscriptions still exhibit the contrary direction. See *Rodiger* in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, Bd. I, S. 332 ff. and his *Excursus to Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien*, II, 376 ff. Also the Assyrian cuneiform writing runs from left to right, but this was borrowed from a people not Semitic.

6. In regard to the relative *age of the Semitic languages*, the oldest written works are found in the *Hebrew*, in the earlier texts of the Old Testament (§ 2); the Jewish *Aramæan* works begin about the time of Cyrus (in the book of Ezra); those of the *Arabic* branch not earlier than in the first centuries of the Christian era (Himyaritic inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth century, North-Arabic literature after the sixth). But it is still another question, which of these languages longest and most truly held to the original Semitic type, and therefore has come to us, in an earlier phase of its developement. For the more or less rapid modification of language, in the mouth of a people or of tribes of the same people, is determined by causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature; and often, before the formation of a literature, has the organism of a language been already impaired, especially by early contact with other tongues. Thus, in the Semitic branch, the Aramæan dialects suffered the earliest and greatest decay, and next to them the Hebrew-Canaanic and, in its own way, the Assyrian. The Arabic retained longest the natural fulness and primitive purity of its sounds and forms; remaining among the secluded tribes of the wilderness more undisturbed, in its fully stamped organism, until, in the Mohammedan revolution, it too became much impaired; and then, at so much later a period, it reached about the same stage as that in which we find the Hebrew, even as early as in the times of the Old Testament.¹

Hence the phenomenon, accounted by some so strange, that the ancient Hebrew accords more, in its grammatical structure, with the later than with the earlier Arabic; and that the latter, though first appearing as a written language at a later period, has yet, in comparison with the other Semitic tongues, preserved a structure in many respects more perfect, and greater freshness in its vowel-system; and so it holds among them a relation similar to that of the Sanskrit among the Indo-Germanic languages, or of the Gothic in the narrower circle of

¹ Among the Bedawin of the Arabian desert, the language has still preserved many antique forms. See *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, Append. VII; his Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, p. 211; *Wallin* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. V (1851), S. 1 ff., VI, S. 190 ff., 369 ff., XII, S. 673; *Wetzstein* in the same *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXII, S. 69 ff., 162 ff.

INTRODUCTION.

the Germanic. How a language can preserve its fuller structure, amidst decaying sister tongues, is seen (e. g.) in the Lithuanian compared with the Slavic languages, properly so called. So the Doric held tenaciously to earlier sounds and forms; so the Friesic and Icelandic, among the Germanic and Norse languages. But even the most constant and enduring structure of language often suffers, in single forms and plastic tendencies, while on the contrary, in the midst of universal decline, the original and ancient is here and there still remaining. Such is the case also with the Semitic tongues. The Arabic, too, has its chasms, and its later growth; but in general, the preeminence is due to it, especially in its vowel-system.

To establish more fully these principles, and to carry them out farther, belong to a Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. But it follows from what has been said: 1) That the Hebrew language, as it appears in the ancient sacred literature of the Jews, has already suffered more considerable loss, in respect to its organic nature, than the Arabic which comes later within our historical horizon. 2) That notwithstanding this, we cannot straightway award to the latter the priority in all points. 3) That it is a mistaken view, when many regard the Aramaean, on account of its simplicity, as the original form of Semitic speech; for its simplicity was caused by the decay of its organic nature and the crumpling of its forms.

On the character, literature, grammatical and lexical treatment of the Semitic languages, see *Gesenius's* Preface to his *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. 4; *de Wette-Schrader*, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die kanon. u. apokryph. Bücher des A. T.* (8th ed. Berlin, 1869) p. 71; *F. Bleek*, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (3d ed. *Kamphausen* Berlin, 1870) p. 37; *L. Diestel*, *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche* (Jena, 1869).—Also *American Biblical Repository*, vol. III.

§ 2.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

See *Gesenius*, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, §§ 5—18. *E. Renan*, *Histoire gén. des Langues Sémitiques*, Vol. I. 4th ed. Paris, 1864. *Th. Nöldeke*, art. "Sprache, hebräische" in *Schenkel's Bibellex.* Bd. V. Leipzig, 1875. *Bertheau* "Hebräische Sprache" in *Herzog's Realencyklopädie*.

1. The *Hebrew Language*, as the name is usually employed, denotes the language of the Sacred Writings of the Israelites, which constitute the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is called *ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the modern Hebrew in Jewish works, written since the Biblical period.

The name, Hebrew language (*לְשׁוֹן כְּבָרִיהַ*, *גָּלוּסָה תַּוְן'* *אֶבְרָאִיָּה*, *אֶבְרָאִיסְטִּי*), does not occur in the Old Testament; instead of it we find *the language of Canaan* in Is. 19, 18 (from the country where it was spoken) and *Jewish* in 2 K. 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11, 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the latter passage it follows the later usage, which arose after the return from the captivity, and in which the name *Jew*, *Jewish*, was gradually extended to the whole nation (as in Haggai, Nehemiah and Esther).

The names *Hebrews* (*כְּבָרִירִים*, *אֶבְרָאִים*, *Hebrei*) and *Israelites* (*כְּנָצְרָאִים*, *אֶבְרָאִים*), are thus distinguished, the latter had more the import of a national name of honour, which the people used to apply to themselves, with a patriotic reference to their descent from illustrious ancestors; while the former was probably the older and less significant national name, by which they were known among foreigners, for which reason it is used in the Old Testament, specially when they are to be distinguished from other nations (Gen. 40, 15; 43, 32; Ex. 2, 7; 8, 18; Jon. 1, 9), and where persons who are not Israelites are introduced as speaking (Gen. 39, 14, 17; 41, 12: compare *Gesenius's Hebr. Lexicon* under *כְּבָרִי*). On the other hand, among the Greeks and Romans, e. g. in Pausanias, Tacitus, and even Josephus, it is the only customary name. As an appellative it might mean, *those beyond, people of the country on the other side* (with reference to the land beyond the Euphrates), from *כְּבָרִי* *land on the other side*, and the formative syllable *-e-* (§ 86, 2, 5). It might then be appropriated to the colony, which under Abraham migrated from regions east of the Euphrates into the land of Canaan (Gen. 14, 13); though the Hebrew genealogists explain it, as a patronymic, by *sons (posteriority) of Eber* (Gen. 10, 21, Num. 24, 24).

In the time of the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* (*אֶבְרָאִיסְטִּי*, John 5, 2, 19, 13, 17, 20; *אֶבְרָאִים בָּדוּאֵסְטוֹס*, Acts 21, 40, 22, 2, 26, 14) was applied also to the language (Aramaean) then vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek; and Josephus (who died about A. D. 95) uses it in this sense, as well as for the ancient Hebrew.

The name *lingua sancta* is first given to the Hebrew in the Jewish Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as the language of the sacred books, in distinction from the *lingua profana*, or the Aramaic vernacular.

2. Out of the Old Testament there are only very few monuments of ancient Hebrew writing, namely—1) an Inscription of 34 lines, which was found (unhappily much injured) in the former territory of the tribe of Reuben, about 4 leagues to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibō'n (now Dibā'n), anciently inhabited by the Gadites but afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king

Mêshâd' (at the beginning of the 9th century B.C.) tells about his battles with Israel (comp. 2 K. 3, 4—27), and his various enterprises and achievements;¹—2) twenty Stones or Gems (written on for seals), but mostly presenting only names;²—3) Coins of the Maccabean prince J. Hyrcan (135 B. C.) and of his successors.³

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as they lie before us in the O. Testament, as also in the extra-Biblical monuments (see No. 2 above), the language appears to stand almost on the same stage of development, as to its general character, and irrespective of lesser changes and differences of style (see Nos. 6 and 7 below). In this form it may have been early fixed as a literary language; and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favourable to its remarkably persistent uniformity.

To this Old Hebrew language the Canaanitic⁴ or Phœnician came

¹ This unique Memorial Stone (often called the Moabite Stone) was first seen on the spot by the German Missionary *H. A. Klein*, but was afterwards so broken into fragments by the Arabs, living thereabout, that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made out: see *Ch. Clermont-Ganneau* (Chancellor of the French Consulate in Jerusalem), *La Stèle de Mesa roi de Moab* (Paris, 1870), and his *La Stèle de Dhiban* (in the *Revue Archéol.* for March, 1870, p. 184 ff., with an improved copy); *Schlottmann's Sieges-Säule Mesa's* (Halle, 1870) and his Revision in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesell.*, Bd. XXIV (1870), S. 253 ff., 438 ff., 645 ff., Bd. XXV, 463 ff., *Nöldeke's Inschrift des Königs Mesa* (Kiel, 1870), and other treatises by *Derenbourg, Harkavy, Geiger, Hitzig, W. Wright* (in the *North British Review* for Oct. 1870), *Deutsch, Renan, Neubauer, Frankel, Kaenypf, and Ginsburg*; see also Reports of the Palestine Exploration-Fund, London. This society has published photographs of the stone. The two largest fragments of it are deposited in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

² See *Rodiger* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd. III (1849), pp. 243 and 347; *De Vogüé*, *Mélanges d'Archéol. Orientale* (Paris, 1868, p. 131—140); *M. A. Levy's Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau (1869), pp. 33 ff.

³ See *Franz Perez Bayer*, *De Numis Hob-Samaritanis* (1781, 4to) and his *Vindiciae*, 1790, 4to; *De Saulcy*, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque* (Paris, 1854, 4to); *M. A. Levy's Geschichte der Jid. Munzen* (Breslau, 1862); *Madden's History of Jewish Coinage*, Lond. 1864; also *Schröer's Lehrb. der neutest. Zeitgesch.* (Leipz. 1874).

⁴ פְּנַיִם, פְּנַיִם is the native name alike both for the Canaanitic tribes in Palestine, and for those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon and on the Syrian

the nearest of all the Semitic tongues, as appears partly from the many Canaanitic names of persons and places with Hebrew form and meaning (e. g. קָרְיוֹת פֶּרֶס, קָרְיוֹת אַזְדוֹק, etc.), that occur in the Old Testament, and partly from the extant remains of the Phœnician and Punic language. The latter we find in their own writing (see § 1, 5) in inscriptions (over 350 in all), and on coins (copied by *Gesenius* in his *Monumenta Phœniciae, Judas, Bourgade, Davis, De Vogüé, P. Schröder, von Mallzan*, and others). Among the inscriptions are only a few public documents (e. g. two sacrificial lists), by far the most being grave-stones or votive-tablets; also the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmūnazar, king of Sidon, (found 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately copied in facsimile by the Duke *de Luynes* in his *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris 1856, and then fully elucidated by *Schloemann*, Halle, 1868 and by *Kämpf*, Prague, 1874). We find also isolated words here and there in Greek and Latin authors and the Punic pieces of text in *Plautus* (*Poenulus* 5, 1-3). From those monuments we see the native orthography, and from these specimens the pronunciation and vowel-system, both together giving a distinct idea of this language and of its relation to the Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words, found in inscriptions, are e. g. אל god, זְבָח man, בֵּן son, בָּתִּה daughter, מלך king, עֲבָד servant, כהן priest, קָרְבָּן sacrifice, בָּלְד lord, שָׁמֶש sun, אָרֶץ land, יָם sea, אַבָּן stone, כְּסֵף silver, בָּרוּל iron, עַת time, קָבָר grave, מָקָם pillar, מָקָם place, מָשָׁבֵב bed, בָּל all, אָחָד one, שָׁלֵש three, חֲמֵש five, שָׁבֵע seven, עָשָׂר ten, שָׁמַע to hear, פָּרָח to open, נְדָר to vow, בָּרָךְ to bless, בָּקָשׁ to seek, &c. Proper names: צָר Sidon, צָר Tyre, חָנוֹן Hanno, חַנְבָּל Hannibal, &c Comp. *M. A. Levy's Phon. Wörterbuch*, Brieslau, 1864.

The variations in the Phœnician orthography and forms are, e. g. the almost constant omission of the vowel-letters (§ 7, 2), as בָּתִּה for בָּתִּה house, בָּקָר for בָּקָר voice, צָרָן for צָרָן priests, אֲלֹנִים (alonim in Plautus) gods; the feminine ending in הָ (ath) as well as in הָ (ô), even in the absolute state (§ 80, 2), besides many others. Those in pronunciation are still more remarkable, especially in the Punic, which commonly pronounced וָ as ô, e. g. שָׁפָע sôfâ' (judge), שָׁלָע salâ' (three), שָׁרָעָשׁ = שָׁנָא (head); for i and e, it often has the obscure, dull sound y, e. g. יְנֻנָּנָה ynnynnu (ecce eum), אָרָא (רָא) yth; and takes the ô as o, e. g. מָעָרָק Mocar (comp. פָּנָק, LXX Μωχά). For the collection of these grammatical peculiarities, see *Gesenius*, Monum. Phœn. p. 430 sqq.; also *Movers* in Art. Phœnizien in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. Sect. III. Bd. 24, pp. 434 ff., *Paul Schröder* in his Phœnizische Sprache, Halle, 1869, and *B. Stade*, Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phœnic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades (in the "Morgenländ. Forschungen" Leipzig, 1875).

coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves בְּנֵי־צָר on their own coins. Also the people of Carthage called themselves so.

4. As the Heb. writing on stones and coins, mentioned in No. 2 above, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books have used merely the consonants (§ 1, 5); and even now the written Rolls, or copies of the Law, used in the Synagogues, must not, according to ancient custom, contain any thing more. The present pronunciation of this consonant-text, its vocalisation, accentuation and chant-like way of being read, rest only on tradition, as kept up by custom and in the Jewish schools, and finally as Jewish scholars settled it by means of the system of vowel-points (§§ 7—17), about the 7th century after Christ.

Yet an earlier stage of developement of the Hebrew-Canaanitic language, or a form of it which must have existed before the time of the written documents in our possession, and have stood nearer to the common and not yet divided speech of the Semitic race, can even now be recognised and established, thus:—1) from many archaic forms, which the writings handed down still preserve, specially in the names of persons and places, inherited from more ancient times, and in particular archaisms especially used in poetic diction;—2) by retrospective inference, in general, from the forms of the words so handed down, in so far as they obviously, in the law and analogy of the sound changes, point back to such an older form of the language;—3) by comparison of the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, in which this older condition of the language has been maintained to a considerable degree, even down to later times (§ 1, 6). The certainty of such deductions rest on the frequent coincidence of the results won in these different ways, whence we then get an approximate idea of the language, as it may have appeared at that preliminary stage of its developement. But at the same time we may thereby see more clearly, how the Old Test. Hebrew got its system of sounds and grammatical forms.

Although the connected historical tracing and explaining of the process of the language as here indicated, properly belongs to the comparative philology of the Semitic tongues, still it is very needful, for the scientific handling of the Hebrew, to go back to those primitive forms, as we may call them, and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic; and even elementary grammar cannot quite do without

this laying of a scientific foundation, although it has properly to deal with the language as it exists in the Old Testament, and only here and there uses those obsolete forms in elucidation of the actual ones.

5. But even in the language of the Old Testament, which is on the whole so very uniform, we can distinguish a certain progress in style, marking *two periods*: the first, down to the end of the Babylonish exile, which may be called its *golden age*; and the second, or *silver age*, after the exile.

To the first belongs (excepting isolated traces of a later revision), the greater part of the books of the Old Testament: viz. of the prosaic and historical, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (written near the close of the exile); of the poetical, the Psalms (a number of later ones excepted), Proverbs, Canticles, Job, and the earlier prophets, in chronological order, as follows: Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah(?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the last two being still active in the time of the exile, to the close of which also the contents of some portions, especially chapters 40 to 66 of the book of Isaiah point.

The commencement of this period, and of the literature of the Hebrews in general, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses; even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present setting and form, as the work of a later recension. It suffices for the history of the language and for our object to remark, that the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms. The pronoun נָתַתְהֵ (but v. p. 100, N.²), and the noun נָתַתְהֵ *lad*, are there used also, as of common gender, for *she* and for *maiden* (as δῆταις and ἡ παῖταις); and certain harder forms of words, e. g. פִּזְעֵל to *cry*, פִּזְעֵל to *laugh*, which are here the usual ones, are in other books exchanged for the softer, as פִּזְעֵל, פִּזְעֵל.

On the other hand, there are found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as also in the later Psalms, decided approximations to the Aramaean colouring of the second or silver age (see No. 7 on page 15).

6. Even in the writings of this first period of about 1000 years, we find, as may be expected, no inconsiderable differences in the diction and style, which have their ground partly in the difference of time and place of their composition, and partly in the individuality of the authors. Isaiah, for example, writes quite otherwise than the later Jeremiah, and also than Micah, his own contemporary. And among the

historical books of this period, not only do those differ which are separated in date, as the books of Judges and Kings, but also the texts, which in many of them have been taken from older written sources, have a colouring of speech obviously different from the words flowing from later sources, or belonging to the reviser himself. Yet the structure of the language and, with individual exceptions, even the store of words and the usage of speech, specially in the prose books, are on the whole the same.

But the *poetic diction* is everywhere distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* that moves in more strictly measured *parallel members*, but also by *words* and *significations of words, inflections and syntactical constructions*, peculiar to itself; although this distinction does not go so far, as in the Greek, for example. But most of these poetic idioms are in the kindred languages, particularly the Aramaean, just the common forms of speech, and may be regarded in part as archaisms, which poetry retained, in part as acquisitions with which poets, familiar with Aramaean, enriched their native Hebrew.¹ The prophets, moreover, at least the earlier ones, in language and rhythm are to be ranked almost as poets, except that with these poetical speakers, the sentences often run on to greater length, and the *parallelism* is less measured and regular, than is the case with the poets, properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, keeps nearer to prose.

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see the Introductions to the Old Testament and to the Commentaries on the Psalms by *De Wette*, *Hupfeld*, *Delitzsch* and others, specially *Ewald* in his *Dichter des alten Bundes*, Th. I. (2d ed., Göttingen, 1866); in brief form, *Gezenius*, Hebr. Lesebuch, Vorerinnerungen zur 2ten Abtheilung; and *E. Meier*, die Form der Hebr. Poesie (Tübingen, 1853), and others.

Of *poetic words*, occurring along with those commonly used in prose, the following are examples: man=אָנָשׁ; path=רְדֵךְ; אַרְכָּה to come=מֵצָה; word=רְבָרֶת; to see=רְאָה.

¹ That in Isaiah's time (2d half of the 8th century before Christ) the more educated Hebrews, at least the officers of state (but not the people in Jerusalem) understood Aramaean is clear from 2 Kings 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11).

To the poetic significations of words belongs the use of certain epithets for substantives: e. g. אָבִיר strong (one), for God; אָבֵר strong (one), for bullock, horse; לְבָנָה alba, for luna; יְחִידָה unica or solitaria, for anima, vita.

Of poetic forms, we may note (e. g.) the longer form of local prepositions (§ 103, 3), as **אֶלְלָה** = **אֶלְלָה** = **אֶלְלָה**; the endings **וּ**, **וְ**, **וִי** in the noun (§ 90); the suffixes **מִן**, **מֵי** — for **מִן**, **מֵי** — (§ 58); the plural-ending **וּם** — for **וּם** — (§ 87, 1, a).

To the *poetic* peculiarities in *syntax* belong (e. g.) the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, and of the accusative-particle **τις**; the construct state before a preposition (§ 116); the shortened form of the imperfect, in the signification of the usual form (§ 128, 2. Rem.); and in general, a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* or *silver* age, from the return from the exile to the time of the Maccabees (about 160 B. C.), is marked chiefly by an approximation in the language to the kindred Western Aramaean; to which the Jews might the more easily accustom themselves already during their abode in Babylonia, since it stands so near to the Hebrew; and which after their return from the exile, came more and more into use also in Palestine, so that it had an ever increasing influence on the Hebrew, as a book language, and now also even on its prose; and thus it gradually banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, though the knowledge and written use of the latter still continued among learned Jews.

We may fitly conceive of the relation of the two languages, at this later period, as similar to that of the High and Low German in Lower Saxony, or that of the High German and the popular dialects in the south of Germany and in Switzerland; so far as here also, even among the more educated, an influence is often exerted by the popular dialect on the oral and written expression of the High German. It is a false view, taken from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews had immediately after the exile wholly forgotten the ancient tongue, and had to learn it from priests and experts.

The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, and all exhibiting the Chaldee colouring, though in various shades, are the following books:—Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetical books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel; of the poetical books, Ecclesiastes, and the later Psalms. In their character also as literary compositions, they stand far below the writings of the earlier

days; yet there are not wanting productions of this time, which, in purity of language and æsthetic value, are but little inferior to those of the golden age. Such (e. g.) are many of the later Psalms (120 and foll., 137, 139).

Examples of *later words (Aramaisms)*, for which the earlier writers employ others, are **לְזִמְרָה**=**רַשְׁתָּה** *time*, **לְקַבֵּחַ**=**חַקְבֵּחַ** *to take*, **מְרֻטָּה**=**גַּזְבָּה** *end*, **מְלָטָה**=**דְּלָתָה** *to rule*, **מְקַרְבָּה**=**גַּזְעָה** *to be strong*.—Of later *significations*, **מְבֹרָךְ** (to say) *to command*, **מְבֹרָךְ** (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—Grammatical peculiarities are—the frequency of the *scriptio plena* i and u, e. g. **דִּירָה** (elsewhere **וְרָה**), even **וּרְכָב** for **רוּכָב**, for **רוּבָב**, the interchange of **מִן** and **מִן** final, the more frequent use of substantives in **וְ**, **וְ**, **וְ**, etc.

But the peculiarities of these later writers are not all Aramaisms. Some are not found in the Aramaic, and must have belonged in earlier times to the vernacular Hebrew, especially, as it seems, in northern Palestine, where Judges and Canticles, among other books, may have been written, and hence the occurrence, in these earlier writings, of the form which was common in the Phœnician, and which recurs in some later books, namely **וְ** instead of **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36).

Rem. 1. Of diversities of dialect, in the old Hebrew language, only one explicit example is found in the Old Testament; namely, in Judges 12, 6, where the Ephraimites are said to have pronounced **וְ** as **וָ** or **וָ**. In Neh. 13, 23, 24, perhaps a distinctively Philistine dialect is spoken of. To these, however, are to be counted also sundry peculiarities in the North-Palestine books including Hosea (see preceding paragraph), and likewise some exceptional forms in the Moabite Inscription of Mêsha' (see § 2, 2).

2. The remains of Hebrew literature, now extant, cannot be expected to contain the entire stores of the ancient language; and we must regard its compass and affluence as far greater, than what we now find in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is really but a small fragment of the entire national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3.

GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE. .

(cf. *Gesenius*, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, §§ 19—39.)

1. At the time of the gradual extinction of the old Hebrew language, and when the collection of the Old Testament writings was closed, the Jews began to apply themselves to the *interpretation* and *criticism* of this their sacred codex, and to

translate it into the popular languages then prevalent among them. The oldest *translation* is the *Greek* of the so-called *seventy interpreters* or *Septuagint* (lxx), commenced at Alexandria in Egypt with the *translation* of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed in later years by various authors. It was in part made from knowledge of the original Hebrew as a living tongue, for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, particularly those at Alexandria. Somewhat later, the *Chaldee* translations or *Targû'ms* (תַּרְגُומִין i.e. *translations*) were composed in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from professed tradition, almost exclusively refer to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than the remarks on various readings. They are contained in the *Tâlmû'd*; the first portion of which (the *Mishnâ'*) was composed about the beginning of the third, and the second (the *Gemârâ'*) was in part (namely the *Jerusalem Gem.*) written about the middle of the fourth, and in part (namely the *Babylon Gem.*) in the middle of the sixth century after Christ. The Mishna is the beginning of the new Hebrew literature; in the Gemara, on the contrary, the Aramaic language is predominant.

2. In the interval between the composition of the *Talmûd* and the earliest grammarians, fall mainly the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the till then unpointed text of the Old Testament, after the pronunciation handed down in the synagogues and schools (§ 7, 3); also the collection of critical remarks, under the name of *Massôra'* (מסורת tradition), from which the manuscript copies of the present *Textus Receptus* of the Old Testament, hence called the *Massoretic Text*, have ever since been uniformly derived.

One of the oldest and most important portions of the *Massôrâ'* are the various readings of the *Qêri* (§ 17). The punctuation of the text, moreover, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the *Massôra'*. The punctuation was settled at an earlier date, and is the fruit of a much more thorough labour than the *Massôrâ'*, which was finished at a considerably later date.

3. It was only about the commencement of the 10th century, that the first beginnings were made by the Jews in

compiling their grammar, after the example of the Arabs: The earliest attempts, by Rabbi Saadia († 942) and others, are mostly lost, only Saadia's Arabic explanation of O. T. *hapax legomena* having been preserved; but those of R. *Yehuda Chayyúg* (called also *Abù-Zakaria Yachya*) about the year 1000, and of R. *Yona* (*Abù-l-Walid Marwán ibn Gandch*) about 1030, composed in the Arabic language, are still extant. Assisted by these pioneer labours, *Abraham ben Ezra* (died 1167) and R. *D. Kimchi* († ab. 1232), especially won for themselves a classic reputation as grammarians.

From these first grammarians proceed many methods of arrangement and technical terms, which are still in part retained; e. g. the designation of the derivative and the weak verbs after the paradigm בְּנָה (§ 39, 4), the *voces memoriales*, as בְּנָכְנָה, and the like.¹

The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was *John Reuchlin* († 1522), to whom Greek literature also owes so much. But he, as also the grammarians of the next succeeding period down to *John Buxtorf* († 1629), still adhered almost exclusively to Jewish tradition. It was only after the middle of the 17th century, that the field of view gradually widened; and that the study of the sister tongues, chiefly through the labours of *Albert Schultens* († 1750) and *N. W. Schröder* († 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

The value of the subsequent labours,² that have any en-

¹ On the oldest Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians, see *Gesenius's* Preface, &c (as above, p. 8), *H. Ewald* and *L. Dukes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.; *Hupfeld*, de rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initis antiquissimisque scriptoribus; and *Munk*, notice sur Abou'l-Walid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du X^e et du XI^e siècle in Journal asiatique, 1850; *Neubauer*, Notice sur la Lexicographie hébreu, in Journal asiatique, 1861—63; *Bottcher*, Ausführl. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache, Introd. to Vol. I (ed. *Mühlau*, Leipzig 1866).

² The complete literature of this subject, down to 1850, is found in *M. Stein-schneider's* Bibliograph. Handbuch für Heb. Sprachkunde, Leipzig, 1859.—Fuller and newer works on Heb. Grammar are *W. Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache (Leipzig, 1817), *Isaac Nordheimer's* Critical Gram. of the Heb. Language, 2 vols. N. York, 1841, 8, *H. Ewald's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache (8th ed. Göttingen, 1870), *Justus Olshausen's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache

during scientific merit, must be estimated by comparison with what is required in elaborating the grammar of an ancient language, viz.—1) that all the phenomena of the language shall be fully and accurately *observed*, and *exhibited* in their organic connection (the empirical and historico-critical element);—2) that these facts shall be *explained*, partly by comparison with one another and with the analogy of the sister tongues, and partly from the general philosophy of language (the philosophical, scientific element).

§ 4.

DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GRAMMAR.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar depend on the three parts that constitute every language, viz.—1) articulate *sounds* denoted by *written signs*, and their connection in *syllables*, 2) *words*, and 3) *sentences*.

Accordingly, the first part (*doctrine of elements*) includes the doctrine of the *sounds*, and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of speech, the manner of pronouncing written signs (*orthoëpy*), and the established mode of writing (*orthography*). It then treats of the sounds as combined into syllables and words, and of the laws and conditions of this combination.

The second part (*doctrine of forms*) treats of words in their character as *parts of speech*, and contains:—1) the doctrine of the *formation of words*, or of the rise of the different parts of speech from the roots or even from one another;—2) the doctrine of *inflection*, i. e. of the varied forms which words assume, according to their relation to one another and to the sentence.

(Braunschweig, 1861), from which may be dated the new era of Hebrew philology in which the attempt has been made to trace back existing forms to the supposed original Semitic, which have been preserved essentially in the old Arabic, *F. Bottcher's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Ferdinand Muhlau* (Leipzig, 1866—68, in 2 vols. 8vo).

The third part (*syntax*, or doctrine of the construction of words) teaches:—1) partly how the various inflections, existing in the language, are used for expressing variously modified thoughts, and how other thoughts for which no forms have been coined in the language are expressed by circumlocution;—2) partly the laws, by which the parts of speech are combined into sentences (*doctrine of the sentence*, or *syntax* in the stricter sense).

P A R T F I R S T.
O F T H E E L E M E N T S.

CHAPTER I.
OF READING AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 5.

OF THE CONSONANTS: THEIR FORMS AND NAMES.

(See the Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now employed (commonly called the *square* or *Assyrian character*), in which the manuscripts of the O. Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, are not those originally used. *Old Hebrew writing*, as it was used in public monuments as early as the 9th century B. C., is to be seen in the inscriptions (very like in style) on the Stone of Mêsha' and on the Maccabean Coins of the 2d cent. B. C., as also on the ancient Gems (see § 2, 2); and with this Old Hebrew the Phenician writing is nearly identical (see the Table of Ancient Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history of other alphabets, we may assume that out of, and along with, the above writing on stones, another and somewhat quicker style was early formed for writing on softer materials (on skin or parchment, on bark or papyrus, etc.), which style the Samaritans retained in their MSS of the Pentateuch, when they separated from the Jews, while the latter soon after (from the 6th to the 4th century B. C.) exchanged the same for an Aramaean style, out of which came the so-called *Square Character* (from

the 4th to the end of the 3d century B. C.), which has great resemblance to the still extant Aramæan, the Aram.-Egyptian,¹ the Nabatæan,² and especially the Palmyrene.³ One of the Heb. inscriptions in the earlier square character belongs to the year 176 B. C.⁴

2. The Alphabet of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Shemites, consists only of consonants, 22 in number, some of which have also the power of vowels (§ 7, 2). Their forms, names, sounds and numerical values (Rem. 3 below) are shown in the Table on next page.

3. The five characters which have a different form at the end of a word (*final letters*),⁵ נ, מ, נ, ס, ת, terminate (with the exception of ס) in a straight stroke directed downwards, whilst the common form has a horizontal connecting line, directed towards the following letter.

¹ Specially one Inscription (the Stone of Carpentras, so called because kept in that city of ~~Provence~~) and some Papyrus-Fragments, see *Ed. F. Ferd. Beer's Inscriptiones et Papyri in Ægypto reperti*, Lips 1833, 4to; *Gesenius, Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 226 seq. See our Ancient Alphabet Table.

² See p. 2, Note 3.

³ See *M. A. Levy* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd XVIII, S. 65 ff.; *De Vogué*, *Syrie Centrale*, Paris (1868), fol. p. 1—88 and Tab. 1—12.

⁴ *De Vogué*, in *Revue Archéol.* IX (1864), p. 205 and Tab. VII, No. 2, comp. *Noldeke* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.* Bd. XIX, S. 640, and *Merx's Archiv* I, S. 361, also *Chewolson's* *Heb Grabschriften aus der Krim*, Petersburg, 1885. Comp. Table of Anc. Alphabets.

⁵ These letters are formed into one word and pronounced as צְנַחֲנָה. Such *voces memoriales* were invented by the Jewish grammarians to help the remembering of certain letters. So too צְלִילָה (p. 24), and other mnemonic words in § 6, 3 and 4. [Comp. also אַזְרֵי (§ 7, 2, Note 3) for vowel letters and the memorial words אַרְיָן מָשָׁה וּבְלָבָן to designate *serviles* among consonants, of which אַרְיָן are prefixed to the *Impf.* of verbs; דְּאַפְּתֵחָיו to represent letters used in the formation of nouns from roots; and the *vox memor.* אַמְתָּה for the poetical books composed of the first consonants of מִתְחָדִים (Psalms), שְׁמָדָה (Proverbs) and יְמִינָה (Job).—*Ed.*]

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

Form	Pronunciation.	Hebrew name.	Sounded as ¹	Signification of the name.	Numerical value.
Final א		אֵלָף	Ā'-lēph	Ox	1
ב	b, bh	בִּתְה	Bēth	House	2
ג	g, gh	גִּמְלָל	Gī'-mēl	Camel	3
ד	d, dh	דְּלָתָה	Dā'-lēth	Door	4
ה	h	הָא	Hē	Vent-hole, window	5
וּ	w ²	וּ	Wāw	Hook	6
זּ	z	זִין	Ză'-yīn	Weapon	7
חַ	ch	חִיתָה	Chēth	Fence or barrier	8
טּ	t ³	טִיתָה	Tēth	Snake (winding)	9
יּ	y	יְרֹךְ	Yōdh	Hand	10
כּ	k, kh	כֶּפֶת	Kāph	Bent-hand	20
לּ	l	לְמַדּ	Lă'mēdh	Ox-goad	30
מּ	m	מַםְפּ	Mem	Water	40
נּ	n	נִנְיָן	Nūn	Fish	50
סּ	s	סְמֻךְ	Să'-mekh	Prop	60
עּ		עִין	Ā'-yīn	Eye	70
פּ	p, ph	פָּאָה	Pē	Mouth	80
שּׁ	s ³	שְׁדֵרְיָה	Să-dhe'	Fish-hook	90
קּ	q ³	קְוֹפֵה	Qōph	Back of the head	100
רּ	r	רִישָׁה	Rēsh	Head	200
שּׂ	s	שְׁנִין	Sin	Tooth	300
שּׁ	sh	שְׁנִין	Shin		
תּ	t, th	תְּוֹרָה	Tāw	Sign or cross	400

4. Hebrew is written and read from right to left. The division of a word at the end of a line is not allowed; and

¹ For the sounds of the consonants and vowels in this table, see § 6 and Notes on § 8. NB. In our common way of reading Hebrew the letters שׁ and שׂ have no sound; and the y for י is always *hard* as in *give*; the ch, always guttural as in Welsh and German, or the Greek χ.—Tr.

² As in Arabic, or as the English w, not as the German.

³ The latin q serves well for the Semitic פ (Greek κόππα), as it holds its very place in the Alphabet.

to fill out a line, certain letters (*dilatabiles*) are at times dilated in MS and in print. These are in our printed books the five following:

ם, ת, ל, נ, אַחֲלָתָם (אַחֲלָתָם).

Rem. 1. The *forms* of the letters were originally hasty and rude representations of visible objects, the names of which began with the letter, which they were meant to indicate, e. g. *Yôdh*, in the older alphabets a rude figure of a hand, denotes properly a *hand*=יְיָ yâdh, but as a letter only the initial יֵיָ (y) 'Ayin (prop. eye), יְיָ, stands only for י, the initial letter. In the Phoenician alphabet specially, the similarity of the *figures* to the objects signified by the *names* may still be seen for the most part, and even in the square character it appears yet in some letters, as in י, ט, ב, בּ, בּ, ג, ו, ש.

NB. The *forms* of the letters in each of these seven groups, בּ בּ בּ, גּ גּ גּ, דּ דּ דּ, כּ כּ כּ, מּ מּ מּ, נּ נּ נּ, סּ סּ סּ, עּ עּ עּ, must be carefully noted to avoid confusion.—Tr.

The most probable signification of the *names* of the letters is given in the Alphabet Table, p. 23.

However certain it is, on the one hand, that the Shemites were the first to adopt this alphabet, yet it is highly probable, on the other, that the Egyptian writing (the so-called phonetic hieroglyphics and their modified or hieratic style) suggested the principle, though not so much the forms, for these hieroglyphic characters, for the most part, indicate the initial sound in the name of the pictured object, e. g. the hand, *tot*, indicates the letter *t*, the hon, *laboz*, the letter *l*¹.

2. The *order* of the letters in the Alphabet (on which we have an ancient testimony in the alphabetical poetic compositions in Ps. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145, Lam. 1—4, Prov. 31, 10—31), certainly depended originally on a physiological consideration of the sounds, as we may see from the occurrence in succession of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds, viz. בּ, גּ, דּ, also of the three liquids, בּ, מּ, נּ, and other similar arrangements, but yet other considerations must also have had some effect upon it, for it is certainly not a mere accident, that two letters representing a *hand* (*Yôdh* and *Kâph*), also two exhibiting the *head* (*Qôph* and *Rêsh*), are put together, as is done also with several characters denoting related or connected objects (*Mêm* and *Nûn*, 'Ayin and *Pê*).

Both the names and the order of the letters (with a trifling alteration), passed over from the Phoenician into the Greek, in which the

¹ See the works of Young, Champollion, Lepsius and others on the Hieroglyphics. Comp. Hitzig, die Erfindung des Alphabets, Zurich, 1840. 4to. J. Olshausen, über den Ursprung des Alphabets, Kiel, 1841. 3vo. F. Bottcher, unseres Alphabets Ursprünge, Dresden, 1860. 8vo. Ed. Bohmer, das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung. Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges., Bd. XVI, S. 579 ff.

letters, form *Alpha* to *Tau*, correspond to the ancient alphabet. From the Phœnician proceeded also, directly or indirectly, the Old-Italic, the Roman, and all the alphabets derived from the Latin and the Greek. Comp. *Gesenius, Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 65.

3. The letters are used also for *signs of number*, as the Hebrew had no special arithmetical figures or ciphers¹. But this use of them as numerals (see Alphabet Table) did not, if we may judge from the existing MSS, take place in the O. T. text, and is first found on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.). It is now employed in the editions of the Bible specially for numbering the chapters and verses. Much like the Greek numerals, the Heb. *units* are denoted by the letters from **א** to **ו**, the *tens* by **ר**—**צ**, the *hundreds* from 100 to 400 by **פ**—**נ**, but from 500 to 900, they are sometimes marked by the five final letters, thus, **נ** 500, **ס** 600, **ל** 700, **מ** 800, **ת** 900, and sometimes by **ת**=400, with the addition of the other hundreds, as **תנ** 500. In combining different numbers the greater is put first (i. e. on the right), as **טנ** 11, **טכ** 121. Fifteen however is marked by **טו**=9+6, and not by **טנ**, because with these two letters the name of God (יהוה) commences; and 16 by **טב** not by **טנ**, for a similar reason. The *thousands* are denoted by the units with two dots above, as **ׁו** for 1000.²

4. *Abbreviations* of words are not found in the text of the O. T. On coins, however, they occur, and they are in common use among the later Jews. The sign of abbreviation is usually an oblique stroke, as **ת'** for **תְּשִׁלֵּחַ**, **ב'** for **בְּלִי** *aliquis*, **ג'** for **גְּנִיבָה** *et complens=et cetera*, **ד'** or **ד"** (also **ד'**) for **דְּרוּנָה**.

§ 6.

PRONUNCIATION AND DIVISION OF CONSONANTS.

1. It is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§§ 18, etc.) are dependent on, and can be explained only by, the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. Our knowledge of this is derived partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects,

¹ Yet the Phœnicians had arithmetical signs in early times, as may be seen in Schröder's *Phönizische Sprache*, pp. 186—9, with a Table.

² The Jews count their dates from the creation of the world, and they have what they call the "great chronology", (**כָּפֶרֶת גָּדוֹלָה**) including the thousands and the "small chronology" (**כָּפֶרֶת קָטָן**) omitting the thousands. The date according to the christian era is found by adding 240 to the short Jewish reckoning for the first thousand years and 1240 for the second.

particularly of the still living Arabic, partly from observing the affinity and interchange of the letters in Hebrew itself (§ 19), partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of the Jews of the present day is very divergent. The Polish and German Jews adopt a worse one, partly like the Syriac, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whom most Christian scholars (after the example of Reuchlin) follow, prefer a purer one, more in harmony with the Arabic.

The manner in which the Septuagint (LXX) wrote Hebrew proper names in Greek letters, furnishes an older and more weighty tradition. Several, however, of the Hebrew sounds they were unable to represent for want of corresponding characters in the Greek language, e. g. **בּ**, **גּ**, **דּ**, **פּ**, **וּ** (in which cases they made the best shifts they could). This is true also of Jerome's expression of Hebrew words in Roman letters, after the Jewish pronunciation of his time. For that of the Jews now in northern Africa, see *Bargès*, Journ. Asiat. 1848, Nov.; for that of the South Arabic Jews see *J. Derenbourg*, Manuel du Lecture etc., Paris 1871.

2. The following list embraces those consonants which require special attention as to the pronunciation, those being arranged and viewed together which resemble each other in sound.

Rem. 1. Among the *gutturals*, **אָ** is the slightest, a scarcely audible breathing from the lungs, the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek, which stands for it in our Alphabet Table, p. 23; similar to **הָ**, but weaker. Even before a vowel, it is almost lost upon the ear (**תְּמָם**, *āmāp*, *āmār*), like the *h* in the French *habit*, *homme*, Eng. *hour*, but after a vowel it is mostly quite lost in that vowel-sound (**מְמָאָר**, *māyā'*, § 23, 1; however comp. **מְמָאָרָה**).

הָ before a vowel is exactly our *h* (*spiritus asper*); also after a vowel at the end of a syllable, it is a guttural-breathing (**נְהָ**, *nēh-pā'kh*); but at the end of a word it only represents a vowel, so that its force as a consonant is not at all heard (**גָּלָה**, *gā-lā'*), see § 7, 2 and § 14, § 75, 1.

כּ is related to **הָ** but stronger, and is a sound peculiar to the organs

¹ Important aid may also be derived from an accurate, physiological observation of the whole system of sounds, and of their formation by the organs of speech. See *Liskovius's Theorie der Stimme*, Leipzig, 1814, *J. Müller's Handbuch der Physiologie*, Bd. II., S. 179 &c., *Strodtmann's Anatomische Vorhalle zur Physiologie der Stimme und der Sprachlaute*, Altona, 1837, also *H. Hupfeld in Jahn's Jahrbücher f. Philologie*, 1829, H. 4, *H. E. Bindseil's Abhandlungen zur allgem. vergleichenden Sprachlehre* (Hamb. 1838), *E. Brucke's Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik d. Sprachlaute*, Wien, 1856, *C. L. Merkel's Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1866.

of the Semitic race. Its hardest sound is that of a *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as בָּבָשׁ, LXX Γάζα, בְּרִמְמַגְּ גֶּמֶוֹרָה; it is elsewhere a weaker sound of that sort, which the LXX indicate only by a *breathing* (the *spiritus asper* or *lenis*), as in בְּלֵי 'הַמִּן, בְּלֵבָבְךָ אַמָּלֵךְ. In the mouth of the Arabs, the first often strikes the ear like a soft guttural *r*, the second as a sort of vowel-sound like *a*.—To pass over בָּ, as many do in reading and in the expression of Hebrew words by our letters (e. g. אַלְאָ Eh, פְּלָמָּה Amalek), and to pronounce it simply as *g* or as nasal *ng*, are both incorrect. An approximation to its stronger sound would be *gh* or "*g*"; but since the softer sound was probably predominant in Hebrew, it may suffice to mark it (as in the Alphabet Table, p. 23) by ' as עֲבָדָה 'arbā', מְמֻרָּה 'amôrâ'.

כּ is the firmest of the guttural sounds, being a guttural *ch*, as the Swiss pronounce it, as in *macht*, *docht*, *zucht*¹ (not as in *lcht*, *knecht*), resembling the Spanish *x* and *j*. While the Hebrew was a living language this letter was doubtless uttered more softly in many words, more strongly in others.²

נּ also the Hebrews frequently pronounced with a rattling guttural sound, not as a lingual made by the vibration of the tongue. Hence it is not merely to be reckoned among the liquids (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*), but, in many respects, it belongs also to the class of gutturals (§ 22, 5).

Rem. 2. In *sibilant* sounds the Hebrew language is uncommonly rich, but they arose in part from the lingual sounds, which appear still as such in Aramaean and, as affected with an aspiration, in Arabic (see ء, ئ, ئ in Lex.).

שׁ and שׂ were originally one letter שׁ, and in unpointed Hebrew this is still the case. But as its sound *sh* was in many words very soft, approaching to that of *s*, the grammarians distinguished this double pronunciation by the diacritic point into שׁ *sh* (which occurs most frequently), and שׂ *s*.

שׁ accordingly was closely allied to שׂ in pronunciation, and so was uttered more strongly than שׂ. Hence this difference of sound made at times a difference in sense, as רְצַחַת to close up and רְצַחַנָּה to hire, לְבַזַּחַת to be foolish and לְבַזַּחַנָּה to be wise. The Syrians employed only שׂ for both. They are also interchanged even in the later Hebrew; as רְצַחַנָּה=רְצַחַת to hire Ezr. 4, 5; רְכַלְמַת for סְכַלְמָה folly Eccl. 1, 17.³

זּ is a soft, whizzing *s*, the Gr. ζ (by which also the LXX represent it), the Fr. and Eng. *z*, quite different from the Germ. *z*.

¹ As also in the Keltic dialects.—Tr.

² In the Arabic language, the hard and soft sounds of بָּ and كּ (as well as certain differences in the pronunciation of بָּ, تָּ, قּ), are indicated by diacritie points. Two letters are thus made from each: from بָּ the softer ء 'Ain, and the harder ئِ r'Gain; from كּ the softer ڙ Cha, and the harder ڦ Kha.

³ But on the contrary the Samaritans of this day, in reading their Heb. Pentateuch, always pronounce שׁ as שׂ.

Rem. 3. The **שׁ** is, like **פּ** and **בּ**, uttered with strong articulation, and with a compression of the organs of speech in the back part of the mouth. The two latter differ essentially from **כּ** and **מּ**, which answer to *k* and *t*, but are often aspirated (see No. 3 of this §.). The **שׁ** has a peculiar articulation differing from every other *s*, and by no means the same as the Germ. *z* or *ts*. [Our *ss* as in *kiss!* sounded not at the teeth, but at the palate, is not very unlike it; but *g* is here used to represent it.]

3. Six consonants, the so-called *mutes*,

תּ, פּ, בּ, דּ, גּ, צּ (בְּנֵדֶכֶת)

have come down to us with a twofold pronunciation¹:—1) a harder, more slender sound (*tenus*) as *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*, and 2) a softer sound, uttered with a gentle aspiration (*aspirata*). The harder sound is the original. It maintains itself at the beginning of words and syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding, and it is indicated by a point in the letter (*Dāghēsh lenē*, § 13), as in **בּ b**, **גּ g**, **דּ d**, **כּ k**, **פּ p**, **תּ t**. The aspirated sound occurs after a vowel immediately preceding, and is denoted in manuscripts by *Rāphē* (§ 14, 2), but in the printed text it is known by the absence of the *Dāghēsh*. In some of these letters (especially **גּ**), the difference is less perceptible to our ear. The modern Greeks aspirate distinctly **β**, **γ**, **δ**, and the Danes **d** at the end of a word. The Greeks have two characters for the two sounds of the other letters of this class, as **β x**, **γ χ**; **π π̄**, **φ φ̄**; **τ τ̄**, **θ θ̄**.

For the cases in which the one pronunciation or the other occurs, see more fully in § 21.—The modern Jews sound the aspirated **תּ** as *v*, and the **תּ** nearly as *s*, e. g. **רֹתַב rāv**, **רִישָׁה rēsh̄ah**.

4. After what has been said, the usual division of the consonants according to the organs of speech (i. e. throat, palate, tongue, teeth and lips), employed in uttering them, will be more intelligible and useful. The common division is as follows:

a) Gutturals **תּ, פּ, צּ, שּ**,

(עֲזָרָא);

b) Palatals, **כּ, בּ, גּ, דּ,**

(גְּרִיבָה);

¹ Sound **תּ** as *t*, **פּ** as *th* in *thick*; **צּ** as *d*, **שּ** *dh* as *th* in *that*, Anglo-Sax. **þ**; **כּ** as *p*, **בּ** as *ph* or *f*; **גּ** as *b*, **דּ** *bh* as *v*; **כּ** and **בּ** as *g* in *go*, or in the German *gegen*; **כּ** and **בּ** as *k*. To give the aspirated sound of **גּ** and **דּ**, pronounce *g* and *k*, rolling the palate at the same breath.—Tr.

c) Linguals, ט, ת, ד, with נ, ב, (הטלנות);
 d) Dentals or sibilants, צ, ש (שׁ and שׂ), ס, ז, (זיסצ'אַס);
 e) Labials, פ, ב, מ, נ, (בומטָה).

The letter γ appertains partly to the first and to the third class, as being both a throat-sound and a tongue-sound.¹

Also the liquids (**נ**, **ב**, **מ**, **נ**), which have in many respects a common character, are grouped together as a distinct class.

The following classification may be useful:

	Mutes			Liquids			Sibilants			Aspirates		
	s	m	s	vibr	nasal	semiv	s	m	e	s	m	h
Gutturals				[ך]						ח ח ע ע		
Palatals	צ	כ	כ				ר					
Linguals			ק									
Dentals	ט	ת	ת	ל	ל	ל	שׁ	שׁ	שׁ	שׁ	שׁ	שׁ
Labials	ב	פ	פ				ר	ר	ר			

Rem. 1. The signification of the letters in the superscription is as follows: *s*=soft; *m*=medium; *h*=hard; *e*=emphatic. Consonants pronounced by the same organ are called *homorganic* (e. g. *š* and *č* as palatals). Consonants, whose sound is of the same nature, are called *homogeneous* (e. g. *v* and *ž* as liquids). The possibility of an exchange of consonants within the language, as well as between kindred dialects depends upon their homorganic character and upon their homogeneousness. Generally the soft sound changes with the soft, the hard with the hard etc. (e. g. *š=š*, *n=n*, *p=p*). Yet other transpositions are not excluded. It is important to observe, whether the change takes place at the beginning, middle or end of the word, since a change in the middle consonant does not always indicate the possibility of a change in the same letter, when standing at the beginning.

Rem. 2. In the Hebrew, as well as in all the Semitic dialects, the strength and harshness of pronunciation, which generally characterised the earlier periods of the language, gradually gave way to more soft and feeble sounds. In this way many nice distinctions of the earlier pronunciation were neglected and lost.

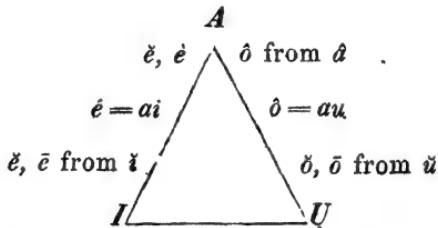
¹ Compare, in regard to the double pronunciation of the 't', *Delitzsch, Physiol. u. Musik* p. 10 ff.

This appears partly in the preference for the softer letters; e. g. פְּתַת (see § 2, 5, Rem.), Syr. ^{אָתָה} פְּתַת; partly in the pronunciation of particular letters; thus the stronger ^{בְּ} 'g, known even in the LXX (see above in No. 2, Rem. 1), is lost in later times; the Samaritans and Galileans utter it, as well as מְ, only like נְ; in Ethiopic too מְ sounds as h, בְּ as נְ, וְ as רְ.

7.

OF THE VOWELS IN GENERAL, VOWEL-LETTERS, AND VOWEL-SIGNS.

1. That the scale of five vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, proceeds from the three primary vowel sounds *A*, *I*, *U*, is even more distinctly seen in the Hebrew and the rest of the Semitic tongues, than in other languages. *E* and *O* are derived from a blending together or obscuring of the purer vowels, viz., short *ĕ* from *i* or even *ă*, short *ō* from *ū*; and also the long *ĕ* from the union of *I* with a preceding short *A*, i. e. from the diphthong *AI*, and the long *ō* partly from the obscuring of *ă*, partly from the combination *AU*, according to the following scheme:¹—



The more ancient Arabic still keeps the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, specially with stronger consonants; e. g. שׁוֹת (*shôt*), Arab. *saut*; עַיִן־אֵין (*'enaim*), Arab. *'ainain*. It is only in the later Arabic they become ē and ô, at least with feebler consonants, as בָּיִן, Arab. *bain*, *bén*; יוֹם, Arab. *yaum*, *yôm*. This contraction of the diphthongs is also sufficiently familiar in Greek and Latin (e. g. Καῖσαρ, Cæsar; θαῦμα, Ion. θώμα; *plastrum*=*plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au* (comp. in Eng. *ai* in *said*, and *au* in *naught*), in the Germanic languages (Goth. *auso*, *auris*, Old High-Ger. *ôra*, ear; Goth. *snaivs*, Old High-Ger. *snéo*=Schnee=snow), and even in the modern German vulgar dialect (*Oge* for Auge, Goth. *augô*, eye; *Steen* for Stein, stone, Goth. *stains*).

¹ For the sound of these vowels, see note on § 8.—Tr.

Obscuring of the vowel-sounds often occurs also in other tongues, e. g. *ä* in Swedish, in modern Persian, in Eng. *fall* etc. The modern Jews constantly obscure the sound of the Heb. long A (־), like the Swedish *ä*. But the Arabic of the Bedawin, in its pronunciation of the vowels, does not even now depart so much from the three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, and *u*, as the Arabic spoken in Syria and Egypt (see Wallin and Wetzstein as referred to above, p. 7, Note¹).

2. With this is connected the earlier and very sparing way of indicating the vowels in writing. Only the three principal vowels were thus distinguished; and even these were indicated not by peculiar signs, but by certain consonants employed for this purpose, whose feeble consonant sounds have naturally a close affinity with the vowel-sounds to be expressed.

Thus ՚ (like the Lat. *V*) represented *U* and also *O*.

՚ (like the Lat. *J*) represented *I* and also *E*.

A, the purest of all the vowels, and the most frequent, was as a rule¹ not indicated at all, except at the end of a word, where the final *a* was represented by ܰ in Hebrew, sometimes by ܱ.² These two letters stood also for *e* and *o* final.³

Even those *two vowel-letters* (՚ and ՚) were used but sparingly, being at first, and as a rule, employed only when the sounds which they represent were *long*, and not always then (§ 8, 4).⁴ Everything else relating to the quantity of the

¹ So in Sanscrit, the ancient Persian cuneiform writing and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not indicated by any sign, but the bare consonant is pronounced with short *a*.

² The close connection between the aspirates ܰ, ܱ and the *A* sound, ՚ (= *w*) and the *U* sound, ՚ (= *y*) and the *I* sound, admits of easy physiological explanation, if we attend to the formation of these sounds by the organs of speech. The vowel *A* is formed by opening the mouth, without changing the position of the organs; so also ܰ and ܱ. *U* is sounded in the fore part of the mouth, with the lips a little projecting and rounded; so also ՚. The *I* is formed at the fore part of the palate; so also ՚. *E* is sounded at the back of the palate, between *i* and *a*; *O* in the under part of the mouth, between *u* and *a*.

³ The four letters ܰ, ܱ, ՚, ՚ (forming the mnemonic sign ܱܰܲܳ 'shev') are commonly called *quiescent* or *feeble letters*.—Tr.

⁴ The Samaritan writing also has remained at the same stage.—The Phoenicians did not indicate even the long vowels, except in very rare cases,

vowel-sounds, and also the entire absence of a vowel, and even whether the vowel-letter in the particular case was a vowel or a consonant, the reader had to decide for himself.

Thus, for example, בָּבָר might be read *gāṭēl*, *qāṭēl*, *gāṭōl*, *qēṭōl*, *gōṭēl*, *qīṭēl*, *qāṭṭēl*, *qūṭṭēl*; בְּדַבֵּר, *dābhēr* (word), *dā'bēr* (pestilence), *dībbēr* (he has spoken), *dābbēr* (to speak), *dōbhēr* (speaking), *dābhūr* (spoken), *dūbbēr* (it has been spoken); מְוֻת might be *mā'wēth* (death), or *mūth*, *mōth* (to die); בְּנִי might be read *bîn*, *bēn*, *bāyin*.

How imperfect and indefinite such a mode of writing was, is easily seen; yet during the whole period in which the Hebrew was a living language, no other signs for vowels were employed. Reading was therefore a harder task than it is with our more adequate modes of writing, and the reader's knowledge of the living mother-tongue had to supply much.

3. But when the Hebrew had died out, and the ambiguity arising from such an indefinite mode of writing, and the fear of losing the right pronunciation, must have been increasingly felt; then the *vowel-signs* or *vowel points* were invented, which minutely settled what had till then been left uncertain. Of the date of this punctuation (*vocalisation*) of the Old Testament text we have no historical account; but a comparison of historical facts warrants the conclusion, that the present vowel-system was not completed till the seventh century after Christ; and that it was done by Jewish scholars, well versed in the language, who, it is highly probable, copied the example of the Syriac, and perhaps also of the Arabic, grammarians.

See *Gesenius*, Gesch. d. hebr. Spr. S. 182 ff. and *Hupfeld* in den theolog. Studien und Kritiken, 1830, No. 3, where it is shown that the Talmûd and Jerome make no mention of vowel-signs; *Abr. Geiger*, Zur Nakdanim-Literatur (Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissenschaft. u. Leben, Jahrg. X, Breslau, 1872, S. 10 ff.); *Geiger*, Massorah bei den Syrern (Ztschr. der D. M. G. Bd. XXVII. Leipz., 1878, S. 148 ff.); *H. Strack*. Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr. Leipz., 1873; *Strack*, Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-Textes (Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1875. IV, S. 736 ff.)

4. This vowel-system has, probably, for its basis the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine; and its consistency,

and their old monuments have scarcely any vowel signs (see *Gesenii Mon. Phoenicia*, pp. 57, 58; and above in § 2, 3).—The vowel-letters are quite as sparingly used in the old Heb. inscription of Mësha' (see § 2, 2), as early as 900 B. C.

as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, furnishes strong proof of its correctness, at least as a whole. We may, however, assume, that it exhibits not so much the pronunciation of common life as the formal style, which was sanctioned by tradition in reading the sacred books, in the synagogues and schools, in the 7th century after Christ. Its authors laboured with great care to represent by signs the minute gradations of the vowel-sounds, marking even half-vowels and helping-sounds (§ 10), spontaneously adopted in all languages, yet seldom expressed in writing. To the same labours on the Hebr. Text we owe the different marks, by which the sound of the consonants themselves is modified (§§ 11—14), and the accents (§§ 15, 16).

The Arabs have a much more simple vowel-system, for they have only three vowel-signs, according to the three primary sounds. The Syriac vowel-pointing is likewise based upon a less complicated system. It is possible that the Hebrew also had at an earlier period a more simple vowel-system, but no actual traces of it are found.

§ 8.

OF THE VOWEL-SIGNS.¹

1. Of full vowels, besides which there are also certain *half-vowels* (§ 10, 1, 2), grammarians have generally reckoned ten, and divided them into *five long* and *five short* or *doubtful*. As this division, though not faultless, is simpler and more convenient for the beginner, it is here presented:²—

¹ The vowels, as represented in this translation, are supposed to be sounded as follows:—ā or ā like a in *father*, ā like a in *fat*, ē like e, or as a in *fate*; ē or ē like e in *there*; ē like e in *her*, ī or ī like i in *pique*, ī like i in *pick*; ö or ö like o in *no*, ö like o in *not*, ü or ü like u in *rule* (sounded as *root*); ü like u in *full*; aî and au as proper diphthongs, each vowel being distinctly heard, as in German.—NB. The same vowel, whether long or short, has properly but one sound, differing only in *quantity*, i. e. in the longer or shorter time we may take in pronouncing it, as in sō and söt.—Tr.

² It is founded on the 12th edition of the original, and Dr. Rödiger is not responsible for its insertion here.—Tr.

Long Vowels.	Short Vowels.
— <i>Qā'mēṣ</i> , ā, ā, םָקָם <i>qām</i> , ¹ יָם <i>yām</i> .	— <i>Pā'thāch</i> , ā, בָתְחָ <i>bāth</i> .
— <i>Sē'rē</i> , ē, שֵׁם <i>shēm</i> .	— <i>S'ghō'l</i> , ē, ē or ā, מַלְכָה <i>mä'-lēkh</i> .
— (or —) <i>Chī'rēq long</i> , ī, בִּין <i>bīn</i> , גִּוִּים <i>gō-yim</i> .	— <i>Chī'rēq short</i> , ī, מִן <i>mīn</i> .
— (or —) <i>Chō'lēm</i> , ö, ö, לֹטֶק <i>qōl</i> , סֹבֵךְ <i>sōbh</i> .	— <i>Qā'mēṣ-chāṭūph</i> , ö, חַקְעָה <i>chöq</i> .
— (or —) <i>Shū'rēq</i> , ü, מְוִתָּה <i>mūth</i> , מְתֻתָּה <i>mū-thi</i> .	— <i>Qibbū's</i> , ü, שְׁלִיחָן <i>shü'l-chā'n</i> .

A more philosophic and complete view of the vowels, according to the three primary vowel-sounds (§ 7, 1, 2), is the following:—

First Class. For the A sound.

1. — *Qā'mēṣ*, ā, ā, **יָדָה** *yādh* (hand), **קָם** *qām* (he arose).
2. — *Pā'thāch*, ā, **בָתְחָ** *bāth* (daughter).
3. — *S'ghō'l*, ē, ē (ā), a modification of *a*,² as in the first syllable of **דְּדָה** *yēdh-***khēm** (your hand) from *yēdh-***khēm**, **פְּסָחָה** *pēsāch* (*πάσχα*); also in union with ī as **דְּדָה** *yā-dhē-khā* (thy hands), **נְנָהָה** *gēlē-nā*, like the French *é* in *mère* or the first *e* in Eng. *there*. Comp. in Eng. *man* changed into *men*; Ger. *mann* into *männer*; W. *carreg* (stone) into pl. *cerrig*.

Second Class. For the I and E sound.

I 1. — and — <i>long Chī'rēq</i> , ī, צְדִיקִים <i>zād-di-qī'm</i> (just ones). 2. — <i>short Chī'rēq</i> , ī, כִּים <i>'im</i> (if).	
E 3. — <i>Sē'rē</i> with <i>Yōdh</i> , ē, and — <i>Sē'rē</i> without <i>Yōdh</i> , ē, as in בֵּית <i>bēth</i> (house), שֵׁם <i>shēm</i> (name). Very rarely the — (defective, see No. 4 on p. 37) stands also for ē. 4. — <i>S'ghō'l</i> , ē, an abbreviation from ē as in שֵׁן <i>shēn</i> (tooth), from שִׁין (<i>gdf. shīn</i>) or an obscuring from i e. g. חִפְשִׁי (<i>Grdf. chiph̄i</i>).	

¹ The equivalents for the Hebrew vowels are marked here variously, viz., ā, ē, ö for the essentially long-vowels, ā, ē, ö for the merely tone-long, ā, ē, ö for the short (see § 9.). For the others, the distinction of ī and ī, ü and ü is sufficient.

² So mostly; hence Jewish grammarians call *S'ghō'l* also *small Pā'thāch* (*טַקְעָה*).

* The sign — marks in this Grammar the accented syllable of Heb. words, when that syllable is not the last, as in **תְּבִשָּׁה**. Comp. § 15, Rem. 3.

Third Class. For the U and O sound.

U { 1. ה Shû'rëq, ü, מותּ mûlh (to die), rarely also for ū.
 2. — Qibbû'g, ü, סֶלְמָן sül-lâ'm (ladder), but also ū, written defectively (see No. 4 on p. 37) instead of Shû'rëq, מַתֵּה mü-thî' (my dying).
O { 3. ו and — Chô'lëm, ô, ô, קֹול qôl (voice), רֹבְּה rôbh (multitude). Often defective — for ô, seldom ū for ô.
 4. — Qâ'mëš-châṭû'ph, ô, קָרְבָּה chôq (statute).
 5. also —, obtuse ē, so far as it is changed from u or o, as in בְּתֵא 'ătté'm (ye) from 'ăttú'm (see § 27, Rem. 4, b), תְּאֵן 'éth (from אֲוֹתָהּ).

The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in uttering the sounds. Thus, פְּנַח signifies *opening*, בְּזַבְּקָה (also שְׁבָרָה) *bursting* (of the mouth), גְּנִישָׁה *gnashing*, פְּלַת *fullness*, from its full tone (also פְּלַלְל full mouth), צְרִיכָה properly כְּרוּסְמָה, צְבִיבָה *closing* (of the mouth). This last meaning belongs also to גְּמַחָה; and the reason why long a and short o (קְטַבְּה גְּמַחָה Qâ'mëš correptum) have the same sign and name, seems to be that the inventors of the vowel-signs pronounced the long a rather obscurely, and somewhat like o, as it then passed over to a full o with the present German and Polish Jews; comp. the Syriac â with the Maronites=ô, the Swedish å, and the early change of â into ô even in the Hebrew (§ 9, 10, 2).¹ The distinction between them is shown in § 9. But Sêghô'l (בְּגַהְלָה bunch of grapes) appears to be named after its *form*; so too some call Qibbû'g בְּקַבְּעָה (*three points*).

The names were, moreover, so formed that the sound of each vowel was heard in the first syllable; and in accordance with this, some write Sâghô'l, Qô'mëš-châṭû'ph, Qübbû'g.

2. As appears from the examples given above, the vowel-sign is regularly put *under* the consonant *after* which it is to be pronounced, as הָrâ, הָrâ, הָrê, הָrû, etc. There is an exception to this rule in Pâ'thâch, when it stands under a guttural at the end of a word (Pâ'thâch *furtive*, see § 22, 2, b), for it is then spoken *before* the consonant, as רִיְחָ (wind,

¹ It has been conjectured that the signs for these vowels originally differed (as הָâ, וָô, וָo), and became identical only through carelessness in writing; but such a difference cannot be proved, for these two marks are quite identical, the former (—) being only the original, and the second (.) the modified form.

spirit). We must also except *Chō'lēm* (without *Wān*), which is put to the left over the letter, as in 'rō.¹

NB. When *Chō'lēm* (without *Wāw*) and the diacritic point over *w* (וּ, וּ) come together, one dot serves for both, as נָשָׁה *sō-nē'* (not נָשָׁה) hating, מָשָׁה *mō-shē* not מָשָׁה. *w* (with two points), when no vowel stands under it, is *sho*, as in שָׁמֵר *shō-mē'r* (keeper); when no vowel goes before it, *os*, as in יְשַׁפֵּר *yir-pō's* (he treads down), like רְקִטְבָּרִים *Rikṭab̄rim* Is. 45, 20 *han-nō-sē'īm* (the bearers), like רְקִטְבָּלִים *Rikṭab̄lim*.

The figure ՚ is sometimes sounded *ow*, the ՚ being a consonant with *Chō'lēm* before it, as *m̥ib lō-wə* (lending); and sometimes *wō*, the *Chō'lēm* being read after the *Wāw*, as *ŋ̥ib 'ā-wōn* (*sin*) for *ŋ̥ib wōn*. In very exact impressions a distinction is made thus: ՚ *ow*, ՚ *wō*, and ՚ *ō*.

3. The vowels of the first class (the *A* sound) are, with the exception of *—* in the middle, and of *॥—*, *॥—*

¹ Only very recently have we been made acquainted with a vowel system in many respects different from the common one. It is found in some MSS formerly kept at Odessa, but now in St. Petersburg. All the vowels except ^{אַ} are placed above the consonants, and deviate almost throughout in figure, and partly even in respect to the department of sound. Thus, for instance, Pathach and S^ghol, when they have the tone, are expressed by the same sign; but the short vowels without the tone are marked variously, according as they stand in a syllable sharpened by Daghesh forte (§ 12) or not. The accents deviate less, and stand partly under the line of the consonants. In respect to this, the so-called "Babylonian punctuation" (קְרִיאָה בְּבֵלֶד) see A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack's "Catalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersb." Vol. I & II., Petersb. & Leipz. 1875 p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by H. Strack's facsimile edition of *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Petersb. 1878 fol); a codex of the year 916 which was discovered by Firkowitsch in 1839 in the synagogue of Tschufutkale in the peninsula of the Crimea. Strack has given a fragment of the same codex in *Hosea et Joel propheta ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.* St. Petersb. 1875. The result shows that the two systems (the Eastern or Babylonian and the western or Tiberian) were developed simultaneously, but that the western shows a higher degree of originality and approaches nearer the ancient fundamental laws of punctuation. A long specimen of this peculiar Text (the Book of Habakkuk) is given in Pinner's *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alterth. gehörenden ältesten hebr. und rabb. Manuskripte*, Odessa, 1845, 4. A sketch of this vowel-system, which had probably its origin among Babylonish Jews, has been given by Rödiger in the *Halle Allgem. Lit. Zeit* 1848, Aug., No. 169, and by Ewald in the *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, I., Göttingen, 1849, p. 160 and foll.; but more thoroughly still by Finsker in his *Einleitung in das Babylon.-hebr. Punctuationssystem*, Wien, 1863; and Olshausen in the *Monatsbericht d. Berlin. Akad. d. Wissensch.* July, 1865.

(§ 9, 1, 3) at the end of a word, indicated *only* by vowel-signs (§ 7, 2); but those of the two other classes (the *I* and *E* sound, and the *U* and *O* sound) when long, are mostly expressed by vowel-letters, the sound of which is determined by the sign standing before or within or above them. Thus,—

ִ may be determined by *Chi'rēq* (ַ), *Sē'rē* (ָ), *S'ghō'l* (ְ).

ֵ by *Shū'rēq* (ֹ) and *Chō'lēm* (ִ).¹

In Arabic the *long ā* is regularly indicated by the vowel-letter *A'lēph* (ָ), so that in it three vowel-letters answer to the three vowel-classes. In Hebrew this use of **N** is very rare (§ 9, 1, and § 23, 3, Rem. 1).

4. When, in the second and third classes, the long vowel is expressed *without* a vowel-letter, it is called *scriptio defectiva*, when *with* a vowel-letter, *scriptio plena*. Thus קָוֶל and קָוִים are written *fully*, קָלְתָה and קָמָה *defectively*.

The choice of the full or the defective mode of writing is not always arbitrary, as there are certain cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus, the full form is written for *ā*, *i*, *ē* as well as for *ē* in *הָזֶה* etc. (§ 9, 8), and is necessary at the end of a word, e. g. קָטָלָה, נָרָא, אֲלָכָר; but in Is. 40, 31 the Massora requires וְקָוִי for *וְקָוִי*, but the defective is usual when the vowel is preceded by the analogous vowel-letter as consonant, e. g. גָוָתָם for *גָוִיתָם* *nations*, מְצֻוָתָם for *מְצֻוֹת commands*,² עֲשָׂרִים for *עֲשָׂרִים*.

But in other cases, much depended on the option of the transcribers, so that the same word is written in various ways, e. g. Ezek. 18, 60, תְּקִמְוָתִי Jer. 23, 4, where other editions have תְּקִמּוֹתִי (comp. § 25, 1). It may be observed, however,

¹ The vowel-sign, which serves to determine the sound of the vowel-letter, is said to be *homogeneous* with that letter. Many, after the example of the Jewish grammarians, use here the expression, ‘The vowel-letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel sign.’ Hence the letters ַ and ָ (with ְ und ִ, see § 23) are called *litterae quiescibiles*; when they serve as vowels, *quiescentes*, when they are consonants, *mobiles*. But the expression is not suitable; we should rather say, ‘The vowel-letter is sounded as this or that vowel, or stands in place of the vowel.’ The vowel-letters are also called by grammarians, *matres lectionis*, since they partly guide in reading the unpointed text.

² So also צְדִיקָה *testimonies* is for צְדִיקָה (plural of צְדִיקָה in Aram. style), but used only in pl. with suf. as in pl. צְדִיקָה. 1 K. 2, 3 *his testimonies*.—Tr.

a) That the defective writing is used chiefly, though not constantly, when the word has increased at the end, and the vowel of the penultima has lost somewhat of its stress in consequence of the accent or tone of the word being moved forward (see § 29, 2), as **צְדִיקִים**, **צְדִיקָה**; **קָלִים**, **קָלָה**;

b) That in the later books of the Old Testament the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual¹.

5. In the kindred dialects, when a vowel-letter has before it a vowel, that is not kindred or homogeneous, if it be *a*, then a diphthong is formed, e. g. יְ— *au*, וְ—, וְ— *ai*. But in Hebrew, according to the pronunciation handed down, י and ו retain here their consonant-sound, so that we get *āw*, *ay*,² e. g. וָן *wān* (hook), וָחֵי *chāy* (living), and so also גּוֹי *gōy* (nation), וָשַׁעַת *āsiy* (made), וָגֵן *gew* (back). The sound of וְ— is the same as יְ—, namely, *āw*, as in דְּבָרָהָרָאָוָם (*his words*) ; therefore often יְ— defectively for וְ—.

The LXX give generally, in these cases, an actual diphthong as in the Arabic, and this must be considered as an earlier mode of pronunciation; the modern Jewish pronunciation is, on the other hand, similar to the modern Greek, in which αβ, εβ sound like *av, ev*. In the manuscripts *Yodh* and *Waw* are, in this case, even marked with *Mappiq* (§ 14, 1). The Italian Jews sound these syllables more like diphthongs, e. g. *chāi, gēu*, and so also *bait* (ברית).

§ 9.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE SEVERAL VOWELS.

Numerous as the Heb. vowel-signs appear, they are yet insufficient for completely representing the various modifications of the vowel-sounds in respect to length and shortness, sharpness and expansion. It may be observed further, that the indication of the sound by these signs cannot be called always perfectly appropriate. We therefore give here, for the better understanding of this matter, a short commentary on the character and value of the several vowels,

¹ The same historical relation may be shown in the Phœnician, and in the Arabic when ن is used as a vowel-letter. Probably the vowel letters have been added to the older text of the Bible, in part at least, by later copyists.

² The *w* and *y* in these cases, as expressing the consonant-sound, are as much as possible like *w* in *wo* and *y* in *yet*, not as in *naw* and *nay*.—Tr.

especially in respect to *length* and *shortness*; but at the same time noticing also their *changeableness* (see §§ 25, 27).

I. *First Class: A sound.*

1. *Qā'meṣ* (—) is every where long *a*, but yet is in its nature of two kinds:

a) The essentially long *a* which is not easily shortened and never entirely dropped (§ 25, 2), for which the Arabic regularly has ﺁ, as كِتابٌ *k'ibā'* (writing), نَّاجِيٌ *gān-nā'ib* (thief), مَّاقِمٌ *qām* (he arose), very seldom written قَامٌ.²

b) The prosodically lengthened or tone-long *ā* (see § 26, 3), both in the tone-syllable and close before or after it. This sound invariably proceeds from the original short *ă*,³ and is found in an open syllable (i. e. one ending with a vowel, see § 26, 3), e. g. נָלַךְ, קָרְבָּן, יָקָום, סִירָא (in Arabic *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūm*, *'asīr*), and also in a closed syllable (i. e. one ending with a consonant), as יָדָה, כָּכָבָב (Arabic *yād*, *kaukāb*). In the closed syllable, however, it can stand only when this has the tone,⁴ בָּבָרֶךְ, טָבָבֶךְ, but in the open, it is especially frequent before the tone-syllable, as דָבָרֶךְ, זָקָנֶךְ, גָדָלֶךְ, קָצָבֶךְ, לָבָםֶךְ. When the tone is either moved forward or lessened, this vowel becomes, in the former case, short *u* (*Pā'thāch*), and in the latter, vocal *Shewā* (§ 27, 3), דָבָרֶךְ, (d'vḥā'r); חָכָםֶךְ (*chākhā'm*); מָטָבֶךְ, קָטָבֶךְ.

Under the final letter of a word, *Qā'meṣ* may stand alone (תְּלִילָה, נְלִילָה), but in this position it is also indicated by מ (קְטִילָה, שְׂמִילָה). Comp. § 7, 2.

2. *Pā'thāch*, or the short *ă*, stands properly only in a closed syllable with and without the tone (לְבָבָה, מְתָבָבָה). Most of the cases where it now stands in an open syllable, had the syllable originally closed, as in נְחִילָה (original form *nachl*) and

¹ This long *a* is rare in Hebr., since it has generally changed into *o*, see No. 10, 2 on p. 42.

² Of another sort are the cases in which ﺁ has lost its original consonant-sound by softening (see § 23, 1, 2).

³ In the Arabic, the short *a* is still maintained.

⁴ When the tone is marked in this book, the sign — is usually put over the first letter of the syllable, see § 15, 2, Rem. 3.—Tr.

בָּתָר (Arab. *bait*), see § 28, 4. Such an *ă* in an open syllable is else generally changed into *ā* (—); comp. above in No. 1, b.

On the rare union of *Păthăch* with *ă* (—), see § 23, 2; on *ă* as a helping-sound (*Păthăch furtive*), see § 22, 2, b and § 28, 4.

3. *Segħō'l* (ē, ē —) belongs, according to its origin, chiefly to the first class of vowels, but now and then to the second or the third. It belongs to the first, when it is a modification of *a* (as in the Ger. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*) either in an unaccented syllable, e. g. קְדֻם (for קְדַם), or in the tone-syllable, e. g. אֲרֹן from עֲרֹן, קָרֵן (Arabic *qärn*), לְמַחְטָה (Arab. *gāmch*); even in an accented final syllable e. g. בְּרִזְלָה, or with a final *h* as in מְרָאָה (Arab. *mar'a*), or even in the gravest tone-syllable at the end of a clause or sentence (in *pause*, § 29, 4), as in אֲלֹקֶת, אֲזַדְקָה, though it then becomes *ā* in other words of this form, as in קָמְחָה, קָרְנָה. *Segħō'l*, which seems to be lengthened from *shewā* but which in fact comes likewise from an original *ă*, stands in pausal forms, as פְּרִי (groundform *pări*), יְהִי (yăhi) etc.

II. Second Class. I and E sound.

4. The *long Chi'req*, ī, is most commonly expressed by the letter ī (a fully written *Chi'req* —); but even when this is not the case, it makes no essential difference, provided the vowel is long by nature (§ 8, 4), e. g. צָדִיקִים *just*, plur. צָדִיקִים (*ṣad-di-qim*); יְרִאָה *he fears*, plur. יְרָאָה *they fear*. Whether a defectively written *Chi'req* is long, may be best known from the grammatical origin and character of the form, but often also from the character of the syllable (§ 26), or at the same time from the position of *Methegh* (§ 16, 2) at its side, as in יְרָאָה (*yî-rə'â*).

5. The *short Chi'req* (never written with ī) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (כְּטָל, אַצְרִי),¹ and in closed unaccented syllables (לְקַטְלָה). It often comes from a shortening of *a*, as in בְּתִרְךָ (my daughter) from דְּבִרְךָ, בְּתִרְךָ from יְקַטְלָה, לְקַטְלָה; or it is an original ī, lengthened by the tone to

¹ For this sharp ī the LXX mostly use ε, ἑτανάλ Εμμανουὴλ.

ē, as in אֶיבֶךְ (*thy foe*) from אִיבָה (orig. *'ayibh*). Sometimes also it is a mere helping-vowel, as in בִּירָת for בִּרְתָה (§ 28, 4).

The older grammarians call every *fully written* Chirēq, *Chirēq magnum*, and every *defectively written* one, *Chirēq parvum*; but as to the sound, this gives a wrong distinction.

6. The longest *ē*, Sérē with Yôdh (־), is a blended sound of the diphthong *ai* ־ (§ 7, 1), which, in the Arabic and Syriac, stands for it, as הַרְכֵל (*palace*), in Arab. and Syr. *haikal*. It is therefore a very long and firm vowel, longer even than ־, since it approaches the quantity of a diphthong. This ־ is but very seldom written defectively (*עִיר* for עִיר, Is. 3, 8), and then it retains the same value.

At the end of a word, ־ and ־ must be written fully. In the form מְלֹאת (§ 44, Rem. 4), the vowels belong to the marginal reading מְלֹאת, called the *Qerî* (§ 17).

7. The Sérē without Yôdh is the long *ē* of the second rank, always lengthened from a short *i*, and it stands only in and close by the tone-syllable, like the *ā* above (p. 39) in No. 1, b. It stands in an open syllable with or before the tone, e. g. סִפְר (Arab. *siphr*) *book*, שְׁנִית (Arab. *slnat*) *sleep*; in a closed syllable only with the tone, as in בָּן *son*, בָּדָם *dumb*.

8. The S'ghôl, so far as it belongs to the second class, is most generally a short obtuse *č*, a shortening of the tone-long ־, (this shortening having been occasioned by the weakening of the tone through the addition of a suffix or a word joined by *Mäqqéph*), as בָּנָה from בָּנָה (*give*), בָּרֶץ from בָּרֶץ (*maker*), but also in the tone-syllable, as גָּרְזֵן from גָּרֵז (*axe*), אַחֲרָת אַחֲרָת (fem. of אַחֲרָה), and at the end of a word as in חֹזֶה *chô-zé* (*a seer*); it appears besides as a helping-sound, as in פָּרָס for סְפִיר, נָגֵל for יְגִלָּה (§ 28, 4).

On the rise of S'ghôl out of other vowels see more in § 27, Rems. 1, 2, 4.

III. Third Class: U and O sound.

9. In the *third class* is found much the same relation as in the second. In the *U* sound we have:

1) the *long u*, whether *a*) fully written as Shûrēq ֻ (answering to the ־ of the second class), e. g. גָּבְלָה (*border*), or *b*) defectively written (analogous to the long ־ of

the second class) without the Wāw, as *Qibbu's* (—); viz., that which stands for *Shū'rēq*, and should more properly be called *defective Shū'rēq* (שׁבֵד, ימְצָרָן), being in fact a long vowel like *Shū'rēq*, and only an orthographic shortening for the same.

2) The short *ü*, the proper *Qibbūṣ* (analogous to the short *Ch'irēq*), in an unaccented closed syllable, and especially in a sharpened one, as שְׁלָמָן (*table*), סְבָתָה (*booth*).

For the latter the LXX put *o*, e. g. בְּלַע, 'Oδολλάμ; but this only indicates on their part a defective pronunciation, since they also express *Chirraq* by ε, as Ἐμμαουήλ for בְּלַעַת. Equally incorrect was the former custom of giving to both sorts of *Qibbûs* the Germ. ü, though it finds an apparent justification in Palestine, (comp. the Turkish *bûlbûl* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the Syrian pronunciation *dünjâ* of the Arabic *dunja*.)

Sometimes also the short *u* in a sharpened syllable is expressed by *וּ*, e. g. *בְּרַדָּה*—*בְּרַדָּה* (see § 27, Rem. 1 and *Delitzsch Com. Ps. 31. 3*).

10. The *O* sound stands in the same relation to *U*, as *E* to *I* in the second class. It has four gradations:

1) the longest \hat{o} , sprung from the diphthong *au* (§ 7, 1), and mostly written in full הָלוּם (*Chō'lēm plenum*), שׁוֹט (*a whip*, Arabic *saut*), עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עֲלָה; more rarely it is written defectively, as שְׁרֵךְ (*thy bullock*), from שׂוֹר;

2) The long *ô*, which has sprung from an original *ə* (comp. Germ. *alt* = Eng. *old*), usually written *fully* in a tone-syllable and *defectively* in a toneless one, as קָשֵׁל (Arab. *qâ'il* and Aram. *qâ'el*); אֱלֹהָה (god), Arab. *'ilâh*, and Aram. *'elâh*, pl. אֱלֹהִים; שָׂׂזָק (leg), Arab. *sâq* (*hero*), Arab. *gâbbâr*; חֲזֹן (seal), Arab. *khâtäm*; רְמוּן (pomegranate), Arab. *rûmmâ'n*; שְׂלֹטֹון (dominion), Aram. שְׂלֹטָה, Arab. *sûlât'a'n*; שְׂלֹמֹם (peace), Aram. שְׂלָמָה, Arab. *sâlâm*. Sometimes both forms co-exist, as שְׂרִירָה and שְׂרִירָן (coat of mail); comp. § 68.

3) The tone-long *ō*, which is lengthened by the tone from an original short *o* or *u*, and which becomes short again on its removal, as בָּלְ (all), קָלְםָ (köl), קָלְלָםָ (kül-läm), קָלְקָרָןָ, קָלְבָּרָןָ, יָקְטָלָןָ (in this last instance it is shortened to vocal Sh'wâ, *yiq-qətlū'*, Arab. *yâq-tüllü*). In this case the Chô'lém is *fully written* only exceptionally.

4) The *Qā'meṣ-chāṭūph* (—), always short and in the same relation to *Chō'lēm* as the *S'ghō'l* of the second class to the *Sē'rē*, ^{לְכָ}*kōl*, ^{מַקְרֵבָה}*wāy-yā'qōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qā'meṣ*, see below in this section.

11. The *S'ghō'l* also belongs here, so far as it arises out of *u* or *o* (No. 3), e. g. in ^{מִתְחָרֶךְ}*mitħarəχ*, ^{מִתְבָּרֶךְ}*mitħbarəχ*. See § 27, Rem. 4, b.
On the half-vowels, see § 10.

12. In the following table we give a scale of the vowel-sounds in each of the three classes, with respect to their quantity, from the greatest length to the utmost shortness. The table does not indeed suffice to exhibit all vowel transitions, which occur in the language, but yet it furnishes a view of those in more frequent use:—

First Class: A.	Second Class: I and E.	Third Class: U and O.
— longest ā (Arabic ^أ —).	— ē diphthongal (from ai). — è (from ai). — or — long ī.	— ô diphthongal (from aw). — or — ô changed from ā. — or — long ī.
— tone-long ā (from short ā or —) in and by the tone-syllable.	— tone-long ē (from — ī or — ě) in and immediately before the tone-syllable. — short ī.	— tone-long ô (from — ô or —) in the tone-syllable. — short ū, specially in a sharpened syllable.
— short ā.	— short ě.	— short ö.
— partly tone-long è, partly short ě, — ī attenuated from ā.	— ě, accented è.	— ě, accented è.
Greatest shortening to —ā —ě or —ī, also to	Greatest shortening to —ē or —ī.	Greatest shortening to —ō or —ī.

ON THE DISTINCTION OF QĀ'MEṢ AND QĀ'MEṢ-CHĀṬŪPH.¹

As an instance of incongruity in the vowel-signs, we may notice the fact, that the long ā (*Qā'-meṣ*) and the short ô (*Qā'-meṣ-chāṭūph*) are both represented by the same sign (—), e. g. ^{מְגַם}*gām*, ^{לְכָ}*kōl*.² The beginner who has as yet no

¹ This portion must, in order to be fully understood, be studied in connection with what is said on the syllables in § 26, and on *Méthēg* in § 16, 2.

² For the cause of this, see Note ¹ on p. 85; but cf. *Bær-Del.* Job 17, 9.

knowledge of that surest of guides, viz., the grammatical derivation of the words he has to read, may, in order to distinguish between these two vowels, follow these two chief rules: viz.—

1. *The sign (—) is ö in a closed syllable which has not the tone (or accent); for such a syllable cannot have a long vowel* (§ 26, 5). The examples are various:

a) When simple *Sh^{wā}*, as syllable-divider (§ 10, 8), follows, as in חָכְמָה chōkh-mā' (*wisdom*), תַּלְמִזְבֵּחַ 'ōkh-lā' (*food*); with a *Méthégh* on the contrary, the (—) is ā and closes the syllable, and then the following *Sh^{wā}* is a half-vowel (*vocal Sh^{wā}*), as in אֲכַלְמָה 'ā-kh^{wā}lā (*she ate*), according to § 16, 2.

b) When *Dāghēsh forte* follows, as in חָנְנֵנִי chōn-né-ni (*pity me*); also בָּתְּמִים bōt̄m (*houses*), בָּתְּרִים bōt̄-tē-khém, though the *Méthégh* (§ 16, 2) makes others pronounce these words better with ā, as bāt̄-tīm.

c) When *Mäggēph* follows (§ 16, 1), as כָּלְאָדָם kōl-hā-'ādhām (*all men*).

d) When the closed unaccented syllable is final, as וָיָּזַע wāy-yā'qōm (*and he stood up*).—There are some cases where ā in the final syllable loses its tone by *Mäggēph* (§ 16, 1) and yet remains unchanged, e. g. קְרֵבְתָּה Est. 4, 8, שְׂרֵפָה Gen. 4, 25, 16, קְרֵבְתָּה Ps. 16, 5. In such cases the *Méthégh* or a secondary accent generally stands by the (—).

In cases like נָאָלָה, מָצָה lā'mma, where the (—) of the closed syllable has the tone, it is ā, according to § 26, 6.

2. The sign (—) as short ö in an *open syllable* is less frequent. It occurs:—a) when *Chātēph-Qā'mēṣ* follows, as פָּלָעַ pō-'lō' (*his deed*); or simple vocal *Sh^{wā}* as דָּרְקָן *sting*;—b) when another *Qā'mēṣ-chātūph* follows, as פָּעַלְקָה pō-'lō'khā (*thy deed*);—c) in two anomalous words, where it is also written with (—), which is found in manuscripts, viz., קְרֵשִׁים qō-dhā-shīm (*sanctuaries*) and שְׂרֵשִׁים shō-rā-shīm (*roots*).

In these cases (—) is followed by *Méthégh*, which indicates that the *Massora* (comp. *Bær-Del.* Job VI.) read ā thus: pā-'lō, dā-rəbān, pā-'lō'khā, qā-dāšim. This tradition though sustained by the Babylon. Punct. (§ 8, 2, Note) and by the orig. Jewish Grammarians, is not to be accepted without question. The *Méthégh* may orig. have had another meaning, or have been founded upon an error. It is better to divide and read: pō-'lō (f. pō'-lō), pō-'lō'khā, qōdā-šīm (clearly orthogr. for qōdāšim). Quite as difficult would be *Méthégh* as a sign of ā in קְרֵבְתָּה Ex. 11, 8, however possibly in בָּאָנִי bā-'nī, in the fleet 1 K. 9, 27 where the ā of the article is found under the ב.

§ 10.

THE HALF-VOWELS AND THE SYLLABLE-DIVIDER (SHEWĀ).

1. Besides the full vowels, which § 9 chiefly treats of, the Hebrew has also a series of very slight vowel-sounds, which may be called *half-vowels*.¹ They are to be regarded in general as extreme shortenings, perhaps mere traces, of fuller and more distinct vowel-sounds in an earlier period of the language.

To them belongs, first, the sign —, which indicates the shortest, slightest, and most indistinct half-vowel, something like an obscure half ē (ē). It is called *Shewā*,² and also *simple Shewā*, to distinguish it from the *composite* (see below in No. 2), and *vocal Shewā* (*Shewā mobile*), to distinguish it from the *silent* (*Shewā quiescens*), which is merely a divider of syllables (see No. 3). This last can occur only under a consonant closing the syllable, and is thus distinguished from the vocal *Shewā*. Of the vocal *Shewā* we have again to distinguish two kinds,

1) the real *Shewā mobile*, beneath such consonants as are closely united (as a kind of *appoggiatura*), with the following syllable, whether—*a*) at the beginning of the word, as נְטָרָq̄'ōl, נְמַלֵּה m̄mälle'; or—*b*) in the middle of the word, as קְוִטָּחָq̄ō-f̄'lā', תְּקִבָּה ȳq̄-f̄'lū', תְּלִבָּה q̄itt̄'lū',

2) the so-called *Shewā medium*,³ or *Shewā* wavering [*schwebende*] placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effect at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as *appoggiatura* to the following syllable. The *Shewā medium* therefore stands between the *Shewā quiescens* and the real *Shewā mobile*. With reference to pronunciation however, it must be

¹ In the table § 9, 12 on p. 43, the half-vowels have already been exhibited for the sake of a more complete view. We express them by very small letters.

² The name שְׁוָא is written also שְׁוָּא, and its derivation and proper meaning are disputed.

³ Dr. Davies preferred to regard the cases here classified (under the name of *medium*) as exceptionally faint *vocal Shewās*, to be indicated in English by an apostrophe ('), thus קְבָּדָה m̄d̄'-khā'.—Ed.

counted among the latter; e. g. הַנְּנִי *hin-nî* (which stands for הַנְּנִי *hin-nîni*); לְמַנְצֵהָ *la-m'naṣṣe'a ch* (for 'מַנְצֵהָ', מַלְכֵהָ *mal'khé*).

The sound ē may be regarded as representing vocal *Sh'wâ*, although it is certain that it often accorded in sound with other vowels. The Sept. express it by ε, even η, γεράβοριμ Χερουθίμ, την ἀλληλούα, oftener by α, Σαλωμώ Σαμουήλ, but very often they give it a sound to accord with the following vowel, as στό Σόδομα, πατέρι Σολομών (besides Σαλωμών), τραβέρξι Σαβαώθ, ἄριτη Ναθαναήλ.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Sh'wâ* is given also by the Jewish grammarians of the middle ages².

How the *Sh'wâ* sound springs from the slight or hasty utterance of a stronger vowel, we may see in בָּרָךְ (for which also בָּרָכָה occurs, see No. 2, Rem.) from *barakha*, as this word also sounds in Arabic. This language has still regularly for vocal *Sh'wâ* an ordinary short vowel.

2. With the simple vocal *Sh'wâ* is connected the so-called composite *Sh'wâ* or *Chāṭé'ph* (*rapid*), i. e. a *Sh'wâ* attended by a short vowel to indicate that we should sound it as a half-ă, ē, or ö. We have, answering to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7, 1), the following three *Chāṭé'phs*:

- (—) *Chāṭé'ph-Pálhach*, as in חֲמֹר *ch'a'môr* (*ass*).
- (—) *Chāṭé'ph-S'għô'l*, as in אֶמְרָא *'môr* (*to say*).
- (—) *Chāṭé'ph-Qđ'meš*, as in יְלִחְ *eh'li* (*sickness*).

These *Chāṭé'phs*, at least the two former, stand chiefly under the four gutturals (§ 22, 3), the utterance of which naturally causes the annexed half-vowel to be rather more distinctly sounded. At the beginning of the syllable a guttural can never have a simple *Sh'wâ*.

Rem. Only (—) and (—) occur under letters which are not gutturals.

¹ This is not unusual in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e. g. Μαλάκα *Malaca*, γούβουλιμ *gubulim* (see *Gesen. Mon. Phœnicia* p. 436, *Schröder*, die phön. Spr., S. 139 ff., *Movers' article Phœnizien* in the *Encyclop.*, p. 436). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memordi*.

² See, especially *Juda Chayyug*, p. 4 and p. 130 of the edition by Nutt, (Berlin, 1870) = p. 200 in ed. by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844), also in *Ibn Ezra's Sachoth*, p. 3, *Gesenius's Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, S. 68. The "Manuel du lecteur" mentioned above § 6, 1 contains also express rules for the different utterances of the vocal *Sh'wâ*.

The *Chāṭéph-Pü'thách* is thus found instead of *simple vocal Sh'wā*, especially a) under a doubled letter, since the doubling causes a more distinct utterance of the vocal *Sh'wā*, as בְּנֵי־בָּנִים branches Zech. 4, 12, especially also where the sign of doubling has fallen away (*Del.* and *Guer. Ztschr.* Bd. 24, p. 499), בְּנֵי־בְּנִים Judg. 16, 18; no less universally where after a consonant with (—) the same consonant follows (for sharper distinction) e. g. סְדִידָרָת Ps. 68, 7; קְנַדְקָל Gen. 27, 13 (except some special cases like בְּנֵי־בָּנִים see me!) and finally under ר after the long vowel and before the tone e. g. בְּרִכָּה Ps. 108, 1; b) under the initial sibilants after ה copulative e. g. וְזֹהָב Gen. 2, 12; חְקָרָה Gen. 27, 26, to give the *Sh'wā* more prominence; for the same reason under emphatic פ in יְקַרְבָּה Ps. 55, 2 and under ר in יְרַעַם Ps. 28, 9; c) under liquids, sibilants, or פ after י, e. g. אֲרוֹרָה אֶת Ps. 12, 7; בְּשַׁבָּד Ps. 74, 5 for the same reason, as cases under b.

The *Chāṭéph-Qā'méṣ* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for *simple vocal Sh'wā* when an O sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. רָאָה for רָאָן vision (§ 93, VI. Rem. 6), נָבָרָא for the usual נָבָרָא Ez. 35, 6, from נָבָרָה his fate from נָבָרָה. It is used, also, like (—) when *Dāghēsh forte* has fallen away, נָבָרָה for נָבָרָה Gen. 2, 23. Here, as in בְּרִכָּה 1 K. 18, 7, and קָרְבָּה Jer. 22, 20, the choice of this composite *Sh'wā* is dependent on the following guttural and the preceding U sound; in וְחַדְרָה (u-fthhōr) additionally on the fol. O sound.

3. The sign of the *simple Sh'wā* (—) serves also as a mere *syllable-divider*, without expressing any sound, and therefore called in this case *silent Sh'wā* (Arab. *sukún* rest). It stands in the midst of a word under every consonant that closes a syllable; at the end of words, on the other hand, it is omitted, except in *final* ת, e. g. מֶלֶךְ (king), and in the less frequent case where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant, as in נְרָדָה (nard), תְּאָתָּה (thou, fem.), קְטַלָּה (thou hast killed), וְתַּהֲרֵה (and he watered), וְיִשְׂבַּע (and he took captive), תְּמַתְּתָּאָלָה (drink thou not).

Yet in the last examples *Sh'wā* under the last letter might rather pass for *vocal*, since it is pretty clear that a final vowel has been shortened, e. g. אָתָּה 'att^e from אָתָּה 'attⁱ, קְטַלָּה k̠et̠l̠ah from קְטַלָּה k̠et̠l̠ah, יִשְׁבַּע yishb^e from יִשְׁבַּעⁱ etc. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in the analogous forms. In וְרָאָה (Cant. 4, 14) borrowed from the Indian, וְרָאָה (truth) Prov. 22, 21, qōsh̠t, קְנַדְקָלָה (ne addas) Prov. 30, 6 the final mute draws from itself a very slight vowel sound.

¹ So thought *Juda Chayyug* among the Jewish grammarians.

§ 11.

OF THE OTHER SIGNS WHICH AFFECT THE READING.

In intimate connection with the vowel-points stand the *reading-signs*, which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point of **וּ** and **וִ** (p. 27), a point is used in a letter, in order to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled; and, on the contrary, a small horizontal stroke over a letter, as a sign that it has *not* the strong sound. The use of the point in the letter is threefold: — *a*) as *Dāghēsh forte* or sign of *doubling* (§ 12); — *b*) as *Dāghēsh lenē* or sign of the hard (not aspirated) sound (§ 13); — *c*) *Mappiq*, a sign that the vowel-letter (§ 7, 2) especially the **מִ** at the end of a word (§ 14, 1), has the sound of a consonant. The stroke over a letter, *Rāphé*, has a contrary effect, and is rarely used in the printed text (§ 14, 2).

§ 12.

OF DĀGHĒSH IN GENERAL, AND DĀGHĒSH FORTÈ IN PARTICULAR.

1. *Dāghēsh* is a point written in the bosom¹ of a consonant, and is employed for two purposes; *a*) to indicate the *doubling* of the letter (*Dāghēsh forte*), e. g. **בּוּמּ** *qit-te'l*; *b*) the *hardening* of the aspirates (§ 6, 3), i. e. the removal of the aspiration (*Dāghēsh lenē*). Comp. Note p. 49.

The root **וּרְ**, from which **וּרְ** is derived, signifies in Syriac to *thrust* or *bore through* (with a sharp iron). Hence the word *Dāghēsh* is commonly supposed to mean, with reference to its figure merely, a *prick* or a *point*. But the names of all similar signs are expressive of their grammatical power, and in this case, the name of the sign refers both to its figure and its use. In grammatical language **וּרְ** means,— 1) *acuere (literam)*, to *sharpener* the letter by doubling it;—2) to *harden* the letter by taking away its aspiration. Accordingly **וּרְ** means *sharpening* and *hardening*, i. e. the sign of *sharpening* or *hardening* (like

¹ The **וּ** with *Dāghēsh* is easily distinguished from *Shurq*, which never admits a vowel or *Shewā* under or before the **וּ**. The *Wāw* with *Dāghēsh* (וּ) ought to have the point not so high up as the *Wāw* with *Shurq* (וַ). But this difference is mostly neglected in print.

Mäppi'q, מַפְּפִּק proferens, i. e. *signum prolationis*), and it was expressed in writing by a mere *prick* of the *stilus* (*punctum*). In a manner somewhat analogous, in textual criticism letters and words are represented as expunged (*ex-puncta*) by a *point* or *pointed instrument* (*obeliscus*) affixed to them.—The opposite of Dāghē'sh is רָגֵשׁ soft (§ 14, 2).—That גָּשֵׁשׁ, in grammatical language, is applied to a *hard pronunciation* of various kinds appears from § 22, 4, Rem. 1.

2. Its use as *Dāghē'sh forte*, i. e. for *doubling* a letter, is of chief importance (compare the *Sicilicus* of the ancient Latins, e. g. *Luculus* for *Lucullus*, and in German the stroke over m and n). It is wanting in the unpointed text, like the vowel and other signs.

For the cases where it stands, and for further particulars respecting its varieties, see § 20.

§ 13 OF DĀGHĒSH LENE.

1. Dāghē'sh *lene*, the sign of *hardening*, belongs only to the aspirates (*literae aspiratae*) בְּנֶכְפָּת (§ 6, 3)¹. It takes away their aspiration, and restores their original *slender* or *pure* sounds (*literae tenues*) e. g. קָלֵל *mal-lēkh*, but *mal-kō'*; קָפֵר *tō-phā'r*, but יְחִפֵּר *yīth-pō'r*; שָׁהֵת *shū-thā'*, but *yish-tē*.

2. Dāghē'sh *lene*, as shown in § 21, stands only at the beginning of words and syllables. It is thus easily distinguished from Dāghē'sh *forte*, since in such cases the doubling of a letter is impossible. Thus the Dāghē'sh is *forte* in אֲפֵר *'āp-pi'*, רְבִים *rāb-bīm*, but *lene* in יְנִגְלֵל *yīgh-dā'l*, פְּנִים *pānim*.

3. Dāghē'sh *forte* in an aspirate doubles it in its original harder sound, so excluding its aspiration and serving at once for both *forte* and *lene*, as in אֲפֵר *'āp-pi'*, רְכֹות *rāk-hō'th*. Compare in German *stechen* and *stecken*, English *stitch* and *stick*, *wachen* and *wecken*, Engl. *watch* and *wake*.

It is natural that where the letter is to be doubled, it does not admit easily of such a softening of its sound. In confirmation of this rule

¹ Prof. Kautzsch notices here an anomalous application of the Dāghē'sh *lene* to other than the aspirates in order to accentuate the beginning of a new syllable. Examples of this are to be found in the corrected text of Baer-Delitzsch, e. g. תְּבַקֵּל־תְּבַקֵּל Ps. 9, 2, תְּזַהֵּר־תְּזַהֵּר Ps. 62, 8, comp. Delitzsch, luth. Ztschr. 1868, §. 418.—Ed.

we may refer to certain Oriental words, which, in the earliest times, passed over into the Greek language, as οὐκ κάππα (not κάρπα), yet οὐκ σάπειρος.

The doubling of a letter does not occur in Syriac, at least not in its Western dialects. Where it would be required, however, according to etymology and analogy, in some cases the hard sound at least remains: thus אָפִין in Syriac is read 'apīn for 'appīn, דָלִי dalî for dakkî.

§ 14.

MAPPÍQ AND RĀPHÈ.

1. *Mappíq*, like Dāghē'sh, to which it is analogous, is a point in a letter. It belongs only to the vowel-letters א, א, ו, ו (literae quiescibiles, see § 7, 2), and shows that they are to be fully sounded as consonants, instead of serving as vowels. It is at present used only in final ו, for in the body of a word this letter always has its consonant force, e. g. גָּבָּהּ gā-bhā'h (*to be high*), מָרְאָהּ 'är-ṣā'h (*her land*), the h having its full consonant-sound (shortened from -ħā'), in distinction from מָרְאָהּ 'är-ṣū (*land-ward*), which ends with a vowel.

Without doubt such a ו was uttered with stronger aspiration, like the Arabic *He* at the end of the syllable. The use of *Mappíq* with ו, א, ו, ו to mark them as consonants, is almost confined to manuscripts, e. g. גַּי (gôy), קָוָא (qāw); and it appears in the printed text only very seldom with the 'Aléph, thus א Gen. 43, 26, Lev. 23, 17, Ezr. 8, 18.

The name רָפֵק signifies *proferens* i. e. a sign that requires the sound of the letter to be clearly expressed as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for Dāghē'sh, because the design was analogous, viz., to indicate the strong sound of the letter. Hence also *Rāphè* is the opposite of both.

2. *Rāphè* (רָפֵק i. e. *soft*), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the opposite of both Dāghē'sh and Mappíq, especially of Dāghē'sh *lene*. In exact manuscripts especially an aspirate has either Dāghē'sh *lene* or Rāphè, e. g. מָלֵךְ mā'lekh, תָּחֲתָהּ tāħatħ; but in printed editions of the Bible (except of Baer-Delitzsch, v. Note, p. 49) it is used only when the absence of Dāghē'sh or Mappíq is to be expressly noted, e. g. *Dagh. f.* wanting in תְּלִבְתָּהּ for תְּלִבְתָּהּ, Judg. 16, 16, and *Dāghē'sh lene* in מְשֻׁתָּהּ v. 28, and *Mappíq* in Job 31, 22.

§ 15.
OF THE ACCENTS.

1. The design of the *accents* in general is, to show the rhythmical members of the verses in the Old Testament text, especially in the poetical books. But as such the use is two-fold, according to which they are chiefly to be noticed in the grammar, viz.—*a*) to show the logical relation of each word to the whole sentence;—*b*) to mark the tone-syllable in each word. In respect to the former, they serve as signs of *interpunction*; in respect to the latter, as signs of the *tone* or *accent*.

In their *original* idea accents are chiefly signs of *declamation*, intimating the elevation and depression of the tone, and are used as such in the recitation, or rather the *cantillation*, of the Old Test. in the synagogues. This use of them is also connected with the general rhythmical design.

2. As a sign for marking the *tone* of a single word, the accent, whatever its rhythmical value besides may be, stands regularly (comp. Rem. 2, p. 54) with the syllable which has the chief tone in the word. In most words the tone is on the last syllable, less frequently on the last but one (*penultima*). In the first case, the word is called by the grammarians *mil-rā'* (מלָרָא Aram. *from below*), e. g. בְּתַךְ qā-tā'l; in the second, *mil'-ē'l* (מלָעֵל Aram. *from above*), e. g. בְּתַךְ mā'-lēkh. On the third syllable from the end (*antepenultima*) the chief tone never stands; but we often find there a secondary one, or by-tone, which is indicated by the *Méthégh* (§ 16, 2). The Jewish grammarians accept also a proparoxytone in such cases as צָהָרָה עֲמָדָה Is. 50, 8.

3. The use of the accents as signs of *interpunction* is somewhat complicated, since they serve not merely to separate the members of a sentence, like our period, colon, semicolon and comma, but also as marks of connection. Hence they form two general classes, *Distinctives* (Domini) and *Conjunctives* (Servi). Again there is to be distinguished a double system of accentuation *a*) the *Prosaic*, found in 21 O. T. books (the so-called נ"ב i. e. 21) and *b*) the *Poetical* in the three first

books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Comp. Note⁵ p. 22. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the Prosaic.

The following list of the accents presents them in the order¹ of their value as *signs of interpunction*.

I. PROSAIC ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives (Dominii)

I. Imperatores	1. (סָלִיק :) (<i>Sillū'q</i> , ² "end") with (:) סְפָרִיק ;
	2. (אַתְּנָדֵח :) (<i>Athnā'dch</i> , "rest"); ³
	3. (סְגַהְלָתָא :) (<i>Səghələtā</i> , "bunch of grapes"); ††
	4. (שְׁלַשְׁלֵתָה :) (<i>Shälshēlēth</i> , "chain") with פְּסִיק following;
II. Reges	5. (זָקֵף קְטוֹן :) (<i>Zaqēph qātōn</i> , "slight suspension");
	6. (גָּדְלָה :) (<i>Gādhlā</i> , <i>Zaqeph gādhōl</i> , "great suspension");
	7. (רְבִיעָה :) (<i>Rəbhī'a</i> , "square" or "reposing");
	8. (פְּשַׁתָּא :) (<i>Pəshṭā</i> , "letting down"); ††
III. Duces	9. (יְתִיבָה :) (<i>Yəthibh</i> , "sitting still"); †
	10. (טְפַחָה :) (<i>Tiphchā</i> , "palm of the hand"); †† ⁴
	11. (תְּבִיר :) (<i>Təbhīr</i> , "interruption");
	12. (זָרְקָה :) (<i>Zarqā</i> , "dispersion"); ††
IV. Comites	13. (גֶּרֶשׁ :) (<i>Geresh</i> , "expulsion");
	14. (גְּרַשְׁתִּים :) (<i>Gərāshim</i> , "double Geresh");
	15. (לְגַרְמֵה :) (<i>Ləgarmēh</i> = מְרַמֵּה (see 21) with (:) פְּסִיק (<i>Pəsiq</i> , "cut off");
	16. (פְּזַרָּה :) (<i>Pəzér</i> , "separator");
17. (קָרְנֵה פָּרָה :) (<i>Qārnē-phārā</i> , "heifer's horns");	
	18. (תְּלִשָּׁה גֶּדְホָלָה :) (<i>Təlīshā Gədholā</i> , "great shield");

¹ This list has been tabulated and enlarged for the sake of clearness. The order here given is that adopted by Kautsch, with the addition of the Hebrew names and their definitions as given by Stade (Lehrb. 1879), Ewald and others.—Ed.

² Only at the end of the verse and always united with (:) סְופִּה-pāssū'q which separates each verse, e. g. : מְאֻנָּה.

³ Usually under the tone-syllable of the last word in the first half of the verse.

⁴ For explanation of the signs † and †† see Rem. 2 below.

† = preposition
†† = postposition

B. Conjunctives (Servi).

19. (.) מִירְכָּה (Mer^ekhā, "prolonging");
20. („) מִירְכָּה כְּפֻלָּא (Mer^ekhā kh^ephūla, "m. doubled");
21. (.) מוֹנֵחַ (Mûnāch, "at rest");
22. (.) דָּרְגָּא (Dārgā, "progress");
23. (') קָדְמָא (Qādhamā, "beginning");
24. (.) מִרְפָּךְ (Māhpāch, "inverted");
25. (') תַּלְלָשָׁא קְטַנָּה (T^el^elshā Q^etannā, "little shield");††
26. (.) יְרָאֶחֶבְנֵיּוֹמָן (Yerāch ben Yōmōn, "moon a day old");
27. (.) מַאיְלָא (M'ailā, "from afar").¹

II. POETICAL ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives.

1. (:) סְלוּק Silluq (see above).
2. (‘) מִרְכָּה מְהֻפֶּךְ Mer^ekhā m^ehuppākh or 'Olev^ejōrēd, a stronger separator than
3. (.) אֲתַנָּח 'Atnā'ch (v s.). In smaller verses 'Atnā'ch suffices as chief separator; in larger ones the Mer^ekhā m^ehuppākh serves as such, and is then always followed by 'athnach as greatest distinctive of the second half of the word,
4. (‘) רְבִיעַ גָּדוֹל (‘) Great *R^ebīā*,
5. (‘) רְבִיעַ מְגֻרָּשׁ *R^ebīā Megrāsh*, i.e. *R^ebīā* with *Ge'rēsh* over the same word,
6. (‘) שְׁלַשְׁלָתָה *Shälshélēth* (v. s.),
7. (‘) צָנֵר *Sinnōr* (*Zärqā*) ††;
8. (‘) רְבִיעַ קְטוֹן Little *R^ebīā*, immediately before Mer^ekhā m^ehuppākh,
9. (‘) דְּחִי or *tiphchā* prepositive †,
10. (‘) פָּזֵר *Pāzēr* (v. sup.),
- 11a. („) מְהֻפֶּךְ לְגַרְמֵה M^ehuppākh l^egarmēh, i. e. *mahpakh* with *P'siq*,
- 11b. (‘) אַזְלָא לְגַרְמֵה Azlā l^egarmēh, i. e. *Azlā* with *P'siq*.

¹ To indicate the secondary tone in words which have *Silluq* or 'Atnā'ch.

B. Conjunctives.

12. () מְרֵקָה *Mérəkhā* (v. s.),
13. () מִנָּחָה *Münach* (v. s.),
14. (') שְׁלֹחוֹת *Illui* or *Munach Superior*,
15. () טַרְחָה *Tärchā* placed under the tone-syllable and thus easily distinguished from No. 9.
16. () גַּלְגָּל *Galgal* (or *Yéräch* v. no. 26 supra.),
17. () מַהְפָּךְ *Mähpākh* (v. s.),
18. (') אַזְלָאָה *Azlā* (v. s.),
19. (') קֶטְנָה שָׁלְשֶׁלֶת *Shalsheleth qətannāh* (little Sh). The last three are distinguished from the distinctives of the same name by the absence of the *Pesiq* stroke.

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. As Signs of the Tone.

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἰσιτι and εἰσιτη, *entrance* and *entrance*), so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants and vowel-signs are often distinguished by the accent, e. g. בָּנָו bā-nū' (*they built*), בָּנָנוּ bā-nū' (*in us*), קָמָה qā'mā (*she stood up*), קָמָה qāmā' (*standing up*, fem.).

2. As a rule, the accents stand on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. Some, however, stand only on the first letter of a word (*prepositive*), others only on the last letter (*postpositive*). The former are designated in the table by †, the latter by ††. These do not, therefore, clearly indicate the tone-syllable, which must be known in some other way.

3. The place of the accent, specially when it is on the penultima, is indicated in this book by the sign (—), e. g. قَاتِلَةٌ qā-tā'l-tā.

II. As Signs of Interpunction.

4. In respect to this use of the accent, every verse is regarded as a period, which closes with Sillú'q¹, or, in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a realm (*dítio*), which is governed by the great Distinctive at the end (*Imperator*). According as the verse is long or short, i. e. as the empire is large or small, so varies the number of *Domini* of different grades, which form the larger and smaller divisions,

¹ This has the same form with *Méthégh* (§ 16, 2); but they are readily distinguished, as *Sillúq* always stands at the last tone-syllable of a verse, while *Méthégh* never stands at a tone-syllable.

§ 16. MAQQEPH AND METHEG.

5. Conjunctives (*Servi*) unite only such words as are closely connected in sense, as a noun with an adjective, or with another noun in the genitive. For the closest connection of two or several words *Mäqqēph* is used (§ 16, 1).

6. In very short verses few conjunctives are used, and sometimes none; a small distinctive, in the vicinity of a greater, having a connective power (*servit domino majori*). In very long verses, on the contrary, conjunctives are used for the smaller distinctives (*fiant legati dominorum*).

7. Without attempting here to explain¹ the laws of consecution, we may remark, to avoid misunderstanding, that in poetic accentuation, the *Rebhī'a* *Mugrāsh* before *Sillūq* and the *Dechī* before *Athnā'ch* must be changed into a *conjunctive*, unless at least two unaccented syllables precede the chief distinctives. Here *Sh'wā* mobile after *Qā'mēṣ*, *Şerē* or *Chō'lēm* (with *Methēgh*) is considered as forming a syllable.

§ 16. OF MÄQQÉPH AND MÈTHÉGH.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. *Mäqqēph* (מַקְפֵּה *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between two words, which thus become so united that, in respect to tone and interpunction, they are regarded as one, and have but one accent. Two, three, and four words may be united in this way, e. g. בָּלְאָדָם *every man*, אֶחָד־כָּל־עַשְׂבָּד *every herb* Gen. 1, 29, אֶחָד־כָּל־אֲדֹנָיוֹת *all which to him (was)* Gen. 25, 5.

Certain monosyllabic words, like אֶל־ *to*, אֶל־ *on*, אֶת־ sign of the Acc., אֶל־ *all*, are almost always thus connected. But a longer word may also be joined to a monosyllable, e. g. תְּהִלָּתְךָ־נָצְרָתְךָ Gen. 6, 9, יְהִי־רְא־תְּךָ Gen. 1, 7. 9; or two polysyllables, e. g. שְׁבַע־חַדְשָׁתְךָ־שְׁבָרְךָ Gen. 7, 11. —Compare the Greek proclitics ἐν, εἰς, ἐκ, εἰ, ως, οὐ, which as ἔτονα lean on the next word.

2. *Methēgh* (מַתְגֵּה *a bridle*), a small perpendicular line on the left of a vowel, indicates a kind of check upon the influence of the accents as marking the tone-syllable, and shows

¹ The curious student is referred, for a full treatment of the Accents, to *Ewald's Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache*, §§ 97—100. See also Prof. A. C. Davidson's Outlines of Heb. Accentuation. Edinb. 1861, the appendix to *Delitzsch's* commentary on Psalms, and *Delitzsch's* review, in *Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's elements* (Leipzg. 1877). It is to be noted that a thorough study of the accents can only be made with the aid of correct editions of the text, like those of *Baer Delitzsch*, our ordinary texts being corrupt.

that the vowel, though not accented, should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation; (hence the other names of *Méthégh*: *Ma'rikh* (מָרִיךְ), i. e. *lengthener*, or *gā'yā* (גָּעֵיא) i. e. *raising* of the voice).¹

There has to be distinguished: 1) The *light Méthégh*. This is divided again into: a) the ordinary *Méthégh* of the secondary tone, as a rule on the second syllable before the tone, e. g. *הָאָדָם*; but also in the third when the second is closed, e. g. *הָאָרָבֶּזֶים* and, when the third cannot take it, even the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Méthégh* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone when it already stands in the second. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open *ultima* which is joined by *mäqqē'ph* to a word beginning with *Sh'wā* pretonic, e. g. *שְׁלֹמֹה־בָּנָי*, *מִרְלָחָן* to prevent the *Sh'wā* from being regarded as *silent*.

This *Méthégh* never stands with the *copulative*; therefore *not. יְבִינִית etc.* (likewise not *וּבְנִי etc.*—contrary to *b*, *α*, below; although *וּבְרִיב etc.* according to *b*, *δ*, comp. § 10, 2. Rem.)

b) the firm or indispensable *Méthégh*. α) with all long vowels which are followed by vocal *Sh'wā* pretonic, e. g. *הַלְּכָה etc.* β) to emphasize a long vowel immediately before *Mäqqē'ph*, e. g. *שְׁחָדְלִי Gen. 4, 25* (ā, not ö). γ) with *Sérē* which has lost its accent by the removal of the tone, to prevent its pronunciation as *Sghōl*, e. g. *הַחֲבָב* (not *’ohēbh*). δ) with all vowels before composite *Sh'wā* e. g. *רַעֲמָד צַעֲקִים וְקַבְנִי etc.* except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. *וְקַבְנִי Is. 62, 2*, because the sharpening by *dāghē'sh* excludes the lengthening of the vowel by *Méthégh*. ε) In the initial syllable of all forms of *הָיָה to be*, and *דִּין to live*, where the *ת* and *מ* stand with silent *Sh'wā* (for greater distinctness of utterance) e. g. *רִיחָה etc.* ζ) with the *Qā'mēš* of the plural forms *בָּתָתִים בָּתָתִים* (*böttim etc.*) and with *אָנָּא prithee!* to avoid the sounds *böttim, önnā*.

Every kind of light *Méthégh* may in certain circumstance be changed into a conjunctive accent.

¹ Comp. as the source of the article on *Méthégh*, the thorough discussion of S. Baer upon the "Meteg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen" in A. Merz, Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test. Heft I (Halle 1867), S. 56, and Heft II (1868), S. 194.

2) The grave *Méthēgh* (*Gáyā* in a more limited sense) is not employed to lengthen, but only to give more importance to a short vowel or an initial *Sh'wā*, especially to the *Pāthāch* of the article or the prefixes בּ, כּ, בּ, when followed by *Sh'wā*, e. g. הַמְסֻלָּה לִמְסֻלָּה etc., but not before וְיִרְחֵי and וְיִרְחֵי when they stand before *Méthēgh* or with the accent *Pāshṭā*) nor before or after the ordinary *Méthēgh*. It is also put with interrogative הַ when it has *Pāthāch* and at the right side of it e. g. הַאֲלֹךְ (except before וְ, *dāghēsh forte*, or the tone). The so-called *Sh'wā Gáyā* is especially important in poetical accentuation, for purposes of musical recitation. It stands chiefly upon words whose principal tone is marked by a *Distinctive* without a preceding *Conjunctive*.

3) The *Euphonic Gáyā*, for the distinct enunciation of such consonants as, in consequence of the loss of the tone, might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיַּשְׁבַּע לְ Gen. 24, 9; פְּנִינָה אֶרְםָ פְּנִינָה אֶרְםָ 28, 2 etc.

Rem. 1. The *Méthēgh* is of special service to the beginner, as indicating (according to letter *a*, above) the quantity of *Qāmēṣ* and *Chīrēq* before a *Sh'wā*. Thus in חָקְלָא 'a-khēlā' the *Méthēgh* shows that the *Sh'wā* is here *vocal*; but the (—) in an open syllable before (—) must be long (§ 28, 3), consequently *Qāmēṣ*, not *Qāmēṣ-chāṭūph*. On the contrary, in חָקְלָא 'okklā' without *Méthēgh* the (—) stands in a closed syllable and is consequently short (*Qāmēṣ-chāṭūph*). Thus also יִירְאָה (they fear) with *Méthēgh* with a long ī, *yī-re-āh*, but יִירְאָה (they see) without *Méthēgh* with short ī, *yī'rāh*; see also the rule about *Qāmēṣ* and *Qāmēṣ-chāṭūph* above in § 9.

Rem. 2. It should be said however that the Jewish Grammarians do not consider syllables lengthened by *Méthēgh* as open. With them the *Sh'wā* is silent, in cases like תְּבָנָא (above), the בּ belonging to the preceding syllable. Comp. Baer. *Torath Emeth* p. 9. and in *Merx's Archiv L* p. 60. Rem. 1.

§ 17.

OF THE QERI AND KETHIBH.

The margin of the Bible exhibits a number of various readings of an early date (§ 3, 2), called יִרְקִים (*read*), because in the view of the Jewish critics they are to be preferred

to what stands in the text, and to be read instead of what is there written, hence called **כתב** (*written*). Those critics have therefore attached the vowel-signs, appropriate to the marginal reading, to the corresponding word in the text; e. g. in Jer. 42, 6, we find in the text אָנֹחַ, in the margin אָנֹחַ קָרֵא. Here the vowel-points in the text belong to the word in the margin, which is to be pronounced *we*; but in reading the *Kethibh* אָנֹחַ, the proper vowels must be supplied, namely אָנֹחַ *we*. A small circle or asterisk over the word in the text always directs to the marginal reading. — With some words of frequent occurrence, that are *always* read otherwise than they are written, it has not been thought needful to put in the margin the word as read, but only to attach its vowels to the word in the text; and the word so pointed is called a *Qerî perpetuum*. So we find הָוָא (*Q. הִיא*) in the Pentateuch wherever it stands as *feminine* (§ 32, Rem. 6); שְׁבָרֶךְ (*Qerî* יְשַׁבֵּךְ) Gen. 30, 18 etc. comp. *Gesen. Lex.* and *Baer-Delitzsch*, Liber Genesis p. 84, יְרוּשָׁלָם (*Qerî* יְרוּשָׁלָּם), properly יְרוּשָׁלָּם; יְהָדָה (*Qerî* אֲדֹנָי the Lord), or יְהָהָה (*Q. אלֹהִים* God) whenever אֲדֹנָי stands next before it in the text, but properly it is always אֲדֹנָי *Yâh-wè* (comp. § 102, 2, Rem.).

As to the critical value of the marginal readings see *Gesenius's Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache*, S. 50, 75.

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLES AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

In order fully and rightly to comprehend the changes which the forms of the various parts of speech undergo, it is necessary first to get acquainted with certain general laws which govern those changes. These laws are founded

partly on the peculiarities of certain classes of letters, considered individually or as combined in syllables, and partly on certain usages of the language in reference to the syllables and the tone.

§ 19. CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

The changes occasioned among consonants by the formation of words, inflection, euphony, or certain influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation*, *assimilation*, *rejection* and *addition*, *transposition*.

1. *Commutation* takes place most naturally among letters which are *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (comp. § 6, Item. 1 on page 29), e. g. עַזְבֵּךְ, עַלְמָה, עַלְכָּךְ to *exult*; לְאַחֲרָה, לְאַחֲרִיָּה, Aram. לְאַחֲרָא to *tire*; — and יְרִים — (as plural ending); צַחַק and צַחַק; to *press*; סַגֶּר and סַגֶּר to *close*; מַלְכָּת and מַלְכָּת to *ship* or *escape*. In process of time, and as the language approximated to the Aramaean, hard and rough sounds specially were exchanged for softer ones, e. g. נַעַל for נַעַל to *reject*, קַחַק for קַחַק to *laugh*; and for the sibilants were substituted the corresponding flat sounds, as תַּ for תִּ, טַ for טִ, נַ for נִ; which latter cases may be regarded as a return to an earlier pronunciation.

This interchange of consonants affects the original forms of words more than it does their grammatical inflection; the consideration of it, therefore, belongs rather to the lexicon. Examples occur, however, in the grammatical inflection of words; viz., the interchange — a) of תַּ and טַ in Hithpaēl, (§ 54); — b) of רַ and רִ in verbs *Pe Yôdh* (§ 69), as רַלְדַּ for רַלְדַּ (he *begat*).

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when a consonant, at the close of a syllable, passes over into the one beginning the next syllable, so as to form with it a double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συνλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs —

- a) most frequently with the slightly nasal נַ, especially before harder consonants, e. g. מַשְׁמָם (for שְׁמָם) from *there*,

- מִזְהָה (for מִזְהָה) *from this*, יַתֵּן (for יְנַתֶּן) *he will give*, מִתְנַתָּה (for מִתְנַתָּה) *thou hast given*. Before gutturals נִ is commonly retained (except sometimes with חִ); also after the prefix לִ, as מִלְכָה etc. and when the נִ is the third letter of the stem, as מִלְבָדָה *thou hast dwelt* (comp. however מִתְמַתָּה for מִתְמַנָּה); finally in isolated cases as מִתְהַנָּה Ps. 68, 3 (here and elsewhere probably as intentional emphasis in long pause, comp. Is. 29, 1; 58, 3 Deut. 33, 9).
- b) less frequently, and only in special cases, with לִ, רִ, תִּ, דִּ, e. g. יְקַח for יַלְקַח *he will take*; הַכּוֹן for הַכּוֹן *to be established*, שְׁלִי for שְׁלָרְךָ who to me (§ 36); אֲחֹתָה for אֲחֹת Is. 27, 8;
- c) in isolated cases with אֲחוֹרָה e. g. בְּסָפָטָה Is. 27, 8; אֲנוֹא from אֲנוֹא; finally רִ and יִ mostly before sibilants in forms like יְצַרְךָ for יִצְרָר comp. § 71.

In all these cases, the assimilated letter is expressed by *Dāghēsh forte* in the next following. In a consonant at the end of the word, however, as it cannot be doubled (§ 20, 3, a), the *Dāghēsh* is omitted, e. g. נִזְבָּח nose for נִזְבָּח or נִזְבָּחָה, תִּתְהַנָּה for תִּתְהַנָּה (prop. תִּתְהַנָּה) *to give*, לִתְהַנָּה for לִתְהַנָּה *to bear*; comp. τύψας for τύψας.

In these last cases the assimilated letter has not *Shewā*, but the helping-vowel *S'ghōl* (§ 28, 4), which, however, is only recognized as an euphonic substitute for *Shewā*.

By way of assimilation backwards, we occasionally find a second weaker sound swallowed up by the stronger one before it; e. g. מִלְלָה from מִלְלָה־אֵךְ (§ 59, Rem. 3), מִבְנָה for מִבְנָה *from him* (§ 103, 2). With this may be reckoned יְלַכֵּב for יַלְכֵב *he will surround* (§ 67, 5), also מִצְבָּח for מִצְבָּח (§ 66, 2).

3. The complete *rejection* or *falling away* of a consonant easily happens, especially in the case of the weaker ones, viz. the breathings (חִ, נִ), or vowel-letters (וִ, יִ), or liquids (כִּ, לִ). It happens—

- a) at the beginning of a word (*aphæresis*), when such a feeble consonant has not a full vowel, and its sound is easily lost upon the ear, as נִזְבָּח and נִזְבָּחָה (me), פִּי for פַּעַם (comp. No. 2, b, above), בִּשְׁבָּעָה (sit thou) for יִשְׁבָּע; עִזְבָּעָה for orig. עִזְבָּעָה 2 Sam. 22, 41 is anomalous.

b) in the midst of a word (*contraction*), when such a feeble consonant is preceded only by a Sh^wā, e. g. מִרְמָה for מַרְמָה (but comp. רַאשְׁׂוֹן for רַאשְׁׂׂוֹן), לְמַלְךָ for לְמַלְךָ (§ 23, 4, and § 35, Rem. 2), יְהִקְצִילָה for יְהִקְצִילָה (§ 53, 1). The contraction (or *syncope*) of א in the beginning of the syllable as בָּאָדָרִי, and לְקָרָאתָה for לְקָרָאתָה—the א being orthographically retained. Finally to the department of syncopè belongs the elision of the half vowel at the close of a syllable after a heterogeneous vowel, as e. g. יְרַדֵּד for יְרַדֵּד as well as that of the ר and י in verbs לְהַנְּהַר (§ 75, 3).

c) at the end of words (*apocope*), e. g. בְּנִים, יְקַטְּלָן for יְקַטְּלָה for sons, before the genitive בְּנֵי (§ 89). Upon the apocopè of half vowels in verbs לְהַנְּהַר see § 75.

Bolder changes were made in the infancy of the language, particularly in casting away consonants at the end of a word; thus, from אָבִן was formed אָבָן only; perh. from בָּהִר, בָּ, from בָּל, בָּ (see § 99, and § 100, 4). Here belongs also the change of the feminine ending בָּתָה to בָּתָּה ā (see § 44, 1, and § 80, 2).

4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation the *addition of א* (*Ā'lēph prostheticum*), with its vowel, takes place sometimes at the beginning of a word, e. g. זְרוּעָ and אֲזְרוּעָ arm (comp. χθές, ἐχθές, Lat. *spiritus* = French *esprit*, Welsh *ysprid*).

5. *Transposition* seldom occurs in the grammar, as in השְׁפֵר for החְשֵׁפֵר (§ 54, 2) because sht is easier to sound than thsh; but oftener in the province of the lexicon, as לְבַשְׁׂבָּב lamb, תְּמַלְּתָה garment, שְׁמַלְּתָה מְלֻכָּה and מְלֻכָּה tooth; they are, however, chiefly confined to the sibilants and liquids.

Even consonants, especially the weaker ones, may at the end of a syllable be softened to vowels, like είς from ζνείς, F. *chevaux* from *cheval* (comp. § 80, 8, c), e. g. כְּבָב star from כְּבָב for כְּבָב Comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. art. כְּבָב.

§ 20.

OF THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

1. The doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh forte* (§ 13) takes place, and is *essential*, i. e. necessary to the form of the word (*Dāghē'sh essential*)—

- a) when the same letter is to be written twice in succession, without an intermediate vowel—or *vocal Sh'wâ*; thus for בָּתַחֲנָנוּ we have בָּתַחֲנָנוּ *we have given*; for חִרְתָּהָרִי שִׁתָּהָרִי I have set; for חִרְתָּהָרִי חִרְתָּהָרִי I have cut off.
- b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19, 2), as יְמַנֵּן for יְמַנְּנֵן. In both these instances (a and b) it is called *Dāghēsh compensative*.
- c) when the doubling of a letter originally single is characteristic of a grammatical form, e. g. לְמַדְךָ he has learned, but לְמַדְךָ he has taught (*Dāghēsh characteristic*).

The double consonant is actually and necessarily written twice (without admitting the compensation), whenever a vowel sound, even the shortest (a vocal *Sh'wâ*), comes between. In the latter case according to the correct Massora, there should be a composite *Sh'wâ* preceded by *Mithēgh* e. g. הַלְלֵלִים, קָלְלֵלִים etc. (comp. § 16). The compos. *Sh'wâ* does not stand before the ד, e. g. תְּרִבְנָה Gen. 27, 4, but also here the first כ has *Vocal Sh'wâ* (otherwise the 2d כ would have naturally a *Dāghēsh lene*). Also in cases where the first of the two consonants has already been doubled by *Dāghēsh forte*, it can have no other than the *Vocal Sh'wâ* and therefore a further contraction is impossible. This holds true also there when the *Dāghēsh forte* (v. below 3 b) has been omitted, e. g. in הַלְלֵלִים really הַלְלֵלִים = *hal-lēlām*. The form חַנְנָנִי Ps. 9, 14 (not חַנְנָרִי) may be explained as *Imper. Pi'ēl* = חַנְנָרִי; in the *Imper. Qâl* the insertion of a *Vocal Sh'wâ* under the first ח would be just as strange as in שְׂרָרִי Jer. 49, 28 and in the *Imperf. Sh'vâmat* شَفَّافٌ Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of euphony. The use of *Dāghēsh* in such cases (*Dāghēsh euphonic*) is only occasional, as being less essential to the forms of words. It is employed—

- a) when two words are more closely united in pronunciation by doubling the initial consonant of the second (*Dāghēsh forte conjunctive*), 1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word accented on the first syllable and closely united by *Maqq'ph* to a preceding word which ends in accented ה— or ח— (except when the ח— is the ending of the 3. masc. sing. perf. of a verb ח"ל, or of a substantival infinitive) the so-called *דָחִיק pulsum* of the Jewish grammarians. Some limit the use of the *dāchig* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following

Begadkephath. However here belong also cases like **רְחֵזֶשׁ שְׂמָנָה** Jer. 23, 6 (for שְׂמָנָה is considered *one accented syllable*): **לְקַחְתָּאָתָה** Gen. 2, 23; **יְצֹוָהָלָךְ** Ps. 91, 11, and even with *Resh* **מִעֲנָדָרָךְ** Prov. 15, 1 (here each 1st word was orig. *mīl'rā*).

Analogous to this usage is the Neapolitan *le lagrime* for *le lagrime*, and (including the union of the two words in one) the Italian *alla* for *a la*, *della* for *de la*.

Rem. 1. It is very doubtful whether the close attachment of the interrogative **מַה** (מַה) to the following word by *Dagheš forte* must also be counted here. According to *Olshausen* this *Dagheš* comes from assimilation of the really consonantal *Hē*. In favor of this hypothesis are *a*) the form **מַהְיוֹת** etc. in which the *h* has been kept only orthographically (therefore also **מַהְיוֹת** Exod. 4, 2 **בְּלֹכֶד** Is. 3, 15); *b*) the fact that the close union exists when no monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable follows, e. g. **מַהְפְּרַצְתָּה** Gen. 38, 29.

Rem. 2. By no means do such examples as the following belong here: **אָתָה נָאָתָה** Ex 15, 1, 21 (Comp. verse 11, **בְּקָרָב**, v. 13 **אָלָתָה**, v. 16, **אָלָתָה**). In all these cases the *Dagheš* can be nothing but *lene* v. § 21, 1. Rem.

2) in the first letter of a monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable, after a closely connected *Mil'ēl* terminating in *Qa'mēs*, **הַ—** or **הָ—**. Such a *Mil'ēl* is called by the Jewish grammarians **אַתְּ מַרְחִיק** *veniens e longinquo* (i. e. as to accent). The attraction of the following tone syllable through *Dagheš forte conjunctive* has here its reason in a rhythmical pressure, e. g. **שָׁבֵרְתָּה** Ps. 68, 19; **שָׁרְבוּבָה** Is. 5, 14 (only the prefixes **בְּ**, **כְּ**, **לְ**, **רְ**, in such cases receive no *Dagheš*). Forms like **מְלָאָה שְׁנָדָה** Ps. 26, 10; **רְחָקָה מְפִי** Job 21, 16 as well as **נְעָמָדָה יְהָדָה** Is. 50, 8, with an accented antepenultima(?), are likewise considered *Mil'ēl*. The *Dagheš* is used even then when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent but with a syllable having *Méthēgh*, e. g. **הַמָּה יְרַשְׁתִּי** Ps. 37, 9; **אָלָה גְּלָבָה**, Is. 44, 21; **עֲשָׂרָתִי קְגֻּרְתִּי** Ex. 25, 29.

Rem. Cases like **קָרְבָּנוּ אָמָּא** Gen. 19, 14 (Com. Ex. 12, 15, 31, Deut. 2, 24.) have been wrongly counted here. In such cases the *Dagheš* is not *conjunctive* but *orthophonic*, that the sibilants may be duly articulated; v. *Delitzsch* (commentary) upon the *Dagheš orthophonic* in פָּי Ps. 24, 12.

b) when a consonant with *Shenād*, preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in order to sharpen the syllable still more, and

to make the *Shewâ* more audible (*Dûghésh dirimens*), e. g. עַבְרִי for עֲבָרִי *grapes* Deut. 32, 32; comp. Gen. 49, 10, Ex. 2, 3, Is. 57, 6, 58, 3, Job 17, 2, 1 Sam. 28, 10, Ps. 45, 10; Hos. 3, 2; Is. 9, 3. Several cases of this sort may be referred to the influence of a following consonant.¹

- c) when the final tone-syllable of a clause or sentence (§ 29, 4), is to receive more strength and emphasis by the doubling, the *daghesh forte affectuosum*, e. g. נִתְחַפֵּר for נִתְחַנֵּן *they gave* Ez. 27, 19, יְחַלֵּוּ for וַיְחַלֵּוּ *they waited* Job 29, 21, Is. 33, 12.
- d) the doubling of liquids by the so-called *Daghesh forte firmaturum* in the pronoun הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, אֶלְלָה and in הִנֵּה *wherefore*, to give greater firmness to the preceding vowel.

3. The Hebrew omitted, however, the doubling of a letter by *Dâghésh fortè*, in many cases where the analogy of the forms required it: viz.—

- a) almost always at the end of a word, because there the pronunciation, at least as handed down to us, does not easily admit of such a sharpening. Thus the syllable *all* would be pronounced, not as in German with a sharpened tone, but like the English *all, call, small*. Instead, therefore, of doubling² the consonant, they often lengthened the preceding vowel (§ 27, 2, b), as בָּרָבָב from בָּרָבָב; צָמָא (people) with a distinctive accent (§ 15, 3), for צָמָם from צָמָם. The exceptions are very rare, as תָּמָא thou f., תָּמָּה thou hast given Ez. 16, 33 (see § 10, 3, Rem.).
- b) often in certain consonants with *vocal Shewâ* in the body of a word (where the doubling of a letter is less audible, as in Greek ἀλτο, Homeric for ἀλλετο), under this rule come first ר and ר, as well as the liquids מ, נ and ל, and then the sibilants (except צ), especially when a guttural

¹ Kaulzsch refers such cases chiefly to the nature of the consonant affected viz: *liquids, sibilants, or the emphatic Qoph*. Comp. however 3, b.—Ed.

² The doubling of a final letter is also omitted in Latin, as *sel* (for *sell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, gen. *mellis*; *ös*, gen. *ossis*. In the Middle-High German, the doubling of consonants never took place at the end of a word, but always in the middle (as in the Old-High Germ.), as *val* (Fall), gen. *valles*; *svam* (Schwamm), etc.: Grimm's Deutsche Gramm. 2nd ed. I. 383.

follows, and finally the emphatic **p**. Of the *B'gadk'phat* **n** is found only once (Is. 22, 10) without *Dāghēsh*. Examples: נִיחָר, עֲרֵים (so always the prefix י in the *Impf.* of the verb), לְמִינְאָתָה, הַנִּגְרָה, הַלְלָה, וְשָׁאָה, רִקְחָה etc. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dāghēsh* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in open syllables, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of the *Dag. forte implic.* v. § 22, 1. Rem.

c) In the gutturals (see § 22, 1).

Rem. We sometimes find *Dāghēsh* omitted, especially in the later books in an abnormal way by lengthening the preceding vowel which is usually *chirēq* (comp. *mīlē* for *mille*), as יְרִיחָן *he terrifies them* for יְרִיחָן (Hab. 2, 17), וְקוֹתָה Is. 50, 11 *fiery darts* for יְקוֹתָה.

§ 21.

ASPIRATION WHERE IT OCCURS AND WHERE NOT.

The *hard* but *thin* (*tenuis*) sound of (ת, פ, צ, ג, ב) the six *aspirates* with *Dāghēsh* *lenē* inserted, is to be regarded, agreeably to the analogy which languages generally exhibit in this respect, as their original pronunciation, from which gradually arose the softer and weaker aspirated sound (§ 6, 3 and § 13). The original hard pronunciation maintained itself in greatest purity when it was the initial sound, and after a consonant; but when it immediately followed a vowel or vocal *Shewā*, it was softened and aspirated by the influence of the vowel, so פֶּרֶץ *pārāṣ* becomes יִפְרֶץ *yiphrōṣ*; כָּל *kōl*, לְכָל *lekhōl*. Hence the *aspirates* take *Dāghēsh* *lenē*:

1. At the beginning of words, *a)* without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, as גַּלְכָּן (*therefore*), פָּרִי עַזְּזָס *p'ri* (*fruit-tree*, lit. *tree of fruit*), *b)* at the beginning of a chapter (בראשית *in the beginning* Gen. 1, 1), a verse, or even of a minor division of a verse (consequently after a distinctive accent, § 15, 3), even when the preceding word ends with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the influence of the vowel on the

following *tenuis*, e. g. **וַיְהִי אֲשֶׁר** it happened when Jud. 11, 5
 (on the contrary, **וַיְהִי כֵן** it was so Gen. 1, 7); **וַיְהִי כִּי** **אָרְדָתָה**
 and lo! the face of the ground was dried up Gen. 8, 13; **וַיְפָלֹל פְּנֵיהֶךָ** (with dist. accent) 4, 5, but in ver. 6 **וַיְפָלֹל פְּנֵיכֶם**
 conj. accent); **שְׂטָלָה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** **אַחֲרֵי יַעֲקֹב** Gen. 35, 5; Ex. 5, 14.

Rem. 1. The vowel letters נ, י, ו, ח, as such, naturally effect no close of syllable and are therefore followed in close connection by aspirates without *Dāghēsh*, e. g. נַבְנָא בַּחֲנָן etc. On the contrary syllables are closed by consonantal י and ו as well as by ח with *Mappiq*, e. g. קָנֵן קָנֵן קָלֵר פִּרְמָה Ps. 22, 14. (*Dāghēsh lenè* is therefore regularly found after רְדוֹת, because אַדְגָּז was read instead of it, § 17.)

2. In a number of cases the *Dāghēsh* *lēnē* remains, although a vowel closely precedes. It is almost always so when the word begins with combinations of consonants like the following: בְּבָבְ בְּבָבְ בְּבָבְ (i. e. the aspirates with *Shewā* before another aspirate), is uncertain; according to *David Kimchî* בְּבָבְ and בְּבָבְ must remain aspirate. Sometimes the first letter in the above cases has a *Dāghēsh*, even when it is followed by a firm vowel instead of *Shewā*. In all these cases an endeavor is shown to prevent too great an accumulation of aspiration. Doubly anomalous are the forms בְּרַכְתִּי Is. 54, 12 and בְּלַבְנִי Jer. 20, 9.

2. In the middle of words after silent *Shewā*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, immediately preceded by a vowelless consonant, e. g. יָרַפֵּא *yir-pā'* (*he heals*), זִכְרָה *z̄ikrâ'* *he remembers*, קָטְלָה *q̄ṭlâ'* *ye have killed*. On the contrary, after vocal *Shewā* the soft pronunciation obtains, e. g. רֶפֶא *r̄ephā'* (*heal thou*), כָּבֵד *k̄abed* *she was heavy*.

On **וַיֵּשֶׁב**, **קָפְלָה** and like forms see in § 10, 3.

Whether *Shewā* be vocal and consequently cause the aspiration of the *tenuis*, depends upon the formation of the respective words. It is always vocal.

a) when it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. רְדֵפָה pursue ye (not רְדֹפָה) from מַלְכִיר (not מַלְכִיר) formed immediately from kings (on the contrary, מַלְכִיר mäl-kîr, because it is formed directly from מֶלֶךְ mälk); בִּרְחוֹת house-ward (not בִּרְחוֹת) from בִּרְחָה.

b) With the כ in the suffixes of the 2d person (־ְכָם,־ְכָנָם), in which vocal Shewâ is characteristic, see § 58, 3, b.

Rem. 1. The form תְּנַשֵּׁךְ thou (fem.) *hast sent*, where we might expect the feeble pronunciation of נ on account of the preceding vowel, was originally תְּנִשֵּׁךְ; and the sound of the נ, notwithstanding the slight vowel sound thrown in before it, was not changed. Comp. § 28, 4.

2. The hard or soft pronunciation of these letters does not affect the *signification* of the words (comp. in Greek θρῆνος, τριχός); but this affords no ground to deny that such a distinction was made in the sound.

§ 22.

PECULIARITIES OF THE GUTTURALS.

The four gutturals, **ח**, **כ**, **שׁ**, **שׂ**, have the following properties in common, which result from the pronunciation peculiar to them; yet **שׂ** and **שׁ**, both having a weaker sound than **ח** and **כ**, differ from these in several respects.

1. The gutturals cannot really be doubled in pronunciation, although they may be strengthened and so they do not admit *Dāghē'sh forte*. But we must here carefully distinguish between *a*) the complete omission of the doubling and *b*) the so-called *half*, or better *virtual* doubling. In the first case the syllable preceding the letter which omits *Dāghē'sh* becomes longer in consequence of the omission;¹ hence its vowel is commonly lengthened, especially before **שׂ** (*always* after the article § 35); as a rule also before **שׁ**, less often before **כ**, and still less before **ח**. The second case admitted a sharpening of the syllable, though orthography excluded the *Dāghē'sh f.* (as the *ch* in the German *sicher*, *machen*, has the sharp pronunciation without being written double), and hence the short vowel almost universally maintains its place before these letters, or in some cases, when it is a *Pāthāch* followed by a guttural with *Qāmeṣ*, it is merely augmented into *S'ghōl*. This virtual doubling takes place most frequently with **כ**, usually with **ח**, more rarely with **שׁ** and very seldom with **שׂ**.

Examples of *a*) חַדְרָם f. מַעֲן; חַלְבָּא f. מַעֲנָה; חַלְבָּר f. מַעֲנָה; חַלְבָּרָה f. מַעֲנָה. Of *b*) חַדְרָם, הַחֲדָרָה, אַחֲרָם, תַּחֲנוֹן f. מִתְחָנוֹת; בַּנְּרָם, הַבְּנָרָה f. מִתְבָּנָה; בַּנְּרָם, הַבְּנָרָה f. מִתְבָּנָה (on the contrary before **שׁ** as initial letter of the tone-syllable always *Qāmeṣ* of the article, e. g. תַּצְאֵב and so mostly before **ח**,

¹ Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*; the Germ. *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; Germ. *drollig*, and Fr. *drôle*. In this omission we see an enervating of the language. The fresher and more original sounds of the Arabic (§ 1, 6), still admit always the doubling of the gutturals.

e. g. **רְבָרָבָה**, whilst **רְבָרָבָה** Gen. 6, 19 is an exception); **עֲנָן**, **מְעַנְדָּם** etc.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dāghésh* forte is to be regarded at least as implied (therefore it is called *Dāghésh* forte implicitum, occultum, delitescens).

2. The gutturals are apt to take a short *A* sound before them, because this vowel is organically closely akin to them. Hence—

a) Before a guttural, *Pā'thāch* is used instead of any other short vowel, such as *i*, *ě* (*Chirēq parvum*, *S'ghōl*), and even for the rhythmically long *ē* and *ō* (*Serē* and *Chōlēm*); e. g. **בָּתְּהַחַ sacrifice** for **בָּתְּמַעַת report** for **בָּמַעַת**. This is still more decidedly preferred when the form with *Pāthāch* is the original one, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the *Imper.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* of verbs, **נִלְתַּחַדְתָּ send thou**, **נִלְתַּחַדְתִּי he will send** (not **נִלְתַּחַדְתָּ**); *Perf.* *Pi'ēl* **נִלְתַּחַדְתָּ** (not **נִלְתַּחַדְתָּ**); **גָּנָרְתָּ youth**, **גָּנָרְתָּהּ he will desire**. In the last 3 cases, *ă* is the original vowel.

Rem. But before the weak נ final the — remains, e. g. נָבָת, נָבָת, etc.

b) After a heterogeneous long vowel i. e. after all except *Qā'mēṣ*, the hard gutturals (consequently not **א**) demand, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a hasty *ā* (*Pá'thāch furtive*) between them and the vowel. This *Pá'thāch* is placed under the guttural but sounded before it. It is merely an orthographical indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. רְחֵךְ *rū'āch* (*spirit*), רְלָעֵךְ *shā-lū'āch* (*sent*), רְרֵךְ *rē'āch* (*odour*), רְבֵךְ *rē'āch* (*companion*), גָּבְהֵךְ *gā-bhō'āch* (*high*) when consonantal **ח** is final, it necessarily takes *Mäppiq*, הַשְׁלִיךְ *hish-li'āch*,¹ etc. But the **מְצִיאָה** without *Pá'thāch furt.* and so with hard gutturals at the beginning of a syllable e. g. רְקֹדֶךְ etc.

For the same reason the Swiss pronounces *ich* as *iach*, *Buch* as *Buach*, and the Arabian מִשְׁׁנָה as *mesiach*, though neither writes the supplied vowel. The LXX write ε instead of Pāthāch furtive, as ΚΝ Nôe, at times α, as υρά 'Ιεδδούα (also 'Ιαδδού).

¹ Compare with the above our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after long *è*, *i*, *ü* and the diphthong *ou*, e. g. *here* (sounded *hēer*), *fire* (*fīer*), *pure* (*pūer*), and *our* (*ouer*).—Tr.

Rem. 1. The guttural sometimes exerts an influence on the *following* vowel. But the examples (esp. with מ) are few, and are to be regarded rather as exceptions than as establishing a général rule, e. g. מִגְעָר a *youth* (not מִגְעָרָה); לְגַלְלֵה *deed* (not לְגַלְלָה); but also רַחֲמָה etc.

2. S'ghôl is used instead of Chîr'eq attenuated from Pâthâch both *before* and *under* the guttural, but only in an initial syllable, as שְׁמֹרֶת (also שְׁמֹרֶתְּ בְּלֵי, חְבִילְיָה, רְחִיבָה, נְאָקָרָה, צְמַרְתָּה etc.).

When, however, the syllable is sharpened by Dâghésh, the more slender and sharp Chir'eq is retained even under gutturals, as תְּחִנָּה, תְּלִבָּה; but when the sharpening of the syllable ceases by the falling away of Dâghésh, the S'ghôl, which is required by the guttural, returns, e. g. הַקְרִין, const. state הַגְרִין *meditation*; הַצְרִין, constr. state חִזְרִין *vision*.

3. Instead of *simple Sh'wâ vocal* (§ 10, 1), the gutturals take a *composite Sh'wâ* (§ 10, 2), e. g. אָקְטָלָם, אָמָרָה, אָדָלִים שְׁבָתָה they have slain, רְשָׁתָה they will slay. This is the most common use of the composite Sh'wâs.

4. When a guttural stands at the end of a (closed) syllable, in the midst of a word, it may retain its silent Sh'wâ, especially with מ or י at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. תְּלִיכָּתְּךָ thou hast sent, but also before the tone (v. examples under No. 2, Rem. 2) and this also with מ and י. But when the syllable stands *before* the tone, the closed syllable is artificially opened by giving to the guttural a slight vowel (one of the *composite Sh'wâs*), which has the same sound as the full vowel preceding, as יְהִשְׁבָּה he thinks (also יְהִשְׁבָּה pō'lô (f. פְּגַלְלָה), יְהִזְׁקָה (also יְהִזְׁקָה); this composite Sh'wâ is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, whenever the following consonant loses its full vowel in consequence of an increase at the end of the word, e. g. יְהִזְׁקִיָּה yō'-ōbh'-dhû' (from יְהִפְכָּר), יְהִזְׁקִיָּה yă-hăph'-khû' (from יְהִפְכָּה).

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Sh'wâ* under the gutturals *hard* (שְׁמָךְ), and the *composite Sh'wâs* in the same situation *soft* (שְׁמָךְ). See more in the observations on verbs with gutturals (§§ 62—65).

2. Respecting the choice between the three composite Sh'wâs it may be remarked, that—

a) ח, מ, י, at the beginning of syll. prefer —, but נ prefers —, e. g. חַמּוֹר ass, חַרְגֵּן to kill, אַמְרָה to say. But when a word receives an

- increase at the end, or loses the tone, & also takes — (considered as lighter), as **אָלַי** *to*, but **אֲלַבֵּם** *to you*; **אָכְלָה** *to eat*, but **אֲכָלָה** Gen. 8, 11. Comp. § 27, Rem. 5.

b) In the middle of a word, the choice of a composite Sh'wâ is regulated by the vowel (and its class), which another word of the same form, but without a guttural, would take before the Sh'wâ, as *Perf. Hiphîl יִלְמֹד* (after the form **הַכְּמִיד**), *Inf. תִּלְמִיד* (after **תְּקִפָּל**), *Perf. Höphîl יִלְמֹד* (after **תְּקִפָּל**).

For some further vowel changes in connection with gutturals, see § 27, Rem. 2.

5. The **ר**, which in sound belongs also to the gutturals (§ 6, 4), shares with the other gutturals only the characteristics mentioned above in No. 1, and a part of those given in No. 2; viz.—

- The exclusion of Dâghêsh forte; in which case the vowel before it is always lengthened, as **בָּרָךְ** *he has blessed* for **בָּרָךְ**; **בָּרָךְ** *to bless* for **בָּרַךְ**.
- The use of *Päthäch*¹ before it, in preference to the other short vowels, though this is not so general as in the case of the other guttural sounds, e. g. **וָיָרָא** *and he saw*, while the full form is in use; **וָיָסַר** for **וָיָסַר** *and he turned back*, and for **וָיָסַר** *and he caused to turn back*.

Rare exceptions to the principle given under letter *a* are **בָּרָתָה** *trouble* Prov. 14, 10; **לֹא־קָרַח שִׁירָה** *lô khorrâth shôr-rêkh* (thy navel was not cut) Ez. 16, 4, (cf. Pl. 3, 8); **שְׂרָאֵל** Cant. 5, 2 1 Sam. 10, 24 (the Arab. and Samar. retains this doubling, and the LXX write **שְׂרָאֵל** **Σέραελ**). A case of virtual doubling (after **מ** for **מִ**) is found in Is 14, 3 **מִקְנָה** and in 1 Sam. 23, 28 **מִקְרָה** (for **מִקְרָה**), comp. 2 Sam. 18, 16.

§ 23.

OF THE FEEBLENESS OF THE BREATHINGS **נ** AND **מ**.

1. The **נ**, a light and scarcely audible breathing in the throat, regularly loses its feeble power as a consonant (i. e.

¹ The preference of *r* for the vowel *a* is seen also in common Greek, e. g. in the feminine of adjectives ending in *ρος*, as **φανερά** for **φανερή** from

quiesces), whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves merely to prolong the preceding vowel (like the German *h* in *roh, geh, nahte*), as in מִצְאָה *he has found*, מִלְאָה *he was filled*, מִצְאָת *to find*, בְּלֹא *without* (from מִצְאָתָה), תְּמִצְאָתָה etc. In cases like חַטָּאת *sin*, שְׁרוֹא *and rejected*, וְרִאָה *and saw* etc. the נ has only an orthographical significance.

2. On the contrary נ retains, generally, its power as a consonant and guttural in all cases where it begins a word or syllable, as מִצְאָה *he has said*, מִצְאָתָה *they have rejected*, or in a closed syllable with silent *Shewâ* e. g. נֶדֶר *nēdār*, or where it is protected by *Châleph* in a slightly closed syllable e. g. לְאַכֵּל *for to eat*. Yet even in this case it sometimes loses its consonant sound, *a)* when it follows with a long vowel, a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*) in the middle of a word; for then the vowel under נ is shifted back, to the place of the *Shewâ*, as in רְאַדִּים (*heads*) for בְּרָאַדִּים Neh. 6, 8, מְאַדִּים (*two hundred*) for רְאַדְׁוֹן; נ is orthogr. in הְטָבִים, רְאַשְׁׂוֹן (*chōlīm*) for חֲטָבִים 1 Sam. 14, 33. Sometimes this causes a still greater change in the syllables, as לְקָרָאת *meeting* for מְלָאָכה for لְקָרָאת or with silent *Shewâ* יְשֻׁמְעָל *for to stand*; *b)* when it stands with (—) or (—) preceded by their corresponding firm vowel, the latter is sometimes lengthened and retains נ only as a vowel letter (or merely orthographically), e. g. יְאַכֵּל Num. 11, 25 for יְאַכֵּל; וְיְאַכֵּל modified from יְאַכֵּל for לְאַמֵּר for לְאַמֵּר etc. An elision of the *Châleph* and retention of the short vowel occurs in רְאַדִּי *and my lord* for לְאַדִּי for לְאַדִּי, נְאַדִּי (§ 102; 2) Is. 41, 25, etc.

Instead of נ in such a case, there is often written one of the vowel letters א and ע, according to the nature of the sound, the former with ô and the latter with ê and î; e. g. בְּאַר for בְּאַר (*cistern*), בְּרִים (*buffalo*) for בְּרִישׁוֹן, רְאַדִּי (*first*) for רְאַדְׁוֹן in Job 8, 8; comp. לֹא for לֹא (*not*) 1 Sam. 2, 16 in קְתִיבָה; at the end of a word ה also is written for נ, as יְמַלֵּה (*he fills*) for יְמַלֵּא Job 8, 21.

3. When נ is thus quiescent, it is sometimes entirely dropped, e. g. מִלְחָר, וְאַחֲרִי (*I went forth*) for מִלְחָר, וְאַחֲרִי (*I am full*) for מִלְאָה Job 32, 18, אָמֵר (*I say*) constantly for מִלְאָה, אָמֵר, לְחַשְׁׂוֹת (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for מִלְאָה Ezek. 28, 16, comp. Is. 37, 26.

Rem. 1. In Aramaean the **אַ** becomes a vowel much more readily than in Hebrew; but in Arabic, on the contrary, its power as a consonant is much firmer. According to Arabic orthography **אַ** serves also to indicate the lengthened *â*; but in Hebrew the examples are very rare, in which it is strictly a vowel-letter for the long *A* sound, as in אָמֵן Hos. 10, 14 for the usual אָמַן *he stood up*, שָׁאָל poor Prov. 10, 4, 18, 23 for שָׁאָל (comp. § 7, 2). Hebrew orthography generally omits, in this case, the vowel-letter (§ 8, 3).

2. In Syriac **אַ** even at the beginning of words cannot be spoken with a half vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), but always receives then a full vowel, usually *E*, as Aram. אֲבָבָא, in Syr. ﺍَبَّا. Accordingly in Hebrew, also, instead of a composite *Shewâ* it receives, in many words, the corresponding long vowel, as אֹוֶר girdle for אֹוֶר tents for אֹהֶלְמִים, אָנָּה stalls for אָנָּה, אָכְּלָה bake ye Ex. 16, 23 for אָכְּלָה.

3. We may call it a mode of writing common in Arabic, when at the end of a word an **אַ** (without any sound) is added to a final *î*, *i* and *ô*, as אַבְּוֹא for בְּלַבְּבָה (they go) Jo-lh. 10, 24; אַבְּוֹא (they are willing) Is. 28, 12; also נְקִיר for נְקִיר pure, לְאִי for לְאִי if, אַתְּאָנָּה then, בְּרוֹא for בְּרוֹא myriad Neh. 7, 66, 72. As to the **אַ** in חָוָא and חָרָא, see also § 32, Rem. 6.

4. The **חַ** is stronger and firmer than the **חָ**, and scarcely ever loses its aspiration (or *quiesces*) in the middle of a word;¹ at the end also it may remain a consonant, and then it takes *Mäppiq* (§ 14, 1). Yet at times the consonant sound of the **חַ** at the end of a word is given up, and **חַ** (without *Mäppiq*, or with *Raphè* **חַ**) then remains only as a representative of the final vowel, e. g. הָתָּה (to her) Num. 32, 42 for הָלָּה, Job 31, 22, Ex. 9, 18. The **חַ** is often elided *a)* by transferring its vowel to the place of the preceding *vocal Shewâ* (v. § 23, 2, *a*, with **אַ**) e. g. (the **חַ** of the article) לְבָקָר (at the morning) for בָּאָרֶץ, לְהָבָקָר (in the land) for בָּהָרֶץ; יְהָפְקִיד (Impf. Hiph.) for יְהָפְקִיד contracted יְהָפְקִידָּה (e. g. contracted יְהָפְקִידָּה) b) by contraction of the vowels preceding and following the **חַ**, e. g. סְטוּךְ (also written סְטוּחוּ) from (a+u=ô).—In other cases, however, the vowel *under* **חַ** is displaced by the one *before* it, as בְּם (in them) from בְּהָם.

¹ A very few examples are found in *proper names*, as בְּרַחְצִיר, בְּנַחְאָל, which are compounded of two words, and in many MSS are also written in two separate words. One other case, יְהָפְקִידִיְתָּה Jer. 48, 20, is also in the printed text divided by *Maggéph*, in order to bring the *quiescent* **חַ** at the end.

According to this, the so-called *quiescent* מ at the end of a word stands, sometimes, in the place of the consonant מ. But usually it serves quite another purpose, viz., to represent final ā, as also ī, ē and ē (S^ghō'l), e. g. גָּלַת, גָּלַתָּא, אָשָׁה, גָּלַת, גָּלַתָּא. See § 7, 2, and § 8, 3.

Rem. In connection with ī and ē, מ is occasionally changed for ו and י (בְּרִכְבָּה = בְּרִכְבָּה = בְּרִכְבָּה Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases for מ according to later and Aramaean orthography, particularly with ā, e. g. אֲשָׁה (sleep) Ps. 127, 2 for מְשָׁחָה, אֲשָׁה (to forget) Jer. 28, 39 for מְשָׁחָה, etc., which shows that the so-called vowel letter, מ final, has chiefly an orthographical importance.

§ 24.

CHANGES OF THE FEEBLE LETTERS ו AND י.

The ו w and the י y are as consonants so feeble and soft, approaching so near to the corresponding vowel-sounds u and i, that they easily turn into these vowels in certain positions. On this depend, according to the relation of the sounds and the character of the grammatical forms, still further changes which require a general notice in this place, but which will also be explained in detail wherever they occur in the inflection of words. This is especially important for the form and inflection of the feeble stems, in which a ו or י occurs as a stem consonant (§ 69 etc., § 85, III.—VI, and § 93).

1. The cases where ו and י lose their power as consonants and turn into vowel-sounds, are principally only in the middle and end of words, their consonant sound being nearly always heard at the beginning. (Respecting the use of י for ו and, see § 26, 1, and § 104, 2, c.) These cases are chiefly the following:—

- a) When ו or י stands at the end of a syllable with a *silent Shewā* immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel. The feeble letter has not strength enough, in this position, to maintain its consonant sound but blends with its homogeneous vowel. Thus הַרְשֵׁב it has been inhabited for בִּיהְרֹקְהָ, or הַרְשֵׁב, יְרֹקְץ he awakes for בִּיהְרֹקְהָ, יְרֹקְץ; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עֲבָרִי 'ibh-ri'

(properly *-riy*, hence fem. *שְׁבִירִית* 'ibh-riy-yā') a Hebrew; *צָהַב* (*made*) Job 41, 25 for *צָהָב* (comp. *עֲשֵׂרָה* 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *K'thibh*). Thus the vowel substance of *וּ* and *וְ* is blended with the preceding vowel into one (necessarily long) vowel, but they are mostly retained orthographically as quiescent letters. But after a heterogeneous vowel they sound as consonants (according to § 8, 5), as in *שְׁלֹם* *quiet*, *זְמַרְתָּ* *May* (*month*), *נְדָרֶת* *nation*, *גְּלַבְתָּ* *disclosed*. Yet with a preceding short *ă* the *וּ* and *וְ* mostly form a diphthongal *ô* and *ê*; see below, No. 2, b.

- b) When *וּ* or *וְ* is preceded by *vocal Shewâ*, and such syllables are formed as *q'wom*, *b'wo*. Hence *בָּרָא* *to come* for *בָּוָא*, *קָרָם* *to arise* for *קָוָם*. When *וּ* and *וְ* preceded by Sh'wâ come to stand at the end of a word, they are either entirely dropped and orthographically replaced by *ה* (e. g. *בְּכָה* from *בְּכִי*, though we have also the regularly formed *fletus*; comp. § 93) or they are likewise softened into their vowel sound. In the latter case the *וּ*, with its homogeneous *Chireq*, also attracts the tone and the preceding vowel becomes *Shewâ*, as e. g. *פְּרִירָה* from *פְּרִירִי*, really *פְּרִירָה*; *וְ* changed into *וִ* is often without the accent (e. g. *תְּהִוָּה* from *תְּהִוָּה*).
- c) Very seldom when the feeble letter has a full vowel both before and after it; as *קָרָם* *surgendo* for *קָרָם*, *קָרָם* for *קָרָם*. Comp. in latin *mihi=mî*, *quum=cum*.

In Syriac, where these letters flow still more readily into vowel-sounds, *וּ* is sounded, even at the beginning of words, merely as *i*, not as *e* or *o* (like *e* for *אֵ* § 23, 3, Rem. 2); and so in the LXX *רִיחָרִירָה* is written *λούδα*, *מְלָאָךְ*, *מְלָאָךְ*. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage, examples of which occur also in Hebrew, which shifts the vowel *i*, belonging to the feeble letter, forward to the preceding consonant, which should properly have simple Sh'wâ, e. g. *כִּירְחָרִירָה* as the superiority for Ec. 2, 18, *וְרִיחָלְטָה* (in some editions) for *וְרִיחָלְטָה* Job 29, 21 (acc. to *Kimchi* נְקִינְתָּה= *iktol* and the 1. pers. is punct. נְקִינְתָּה to avoid confusion; in fact the Babylonian punct. has always *i* instead of *e*).

2. After such a contraction has taken place, the vowel-letter quiesces (see No. 1, a above) regularly in a *long vowel*. Respecting the *choice* of this vowel, the following rules may be laid down:—

a) When the vowel is short and homogeneous with the vowel-letter (ו or י) they are contracted into their corresponding long vowel, as **רִיטָב** *he is good* for **רִיטָבָה** (analogous to **רַשְׁבָה** *he sits*, **רַכְבָה**).

b) When a short ā stands before י and ו, then we get diphthongal ē and ô (according to § 7, 1); thus מִרְטִיב becomes מִרְטִיבָה *doing good*; ¹ שָׁלָה, עֲרָלָה, חֹשֶׁבָה, הָרְשִׁיבָה, פִּירִיבָה.

c) But when the vowel is heterogeneous (ă), while the character of the form prevents contraction to a diphthong, especially at the end of words, the above mentioned dropping of י and ו (No. 1, b), or the substitution of ה occurs. So especially in the so-called **לְחָ** verbs, e. g. orig. **גָּלֵה**, whilst ā after the rejection of י comes to stand in an open syllable, and must be lengthened to ā. ה stands orthographically for the long vowel; in the same way שָׁלָה for שָׁלָה.² On the origin of **רִגְלָה** from **רִגְלָה** v. § 75, 1; upon קָם as perf. of § 72, 2; upon יָלַד etc. from רָלַד § 69, 1.

§ 25.

IMMOVABLE OR FIRM VOWELS.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and not removable, can be known, certainly and completely, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and from a comparison with the Arabic, in which the vowel-system appears purer and more original than in Hebrew. This holds, especially, of the *essentially long* vowels in distinction from those which are long only *rhythmically*, i. e. through the influence of the tone and of syllabication, and which, having arisen out of short vowels,

¹ Instances in which no contraction takes place after a short a are using the right hand 1 Chron. 12, 2; אִישִׁרְמִים I chastise them Hos. 7, 12; שָׁלָה I am at ease Job 3, 26. At times both forms are found, as שָׁלָה and כִּילָה evil; בָּרָה living, construct state בָּרָה. Analogous is the contraction of שְׁיָתִים (ground-form שְׁיָתִים) death, constr. שְׁיָתִים; עֵין (ground-form עֵינִים) eye, constr. עֵינִים.

² The Arab. often writes in this case (etymologically) **رَلَد**, but speaks *gâldâ*. So the LXX write **στρινᾶ** as Στινᾶ. But in Arabic **أَلْش** is written for شلّ and sounded *shâlâ*.

readily become short again or become *Sh'nd* by a change in the position of the tone and in the division of the syllables. The beginner may be guided by the following specifications: —

1. The essentially long and hence hardly changeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, viz., *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, are mostly expressed in the text by their vowel-letters, *i* and *e* by יִ, וִ, and *o* by עִ, with their appropriate vowel signs; thus יִרְאָה, וִירְאָה, עִירְמִיב, as in *he does well*, הַרְכֵל *palace*, פְּבִיל *boundary*, קֹול *voice*. The *defective* mode of writing these vowels (§ 8, 4) is frequent enough; e. g. יִרְאָב for גְּבִיל, גִּבְוָל for קְלָל, but this is merely a difference of orthography, by which nothing is essentially changed in the nature and quantity of such a vowel, and the *u* in גְּבִיל is as essentially long as in גְּבִיל; comp. § 8, 4.

It is an exception, when now and then a merely tone-long vowel of these two classes is written fully, e. g. the ö in קְשׁוֹל for קָשׁוֹל.

2. The essentially long and immovable *â* (so far as it is not become *ô*; see § 9, No. 10, 2) has in Hebrew, as a rule, no representative among the consonants, though in Arabic it has, viz., the **ن**, which occurs in Hebrew but very seldom (§ 9, 1, § 23, 3, Rem. 1). For ascertaining, therefore, whether *a* is long by nature (*â*) or only tone-long (*ā*), there is no guide but a knowledge of the forms (see § 84, Nos. 6, 13, 28).

Cases like **אַזְמָן** (§ 23, 1) do not belong here.

3. Unchangeable is also a short vowel in a sharpened syllable (§ 26, 6), followed by *Dāghésh forte*, e. g. פָּנָה thief; likewise in every closed syllable (§ 26, 2, c) which is followed by another closed syllable, e. g. עַלְפִּישׁ garment, אֲבִיןָן poor, מְדֻבֵּר wilderness.

4. Such are also the vowels lengthened because a *Dāghēsh* forte has been omitted on account of a guttural, according to § 22, 1 (or 7 see § 22, 5), e. g. מִשְׁתַּחֲוֵל for מִשְׁתַּחֲוֵל he has refused, בָּרָךְ for בָּרָךְ he has been blessed.

§ 26.

OF SYLLABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

To obtain an adequate view of the laws, according to which the long and short vowels are chosen or exchanged one for another, a previous acquaintance is required with the *theory of the syllable* on which that choice and exchange depend. The syllable may then be viewed with reference, partly to its commencement (its *initial* sound) as in No. 1, and partly to its close (its *final* sound) as in Nos. 2—7.

1. With regard to the commencement of the syllable, it is to be observed, that every syllable must begin with a *consonant*; and there are no syllables in the language which begin with a vowel. The single exception is **ו** (*and*), in certain cases for **וּ**, e. g. in **וְמַלְךָ** (§ 104, 2, c).¹ The word **רַבָּאָן** is no exception, because the **אָ** has here its consonant force as a light breathing.

2. With regard to the *close* of a syllable, it may end—

a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in **qāl-tā** the first and last are open. See No. 3.

b) With one consonant, and called a *closed* or *mixed* syllable, as the second in **בָּקָר** qā-*r*, **לְבָבָה** lē-*bh*ā-*bh*. See No. 5

Here belongs also the *sharpened* syllable, as the first in **bəp qæt-č'ł**. See No. 6.

c) With two consonants, as in **qōšt** *qōšt*, **qā-čālt** *qā-čālt*; comp. § 10, 3.

We shall now (in Nos. 3—7) treat in particular of the vowels that are used in these various kinds of syllables.

3. The *open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a *long vowel*,² whether they have the tone, as in בְּךָ in thee, מְכַפֵּר book,

¹ It may be questioned whether ² in the above position be a real exception; for ³ ought probably to be pronounced *wimā'lēkh* (not *ümälēkh*), the ¹ retaining its feeble *w* sound before the *Shurēq*.—Tr.

² In opposition to the fundamental law in Hebrew (long vowel in open syllable) the Arabic, and partly also the other Semitic languages retain every-

שְׁדֵךְ *sanctuary*, or not, as in קֶפֶל עַבְבָּד *grape*, יְרָאֵנִי *they will fear*. Usually there is a long vowel (*Qāməṣ*, less frequently *Sērē*) in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. סְמִים, רְקָם, קְפָל, לְבָב.¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur more or less apparently:—

- a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4) from monosyllables (*S'gholates*), as בְּרוּךְ *brook*, בְּרִית *house*, בְּרִיךְ *let him increase*, from the crude forms בְּרוּךְ, בְּרִית, בְּרִיךְ. But the helping vowel cannot be taken strictly as a full vowel, i. e. it does not effect a complete close of the syllable. Forms like בְּרִיחָלָה (arab. *nachl* etc.) are therefore to be taken as one closed syllable.
- b) The so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3) in certain forms of the *suffixes*, as בְּתַּאֲלָנוֹן (Arab. *qāṭalānī*).²
- c) Sometimes before the so-called *He local* (הַ—), which has not the tone (§ 90, 2), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness*, however only in the construct state (1 K. 19. 15), because the character of the form is unchanged, elsewhere it is מִדְבָּרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the chief tone of the word.³ Elsewhere it has at least the support of *Méthēgh*, viz.—

- d) In these combinations, —, —, —, as יְאַסֵּר *his taste*, he will bind, קְרַלְלָה *his deed*. In all these cases there really at first existed a closed syllable, but the guttural had caused the *Chateph*, and with it the opening of the syllable (comp. however יְאַסֵּר 1 K. 20, 14). For cases like וְתַּהֲרֵר comp. § 104, 2.

where the orig. short vowels in open syllables. The above Heb. words in their Arabic forms sound as *likā*, *sīfr*, *qūds*, *qāṭulā*, *‘ināb*. Undoubtedly therefore the Hebrew had also short vowels in open syllables. Still it would be very hazardous to suppose that the present pronunciation is derived from the solemn, slow and chanting way of reading the Old Testament in the synagogues for with this hypothesis, facts like the very ancient lengthening of *i* and *ü* in the open syllable to ē and ö would remain unexplained.

¹ The Arabic has for this pretonic vowel constantly a short vowel (*lāhiim*, *yāqūm*, etc.); the Aramaic only a vocal *Shewā*, הָרָן, יְקָוָם, קְפָל, לְבָב, which is the case also in Hebrew, when the tone is shifted forward (§ 27, 3, a). But this pretonic vowel must not be regarded as if it had been adopted, perhaps in place of *Shewā*, on account of the tone on the following syllable; but it originally was a short vowel, and the circumstance of its standing before the tone-syllable only lengthens it, whilst it is reduced to a vocal *Shewā* upon the shifting forward of the tone.

² But as י is often Dagheshed, we may presume that the accented *Pāthāch* causes a sharpening of the following liquid which is equivalent to the closing of the syllable.

³ Compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

e) In some other forms, as יְחִזָּקִים *yě-chě-zəqū'* (*they are strong*), נַפְלָקָה *naf'lakah* (*thy deed*). These cases had originally a closed syllable (therefore also יְחִזָּקִי; the other case originally sounded *pō'lekhā*).

The first syllable in תְּקִרְבָּתִים, תְּקִרְבָּתִי, and similar forms, does not belong here (cf. No. 6); neither does accented — (fr. ā) in suffix as קְרָבָה, on שְׂרָשִׂים (ō for —) comp. p. 44, No. 2.

4. The above described independent syllables with the firm vowel are often preceded by a consonant with *vocal Shewā* (simple or composite). Such consonants with *vocal Shewā* have never the value of an independent syllable, and they constantly lean on to the stronger syllable that follows, e. g. לְחֵךְ (*cheek*) *l̄chi*, יְלִזְמָדָה *yil-mədhu'*, חֲלֵלָה *ch̄lələh*, פֹּאֶלֶת *pō-'elət* (*his work*). The so-called prefixes ר, ב, כ, ל, especially belong here. See § 102. It is true, these *vocal Shewā*'s have sprung from an originally firm vowel (e. g. רִקְצָלָה, Arab. *yāqtūlū*, נִכְבָּה, Arab. *bukā* etc.); from this however it cannot be concluded that the Masorites should have considered them as a kind of open syllable, for this would be in contradiction of their fundamental law requiring a long vowel in an open syllable, much more so than the exceptions cited in No. 3 above. Nor does the placing of the Mèthégh by the *Shewā* in certain cases (v. § 16, 2) prove that the Masorites considered these as open syllabes.

5. The *closed* syllables, ending with one consonant, have necessarily, when *without* the tone, *short* vowels, both at the beginning and at the end of words,¹ as מַלְכָה *queen*, הַשְׁבָּעָן *understanding*, חַכְמָה *wisdom*, וַיַּסַּר *and he turned back*, נִזְרָאָה, נִזְרָאָה.

When *with* the tone, they may have a long-vowel just as well as a short, e. g. חָכָם *wise* and חָכָם *he was wise*; yet of the short vowels only *Pá'thach* and *Séghol* have strength enough to stand in such a tone-syllable.² The accented closed penult permits only the *tone* long vowels (ā, ē, ō), not the *longest* vowels (î, ê, û, ô). Thus with יְקִטְנִילָה (3d pl. impf. masc.

¹ There are some exceptions, when a word loses the tone through *Maqqēph*, as בְּהַבְּתִיקָה (*kethâbh*) Esth. 4, 8. In such cases the *Methégh* prevents a wrong pronunciation.

² See § 9, 2. Short *Chiréq* (î) occurs only in the particles אָ, אָה, אָהָ, which, however, are often toneless, because followed by *Maqqēph*.

Hiph.) we have the fem. קְמַתָּה, the i being reduced to ē; with קִמְרֵי (2d pl. imperat. *Qäl*) the fem. is קְמַתָּה (û contracted into ô).

6. A peculiar sort of *closed* syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end with the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, as אֲמִרָה 'im-mā', כָּלָלֶה kūl-lō'. Like the other closed syllables, these have, when *without* the tone, short vowels, as in the examples just given, when *with* the tone, either a short vowel, as סָבָה, or a long, as מָתָה, שָׁמָה.

Sharpened syllables are wholly avoided at the end of words; see § 20, 3, a.

7. Closed syllables, ending with two consonants, occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, as נְרָבָה, נְשָׁבָה, yet sometimes also *Sérē*, as נְרָךְ, נְרָבָךְ, and *Chōlēm*, as נְשָׁבָךְ. But compare § 10, 3. Most commonly this harshness is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4).

§ 27.

CHANGES OF VOWELS. ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO QUANTITY.

The changes which the Hebrew language has undergone, with respect to its sounds, before arriving at the state represented in the Massoretic text (see § 2, 4), have especially affected its vowel system, so that, for the better comprehension of the vowel changes occurring in the O. T. language, it is of importance to go back to the corresponding states and relations of the language in that earlier period, and, at any rate, to compare that which is preserved in the Arabic. In general it is to be observed especially:—

1) That the language has now in an originally open syllable often preserved only a half-vowel (*vocal Sh'wā*), where a full, short vowel stood; this is the case in the second syllable of the noun, and the first of the verb, before the tone, e. g. עֲגָלָת (original form 'ağälät) *waggon*, רָקָדָה (original form şädäqät) *righteousness*, הָלְכָה (Arab. qätälü);

2) That vowels originally short have now, in the tone-syllable, as also in open syllables before the tone, passed

over into tone-long vowels, *ă* into *ā*, *i* into *ē*, *ü* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1, 2. No. 7 and No. 10, 3). These, again, either return to their original shortness, when the tone is shifted or made lighter, or they become still more shortened even to half-vowels (vocal *Sh'wâs*), at a greater distance from the tone, or are entirely dropped in consequence of a change in the relations of the syllables. E. g. מַטָּר (Arab. *māṭar*) *rain*, in construction with a following genitive (in the *construct state*, § 89) מַטָּרֹת, pl. מַטָּרָה, *constr.* מְטָרֹות; שָׁקֵב (Arab. *'aqib*) *heel*, dual עֲקָבִים עֲקָבָה; יָקְטָל (Arab. *yāqtūl*), pl. يَكْتُل (Arab. *yāqtūlū*).

The vowels, with the changes of which we are chiefly concerned here, have been given in the vowel-table § 9, No. 12. According to that threefold classification, we have the following graduated scale to describe the process of lengthening or shortening:

A-class *ă* (*ē*) *ā*. Shortening: *ā* (*ē*) *ă*, attenuation from *ă* to *i*.

I-class *i* (*ē*) *ē*. " *i* *ē* *ē* *i*.

U-class *ü* *ō* *ō*. " *ō* *ū* (as obsc. from *ō*) *ō* *ō* *ū*.

Here also occurs in all the three classes the reduction of the original strong vowel (especially also the tone-lengthened or pretonic *ā* *ē* *ō*) to simple *Sh'wâ mobile*.

Agreeably to the principles of § 26, the following changes occur:—

1. A tone-long vowel is changed into the original or kindred short one, when a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26, 5). Thus, when the tone is moved forwards, יָד hand is יָד, as יְדִיְחָה hand of God; בֵּן son, בֵּן son of the king; כָּל a whole, כָּלָהּ the whole-of-the-people; also when the tone is moved backwards, e. g. רְקָם رَقَم; וְזָקָם وَزَقَم; לְקָרָב لَقَرَب. So also, when an open syllable with a tone-long vowel becomes by inflection a closed one, e. g. סֶנֶּר book, סֶנֶּר my book; שְׁדָר sanctuary, קְשָׁר my sanctuary. In these cases *Sérê* (*ē*) passes over into *Chirèq* (*i*) or *S'ghôl* (*ē*), *Chôlém* (*ō*) into *Qāmêṣ-chālûph* (*ō*). But

when a closed syllable with a long vowel becomes a sharpened one, i. e. ending with a doubled consonant, *Sérē* is changed back into *Chirēq*, and *Chōlēm* into *Qibbūṣ*, as בָּאָ mother, בָּאָ my mother; בְּנִי statute, plur. חֲקִים.

2. On the contrary, a short vowel is changed into a corresponding long one,—

- a) When a closed syllable, in which it stands, becomes an open one, i. e. when the word receives an accession beginning with a vowel, to which the final consonant of the closed syllable is attached, as קָרַבְתִּי he has killed him; סְוִתֵּרִי my mare from סְוִתָּה = סְוִתָּה
- b) When a syllable, which should be sharpened by *Dāghēsh forte*, has a guttural or נ for its final consonant (see § 22, 1), or stands at the end of a word (see § 20, 3, σ).
- c) When it meets with a feeble consonant (according to § 23, 1, 2, § 24, 2), as נָצַח for נָצַח he has found, for the נ, losing its value as a consonant, loses also the power to close a syllable, and the open syllable demands a long vowel.
- d) When the syllable is in *pause*, i. e. is the tone-syllable of the last word in a sentence or clause (§ 29, 4).

3. When a word increases at the end, and the tone is at the same time shifted forward, full vowels (long and short) may, according to the division of syllables, either pass over into a half-vowel (vocal *Shewā*), or may even be entirely dropped, so that only the syllable-divider (silent *Shewā*) supplies their place; e. g. the first is the case in שֵׁם (name), pl. שֵׁמֹת, which become שֶׁמֶר (my name), and שֶׁמֹּת (their names); the second in בָּרְכָה (blessing), constr. בָּרְכָת. Whether the full vowel remains, or is changed into a half-vowel, or is altogether dropped (ם, דְּמִי; שְׁמִי; שְׁמִים, שְׁמִיר), and which of the two vowels disappears in two successive syllables, must be determined by the nature of the word; but in general it may be said, that in the inflection of nouns the first vowel is mostly shortened in this manner, while the second, when it stands immediately before the tone-syllable (as a pretonic vowel), remains, as יְקָרָה (dear), fem. יְקָרָה, *yeqarā'*; in the in-

flection of verbs, the second, as יָקַר (he was dear), *fem.* יָקְרָה *yāq'erā'*. Thus we have a half-vowel in place of—

- a) Qā'meṣ and Sērē in the first syllable (principally in the inflection of nouns), as דָבֵר word, *plur.* דָבָרִים great, *fem.* נְדֹרֶת heart; לְבָבִי my heart; תָשׁׁוּב she will return, *they (fem.) will return.*
- b) The short or merely tone-long vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, in the last syllable, especially in the inflection of verbs, e. g. לְטַלֵּחַ fem. קְטַלָּה qāṭelā'; קְטַל plur. קְטַלִּים qāṭelīm; רְקַטֵּל yiqṭelū'. The Sēghōl as a helping vowel is entirely rejected (becomes silent Shewā), e. g. מְלֻכָּה (grdf), מְלֻכִּי. If there be no shifting of the tone, the vowel will remain notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, as כְּרָמֵלִים; יְשֻׁבוּ, יְשֻׁבוּ; כְּרָמְלָה.

Where the tone is advanced two places or syllables, *both* the vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, so that the first becomes *i* and the second becomes *Shewā*. From דְבָרַ we have in the *plur.* דְבָרִים, and with a *grave suffix* (i. e. one that always has a strong accent) this becomes דְבָרִיהם their words (comp. § 28, 1). On the shortening of *ă* into *i*, see especially in Rem. 3, below.

Some other vowel changes, chiefly also with respect to quantity, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

Rem. 1. The diphthongal *ai* (from *au*), as also the *ô* derived from the firm *ă* (§ 9, 10, 2), is longer than *eu*, and therefore, when the tone is moved forward, the former is often shortened into the latter, e. g. נְקוּמָה, קְטוּמָה (see Paradigm M. *Niph.*), בְּנָסָר flight, *fem.* בְּנָסָה, with suff. מְנוּסָר; מְתוּךָ sweet, *fem.* בְּחוּךָ. The *i* stands sometimes even in a sharpened syllable, as in Ps. 102, 5, בְּזָלָם Jer. 31, 34, חֲזָקִיר Ez. 20, 18, יְזָרְעָל Judg. 18, 29. Nearly the same relation exists between diphthongal *ai*—*ê* and long *eu*—*i*; see examples in § 75, 2.

N.B. On the contrary, *eu* is shortened into *ô*, which in the tone-syllable appears as a tone-long *ô* (*Chōlēm*), but on the removal of the tone it becomes again *ô* (*Qāmēṣ-chāṭâph*), as בְּקַרְבָּן (he will rise), בְּקַרְבָּן (jussive, let him rise), בְּקַרְבָּן (and he rose), see Parad. M. *Qal*. So also *eu* becomes a tone-long Sērē (*ē*), as בְּקַרְבָּן (he will set up), בְּקַרְבָּן (let him set up), and in the absence of the tone, Sēghōl (*ē*), as in בְּקַרְבָּן (and he set up); see Parad. M. *Hiph'îl*.

2. From a *Pü'thāch* (ă) in a closed syllable there arises a *S'ghōl* (ă), through an obscuring of the sound [Umlaut]. This happens—
 a) in the closed antepenult, e. g. אָבִיךְרָר (*proper noun*) for אָבִיךְרָר; also in the closed penult e. g. יְדַבֵּם *your hand* for יְדַבֵּם.
 b) This is more regularly the case when *Dāghē'sh fortē* is omitted in a guttural, that has a *Qāmēg* under it. Thus always חָ— for חָ— (חָ—) e. g. אֶחָדָר *his brothers* for אֶחָדָר, from אֶחָדָר *the vision*; פָּתָשׁ *false* for פָּתָשׁ, and so always with חָ. With חָ and שָׁ the *S'ghōl* is used only where a greater shortening is required on account of the distance of the tone; hence, חָרָר for הָרָר *the mountains*, but חָרָר *the mountain*; גָּזָב *the misdeed*, but גָּזָב *the people*. Before שָׁ and רָ, where a short sharpened vowel cannot so easily stand (§ 22, 1), *Qāmēg* is constantly used, as דָּבָר *the fathers*, דָּרָא *the head*, צָרָק *the firmament* (as an exception we find תָּרָה *mountain-ward*). Comp. also the interrogative חָ (חָ) in § 100, 4.
 c) in the first class of the so-called segholate forms, when a helping vowel is inserted after the 2nd cons. (§ 28, 4); thus from בָּלֵב with helping *S'ghōl* בָּלֵב (*Arab. kelb*, and the LXX, Μελχισέδεκ for בָּלֵב, בָּלֵב) with helping *Pāthāch*, בָּלֵב. Thus in verbal forms like בָּגֵל (*Jussive of the Hiph. of בָּלֵב*) with a helping *S'ghōl* for בָּלֵב.

3. In a closed syllable, which loses the tone, ă is often attenuated into ī, e. g. a) with final closing: צָדָר *his measure* for צָדָר (sharpened); יָלָדָרִי *I have begotten*, יָלָדָרְךָ *I have begotten thee*,¹ cf. Ez. 38, 23, Lev. 11, 44; b) with a loose closing: דָמָכָט *your blood* for דָמָכָט; so with numerous segholates forms (*grdf. בָּלֵב*) e. g. צָדָקִי for צָדָק; בָגְדָר *constr. st. pl. of בָגֵד* (בָגְדָר).

4. The *S'ghōl* arises, not only in the cases given above, in Rem. 1 and 2, but also—

a) From the obscuring in isolated cases of ă (*Qāmēg*) final (חָ— for חָ—): Ps. 20, 4, Is. 59, 5, 1 Sam. 28, 15.
 b) Even from the obscuring of u, as אָהָבָת (*you*) from the original 'ăltūm (*Arab. 'ăntūm*), see § 32, Rem. 5 and 7; לָהָט (*to them*) from the original (also Arab.) lahūm. Comp. § 8, Third Class of vowels, p. 35.

5. Among the Chatephs (—) counts for shorter and lighter than (—), and the group (— —) than (— —), e. g. אֲדֹם *Edom*, but אֲדֹמִי *Edomite*; אַמְתָּה (*mēth*) *truth*, אַמְתָּה his *truth*; נִצְנָפָדים *hidden*, plur. נִצְנָפָדים; תְּגִבְּרָתָה *boldness*.

¹ Analogous to this attenuating of ă into ī, is the Latin *tango*, *attingo*; *laxus*, *prolixus*; and to that of ă into ē (in Rem. 2), the Latin *carpo*, *decerpo*; *spargo*, *conspero*.

§ 28.

RISE OF NEW VOWELS AND SYLLABLES.

1. When a word begins with a so-called Appoggiatura (§ 26, 4), i. e. with a consonant which has a vocal Sh^wâ, and there comes another consonant with Sh^wâ before it, then this latter receives, instead of the Sh^wâ, an ordinary short vowel. This vowel is almost always ī (*Ch'irēq*). In most cases this is probably a weakened ā (*Pāthāch*), and not a mere auxiliary vowel. In other cases analogy may have led to the choice of the ī. Thus the prefixes בּ, בּ, בּ, בּ, before a consonant with (—) become בִּירְוחָה (from בִּירְחָה'; בִּפְרֵי, כִּפְרֵי according to § 24, 1, a); the same with *Waw copulative* וַיְהִי֙ for יְהִי. This restoration of the original vowel i. e. of ā (or ī weakened from ā) occurs frequently in certain appoggiatura in the formation of verbs which elsewhere (that is to say before consonants with a firm vowel) are pronounced simply with Sh^wâ. At times the first appoggiatura after the restoration of the short vowel combines with the second into a firmly closed syllable, as לִנְפֹּלְלָה *līn-pōl* Num. 14, 3, in isolated cases also with נִצְרָךְ *nītṣrāk* Jer. 17, 2.

2. When the second of the two consonants is a guttural with composite Sh^wâ, then the first takes, instead of the simple Sh^wâ, the short vowel with which the other is compounded, so that we obtain the groups —, —, — e. g. בְּאַשְׁר *as*, לְעַבְדָּן *for to serve*, לְאַכְלָה *for to eat*, לְחַלְלָה *for sickness*, for لְתַלְלָה, בְּאַשְׁר *as*, לְעַבְדָּה, לְאַכְלָה, לְתַלְלָה. The new vowel has Mēthēgh, according to § 16, 2, a. Sometimes also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel which belonged to the suppressed Chā(ē)ph, e. g. לְחַטָּב *for to sin*; לְאַסְרָה (but also לְאַסְרָה; and even עַזְרָה Job 4, 2). In the verbs הִיה *to be* and הִיוּ *to live* a simple Sh^wâ vocal is maintained under the gutturals after a prefix, e. g. לְהִיוֹת *to be*, and וְהִיוּ *and be ye!* (comp. וְהִיוּ *and be thou!* and וְהִיוּ *and live!* with S'ghō'l of the prefix, for וְהִיוּ)

3. By the same analogy a *Chāṭēph* (especially under a guttural) before a vocal *Sh̄wâd*, in the midst of a word is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, e. g. יְעַמְדֵי *yă'ām'dhū'* for יִעַמְדֶה *they will stand*, הָפֹכְיָה *nēhēph'khī'* for נְהַפֵּכְיָה *they have turned themselves*, עֲלֹקָה *pō'ōl'khā'* (*thy work*). Comp. § 26, 3, e. The division should be *yă'ā-m̄dhū'*.

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10, 3, § 26, 7); yet only when the last of these is a consonant of strong sound, **ת**, **ת**, or an aspirate with its hard sound (*tennis*), viz. בּ, דּ, קּ, תּ,¹ e. g. יְשַׁטֵּךְ *let him turn aside*, וַיַּשְׁקֵךְ *and he caused to drink*, קַטְלָךְ *thou (fem.) hast killed*, וַיַּרְבֵּךְ *and he wept*, וַיַּרְדֵּךְ *let him rule*, וַיַּשְׁבֵּךְ *and he took captive*. This harsh combination of letters is, however, avoided in general by supplying between the two consonants a *helping-vowel*, which is mostly *S'ghōl*, but *Pā'thāch* under gutturals,² and *Chī'rēq* after ר, e. g. וַיַּגְלֵל *and he revealed* for וַיְגַלֵּל, וַיַּרְבֵּל *let it increase* for וַיְרַב, וַיַּקְרֵב *sanctuary* for קָרֵב, נַחַל *stream* for נְחַל, תַּחַתְּשָׁלֵשׁ³ *for thou f. hast sent*, בַּרְתָּה *house* for בַּתָּה. These helping-vowels have not the tone, and they are dropped when-

¹ There is hardly an instance of a similar use of ת and ת, which would in that case likewise require *Dāghēsh*. The use of תּ in Prov. 30, 6 (shortened from תּוֹסֵף) is the only exception, and in some MSS the ת has not *Dāghēsh* here.

² With the exception, however, of the ת, as אֲמַרְתִּי *wild ass*, אֲשַׁרְתִּי *fresh grass*. Elsewhere the ת loses its consonant power and is merely retained orthographically as in חַנְתִּי *sun*, אַיְתִּי *valley* (also עַיִת), שִׁירִתִּי (Job 15, 31 *Kethibh* שִׁירָה).

³ In this form (§ 65, 2) *Dāghēsh lenè* remains in the final *Tāw* just as if no vowel preceded (§ 22, 2), in order to indicate that the helping *Pā'thāch* is not a full vowel but merely an orthographical indication of a hasty sound. (Accordingly תַּחַתְּשָׁלֵשׁ *thou hast taken* is distinguished also in pronunciation from תַּחַתְּלֵשׁ *for to take*) The false epithet *furtive* given to this helping-vowel, in connection with the notion that such a vowel must be sounded before the consonant, caused the decided mistake, which long had its defenders, viz., that תַּחַתְּשָׁלֵשׁ should be read *shalāacht*; although such words as תַּחַתְּשָׁלֵשׁ, בַּרְתָּה were always correctly sounded *shúcháth*, náchál not naáchl. Quite analogous is תַּחַתְּיִכְאֵד *yichād* in Job 3, 6 (from תַּחַתְּ to rejoice, see § 75, Rem. 3, d).

ever the word increases at the end, as בִּרְכָה house-ward, קָדְשֵׁי my sanctuary.

These helping-vowels have inappropriately been called *furtive*, a term which should be restricted to the *Pāthāch* sounded before a final guttural, according to § 22, 2, b.

5. Full vowels rise out of *simple Shewā* also by reason of the *Pause*; see § 29, 4.

•§ 29.

OF THE TONE AND ITS CHANGES, AND OF THE PAUSE.

1. The principal tone, indicated by the accent (§ 15, 2), rests on the final syllable of most words, e. g. דָבָר, קָטָלָתָם, קָרְרֹן, קָטָלָתָם (and as the last four examples show, even on additions to the stem); less frequently on the penultima, as in מַלְךָ, לְילָה night, קָטָלָתָךְ, סָבוֹא, קָמָר.

Connected with the principal tone is *Méthēgh*, a kind of secondary accent (§ 16, 2). Words which are united by *Mäg-qēph* with the following one (§ 16, 1), can have at the most a secondary tone.

It is not necessary here to single out the words accented on the penultima (*voces penaculae*); for the sake, however, of calling attention to these words, they are chiefly marked in this book with —, put over the tone-syllable.

In Arabic the tone is more on the penultima, and even on the antepenultima. The Aram. also accent mostly the penultima; and the Hebrew is pronounced thus, contrary to the accents, by the German and Polish Jews, e. g. אֶלְכָה, בְּרָאשְׁתָּרָה, which they pronounce *brēshis bōro*.

2. The original tone of a word frequently shifts its place on account of changes in the word itself, or in its relation to other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is thrown forward (*descendit*) one or two syllables according to the length of the addition, as דָבָר word, דָבָרים words, דָבְרָוָתָם your words; קָדְשָׁי sanctuary, קָדְשָׁיִם sanctuaries; קָטָלָתָה, קָטָלָתָךְ. On the effect of this in the changes of the vowels, see § 27, 1, 3.

3. On the contrary, the original tone is shifted from the final syllable to the penultima (*ascendit*)—

a) When the syllable **הָ** (§ 49, 2) is prefixed to certain forms of the Imperfect, as **וְיַאֲמֵר** *he will say*, **וְיִאֱמֹר** *and he said*; **וְלַיְלָה** *he will go*, **וְלָלָה** *and he went*.

b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllabic word, or one with the tone on the 1st syllable follows, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical shifting back of the tone (**נִסּוֹג אַחֲרָה** *retrogression* as it is called by the Jewish grammarians) takes place however only on condition that the penult which now receives the accent, be an open syllable,—with long vowel,—while the last syllable, which loses the accent, must be an open one with a long vowel, or a closed one with a short vowel. Only *Sé're* can be kept in a closed unaccented *ultima*, but it is then, in correct editions, provided with a retarding *Méthégh* in order to prevent its pronunciation as *S'ghó'l*, e. g. **קֶדֶם בְּבָצָר** Num. 24, 22. In other instances the shortening into *S'ghó'l* really takes place, e. g. **תֹּזְלִים פְּעֻמָּם** *beating the anvil* Is. 41, 7, for **פְּעֻמָּם הַזְלָם**, Gen. 1, 5, 3, 19, 4, 17, Job. 3, 3, 22, 28, Ps. 5, 11, 21, 2.

c) In pause. See No. 4 below.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (*letter b*) is avoided in another way, viz., by writing the words with *Mäggéph* between them, in which case the first wholly loses the tone, as **וְיִכְתְּבֶה** *and he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32.

4. Very essential changes of the tone, and consequently of the vowels, are effected by the *Pause*. By this term is meant the strong accentuation of the tone-syllable of the word, which closes a verse or clause of a verse, where a great distinctive accent stands (*Sillúq, Athnách*; also *Ôlé weyôrêd* in poetical accentuation); apart from these principal pauses there also occur often pausal changes with smaller distinctives (espec. with *Zäqéph-qâtôن*, *R'ebiâ*, *Pâzér*, even with *Tiphchâ* etc.) The changes are as follows:—

a) When the syllable in *pause* has a short vowel, it becomes long; as **לְשָׁקָר**; **מְרָאָה**; **מְרָאָה**; **קְטַלָּתָה**; **קְטַלָּתָה**; **קְשָׁר** (orig. form

¹ Even the prose of the Hebrews proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That the authors of the system intended to secure this object is evident, particularly from the application of *Méthégh*.

רְקָשָׁר (קָשָׁר) *conspiracy*, קָשָׁר 2 K. 11, 14; אַרְצָא, אַרְצָא Jer. 22, 29. דבר becomes in pause דבר.

Yet sometimes the sharper ā is intentionally retained in Pause, especially if the closing consonant has *Dāghēsh forte implicitum*, the vowel thus being really sharpened e. g. בֵּז Is. 8, 1 etc. but also elsewhere, e. g. צָעֵד.

- b) When a full vowel in an accented final syllable has lost its tone and become *Shenâ* before an affirmative, it is restored again in pause—if it was a short vowel—lengthened e. g. לְטַלֵּה *sem.* קְטַלָּה (*qāṭelā*) in pause קְטַלָּה (*qāṭālā*); שְׂצִיעֵי (*sim'ū*) pause: שְׂמִיעֵי (from sing. שִׁמְעָה); מְלֹאתֵי (*sim'ū*) pause: מְלֹאתֵי (sing. יְקֻטָּלֵי). In segholate forms like, לְחֵרִי, פְּרֵי (*grdf.* לְחֵרִי, פְּרֵי) the orig. ā returns at least as accented *Sghôl*, thus לְחֵרִי, פְּרֵי; orig. ī as ē, e. g. חַצֵּר, in pause חַצֵּר; orig. ö (ü) as ō, e. g. חַלֵּי (*grdf.* חַלֵּי), in pause חַלֵּי. In analogy with forms like לְחֵרִי etc. the shortened *impf.* יְחֵרִי and יְחֵרִי would become in pause יְחֵרִי and יְחֵרִי (because in the full forms like יְחִירָה *he will be*, and יְחִירָה *he will live* the *Chîrêq* is attenuated from orig. ā). Here belongs also שְׁכָם *the neck*, in pause שְׁכָם (*grdf.* שְׁכָם) and the pronoun אַנְּכִי I, in pause אַנְּכִי, as well as the restoration of orig. ā as ē before the suff. ה—*thou, thee* e. g. הַבְּרִיךְ *thy word*, in pause הַבְּרִיךְ; הַשְׁמָרֶךְ, in pause יְשִׁמְרֶךְ (on the other hand after the prepositions בְּ, בַּ, אֶת (ath), בְּ, בַּ, לְ, אֶת (ath) become in pause בַּ, בַּ, לְ, אֶת (ath)).
- c) This tendency to place the tone on the *penultima* in pause shows itself, moreover, in several words, as אֲנָכִי I, אֲנָכִי; אֲתָּה *thou, thou*; הַתָּעַכְתָּה *now, now*; and in special cases, like בְּלִי Ps. 37, 20 for בְּלִי, and also לְעֵז Job 6, 3 for לְעֵז, from לְעֵז.

Of other influences of the pause we have still to mention 1) the transition of an ē (lengthened from ö) into the sharper ā (v. supra. Remark to letter a) e. g. חַרְבָּה for חַרְבָּה Is. 18, 5; לְמַעַן Is. 38, 9; הַקְרָב Gen. 17, 14 etc. mostly before liquids or sibilants (yet also דְּשִׁבְבָּש Is. 42, 22 and without the pause חַרְבָּה Lam. 3, 48). The pausal of תְּנִינָה (shortened from תְּנִינָה) is תְּנִינָה; comp. Lam. 3, 1 תְּנִינָה; Judg. 19, 20 תְּנִינָה for תְּנִינָה. 2) the

¹ Such a pause-syllable is sometimes strengthened further by doubling the following consonant, § 20, 2, c.

transition from *ă* into *ĕ* in the ultima; so always in the expression (for *永远*) *לְעוֹלָם יוֹמֶר* (for ever and ever. 3) the *pausal Qâmet* of the *Hithpael* form (for *שָׁרֵךְ*) e. g. *יִתְחַלֵּךְ* Job. 18, 8. for *רְדַתְתִּךְ*. 4) the restoration of a vowel which had become *Sh'wâ* to a pretonic vowel. e. g. Job. 21, 11 *רְבָקְרָבָן* for *רְבָקְרָבָּן*. 5) the restoration of the *ו* dropped from the end of the stem with its preceding vowel e. g. *בְּצִוָּה*, *אֲרָבוֹה* Is. 21, 12 (for *בְּצִוָּה*, *אֲרָבוֹה*, the latter word found thus also outside of the pause Is. 58, 9. 12); Comp. Job. 12, 6 and the same occurrence even in a word before the pause Deut. 32, 37; Is. 21, 12.

Several other changes occasioned by the *pause* will be noticed farther on, when treating upon the inflections of verbs and nouns.

N.B. The supposition of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the pause springs merely from liturgical considerations, i. e. "to develope conveniently the *musical value* of the final accents by the aid of fuller forms" at Divine service, is at variance with the fact that similar phenomena may be observed even at the present day in the vulgar Arabic, where they can be based only upon rhythmical reasons of a general character.

PART SECOND.

OF FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30.

OF THE STEM-WORDS AND ROOTS (BILITERALS, TRILITERALS, QUADRILITERALS).

1. The stem-words of the Hebrew and of the other Semitic languages have this peculiarity, that by far the most of them consist of *three consonants*, on which the meaning essentially depends, while its various modifications are expressed by changes in the vowels, e. g. קָמַע *he was deep*, קָמַע *deep*, קָמַק *depth*, קָמַע *valley*. Such a stem-word may be indifferently either a verb or a noun, and usually the language exhibits both together, as קָרַע *he has sown*, קָרְעִי *seed*; חָכָם *wise*, חָכָם *he was wise*. Yet it is customary and of practical utility for the beginner to consider the *third pers. sing. mas. of the Perf.* in *Qăl* (i. e. one of the most simple forms of the verb), as the stem-word, and the other forms of both the verb and the noun (both substantive and adjective), together with most of the particles, as derived from it, e. g. קָדֵץ *he was righteous*, קָדֵץ *righteousness*, קָדֵיך *righteous*, etc. Sometimes the language, as handed down to us, exhibits only the verbal stem, without so simple a form for the cognate noun, as לְקַשֵּׁר *to stone*, קַשְׁתַּן *to bray*; and occasionally the noun is found without the corresponding verb-stem, e. g. נֶגֶב *south*, נֶגֶב *stone*. Yet it must be supposed that the language, as spoken,

often had the forms now wanting, since they still exist in several of the other Semitic dialects, e. g. for אָבִן the Arabic has the verb-stem 'ăbīnă to become hard (for נְגַב Aram. *n̄gabh*).

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem-word, i. e. the 3. pers. sing. masc. of the Perf. in *Qāl* the *root* (שׁורֵשׁ), for which the Latin term *radix* is often used; and hence the three consonants of the stem are called *radical letters*, in contradistinction from the *servile* (or *formative*) *letters* (viz. נ, ב, ח, י, ד, ב, נ, צ, ז, ש, מ, ר, forming the mnemonic expression אֶתְחָנָן מֹשֶׁה וְכָלֵב Ethan, Moses and Caleb), which are added in the derivation and inflection of words.¹ We, however, employ the term *root* in a different sense, as explained here, in No. 3.

2. Many etymologists give the name *root* to the three stem-consonants, viewed as vowelless and unpronounceable, from which the stems for both the verbs and the nouns are developed, as in the vegetable kingdom (from which the figurative expression is taken) the stems grow out of the concealed root. Thus for example—

Root. **רְגָנָן** (*ruling in general*)

Verb-stem. **רְגָנֵן** *he has reigned.* Noun-stem. **רָגְנָן** *king.*

This supposition of an unpronounceable root is, however, an abstraction, and the term *root* instead of *stem* is liable to mislead and it is better, at least for the historical mode of treatments, to consider the concrete verb (3. pers. sing. masc. Perf. *Qāl*) as the stem-word.

3. These triliteral stems now generally form two syllables, as **לְבָדָק**. But among them are reckoned also such as have for their middle letter a 'ı, and by contraction (§ 24, 2, c) become one syllable, e. g. **בָּדָק** for **בְּדָק**; also, as a rule, stems whose second and third consonant are identical, e. g. **מְצָרָה** with **מְצָרָה**. But the original forms were doubtless tri-syllabic, and became dissyllabic by dropping the final vowel, as **לְבָדָק** from *qātālā* (still so in Arab.); **בָּדָק** (טָבָדָק) from *qāwāmā* (already dissyllabic in Arab. *qāmā*).

2. The use of three consonants in the stems of the verbs and nouns is so prevalent a law in the Semitic languages, that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the triliteral form (e. g. יְדוֹם for יָדוֹם in verbs יְעַשֵּׂה). Even such monosyllabic nouns as might be deemed originally mono-syllables (*bilateral roots*), since they express the first, simplest, and commonest ideas, as **בָּאָ** *father*, **בָּאָ** *mother*, **חָמָר** *brother*, show by inflection that they also are mutilations of a triliteral stem. However the verbal stem has not been found for all such cases.

¹ See more in § 81, Rem. 1, Note 3.

3. Yet, on the other hand, stems with three consonants may be traced back to two consonants, which, in themselves unutterable are pronounced with a vowel between them and form a sort of *root-syllable*, to designate which grammarians use the sign *V*, e. g. *V*^ר*כָּבֵךְ*. Such root-syllables are called *primary* or *bilateral roots*. They are very easily distinguished when the stem has a feeble consonant, or the same consonant in the second and third place. Thus the stems *דַּךְ*, *דַּךְאָ*, *דַּךְהָ* have all the meaning of *to beat* and *to break in pieces*, and the two stronger letters *דָּךְ* *dakh* (comp. Eng. *thwack*, Sans. *tag* = θιγεῖν, L. *tago* (*tango*) = E. *touch*) constitute the monosyllabic root. The augmentation into a stem may also take place however by the addition of a strong consonant, which may be either a sibilant, liquid or guttural. To such a monosyllabic root there often belongs a whole series of triliteral stems, which have two radical letters and the fundamental idea in common.

Only a few examples of this sort:—

From the root *קָרַב*, which imitates the sound of *cutting*, are derived immediately *קָצַח*, *קָצַחַ* *to cut off*, and metaph. *to decide*, *to judge* (hence Arab. *qâdhi*, *a judge*); then *קָצַב*, *קָצַבְתִּי*, *קָצַר*, *קָצַרְתִּי*, with the kindred significations *to shear*, *to mow*. Related to this is the syllable *קָטָן*, *קָטָןָה*, from which is derived *קָסַסְתִּי* *to cut into*, *שָׁקַע* and *קָשַׁהָ* *to pare*. With a lingual instead of the sibilant *שָׁקַע*, *קָרַד*; hence *קָרַעְתִּי* *to cut down*, *destroy*, *לָקַרְתִּי* *to hew down*, *to kill*, *קָרַעְתִּי* *to tear off*, *to pluck off*, *קָרַעְתִּי* *to hew asunder*, *to split*. A softer form of this radical syllable is *קָסָה*; hence *קָסַחְתִּי* and *קָסַחְתִּי* *to cut off*, *to shear off*, *וְקָסַחְתִּי* *Syr. to sacrifice or to slay a victim*. Still softer are *גָּזָה* and *גָּזַר*; hence *גָּזַחְתִּי* *to mow*, *to shear*, *גָּזַחְתִּי* *to hew stones*, *גָּזַעַת*, *גָּזַעַתְּ*, *גָּזַר*, *גָּזַרְתִּי* *to hew off*, *to cut off*, *to eat off*, *to graze*; and so *גָּזַרְתִּי* *to cut*, *גָּזַעַתְּ* *to cut off*; compare also *גָּזַרְתִּי*, *גָּזַרְתִּי*. With the change of the palatal for the guttural sound, *תָּצַבְתִּי*, *תָּצַבְתִּי* *to hew stones or wood*, *תָּצַחְתִּי*, *תָּצַחְתִּי* *to split*, *divide*, *תָּצַחְתִּי* *arrow* (*צָחַק*), *תָּרַדְתִּי* *to sharpen*, *arrow*, *lightning*, also *תָּרַחְתִּי* *to see* (comp. *תָּרַחְתִּי*, *תָּרַחְתִּי*, *תָּרַחְתִּי*, *תָּרַחְתִּי*, *תָּרַחְתִּי*—*תָּרַחְתִּי* in Ges. Lex.).

The syllable *הָמָם* expresses the *humming* sound made with the mouth closed (*μύω*); hence *הָמָם*, *הָמָםָה* (*אֲמָם*), Arab. *هَمَّهَ* *to hum*, *to buzz*. To these add *בָּהָמָם* *to be dumb*; *דָּהָמָם* *to become mute*, *to be astonished*.

The root-syllable *רְצִיךְ*, of which both letters have a trilling sound, means *to tremble*, in the stemwords *רְצִיכָּה*, *רְצִיכָּם*, *רְצִיכָּתָה*; then it is expressive of what causes thrilling motion or agitation, as *thunder* (*רְגִיעָם*), the act of *shattering* or *breaking in pieces* (*רְגִיעָת*). Comp. *פְּלִיכָּה*, *פְּלִיכָּתָה*.

See also what is said in the Heb. Lexicon about the root-syllables בָּבָב with the idea of *elevation, curving upward (gibbous)* פָּרָר to break; לְלִקְקַדְתָּה to lick, to sip up, under the articles בָּבָב, פָּרָר, גָּבָב, לְלִקְקַדְתָּה.

From further consideration of this subject, the following observations occur:—

- a) These roots are *mere abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves *not* in use. They merely represent the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet the latter have, now and then, so short a form, that they exhibit only the elements of the root itself, as בָּנָה to be finished, בָּשָׂר light. The determination of the root and its signification is of the highest importance to the lexicographer. Another much contested question is whether there has ever been a period in the development of the Semitic languages when merely bi-literal roots, either rigidly isolated or already augmented by inflection, have served for the communication of ideas. If so, it must have been at a stage in its progress, when the ideas conveyed were extremely few and elementary and the gradual enlargement of words was required by the influx of stronger shades of thought. No historical evidence of such a transition has been clearly established.
- b) Many of these monosyllabic roots are imitations of natural sounds, and sometimes coincide with like-meaning roots of the Indo-Germanic stock (§ 1, 4), e. g. בָּמָתָה (comp. E. tap, thump, dump), τύπτω (τύπω), οὐράντω (οὐράνω) (comp. Welsh rhâf = G. Reif = E. rope = ribbon), בָּחָלָאָתָה (comp. E. club, clap). Of other roots it is evident that the Semitic linguistic instinct regarded them as onomatopoetic, whilst the spirit of the Indo-Germanic languages refuses to accept them as imitations.
- c) The stems with hard, strong consonants are to be regarded, according to the general progress of language (§ 6, 4), as the *oldest*, while the feebler and softer consonants distinguish forms of a later period, which consequently are more frequently used for the derivative and metaphorical significations, e. g. בָּנָה and בָּלָה to be smooth, to be shorn, to be bald; and even בָּלָה to be bare. Comp. פָּרָר and בָּזָר, צָהָק and בָּזָק, בָּצָע and בָּזָע, בָּלָע and בָּלָע (עַלְעַל), רָכָךְ and בָּרָךְ, and also the almost universal softening of initial בּ and בּ. In other instances however harder stems have been adopted at a later period from the Aramaic, (e. g. בָּנָה, Hebr. בָּנָה). Sometimes the harder or softer sound is essential to the imitative character of the word, as בָּלָה to roll (spoken of a ball, of the rolling of waves), but בָּרָךְ more for a rough sound, as made in the act of scraping = σαύρω, σύρω, verro; so in בָּנָה to cut stones or wood, we find a stronger sound than in בָּנָה to cut grass, to mow.
- d) It appears also that those consonants, which resemble each other in strength or feebleness, are commonly associated in the formation of root-syllables, as בָּנָה, בָּסָר, בָּגָד, בָּגָד (never בָּבָב, בָּבָב); גָּזָב, (seldom גָּזָב); בָּבָב, בָּבָב (not בָּבָב). Rarely if ever are the first two, radicals the same

in the (trilateral) stem. The seeming exceptions come from the reduplication of the root, e. g. **לְלִיל** Arab. **لَلَّالَّا** or from other reasons. Comp. **כְּכָה** in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants may be identical only in the so-called hollow stems (with middle **ו** or **י**), e. g. **לְלֻלָּה**, **צְצַדָּה**. On the contrary, the last two are very often the same (§ 67).¹

- e) The tendency to substitute smooth for harsh sounds (see letter *c*) is sometimes so great, that *l*, *n*, *r*, especially when used as middle stem-letters, are even softened to vowels, as **לְבָנָה**, **לְמָנָה** (comp. **מָנָה**) to *press*, **לְבָנָה**, **לְמָנָה**, and many others. Comp. *salvare*, French *sauver*; *calidus*, Ital. *caldo*, in Naples *caudo*, French *chaud*; *falsus*, It. *falso*, in Calabria *fauzu*, French *faux*, and the pronunciation of the English words *talk*, *walk*. Comp. § 19, 5, Rem.
- f) The cases where the trilateral stems cannot safely be traced back to a biliteral root, may have arisen in part from a combination of two roots, by which were created corresponding expressions for complicated ideas.

A fuller development of this active change in the primitive elements of the language belongs to the Lexicon.

4. To a secondary development (or later stage) of the language belong stem-words of *four*, and, in the case of nouns, even of *five*, consonants. These are, however, comparatively far less frequent in Hebrew than in its sister dialects, especially Ethiopic. They spring from the extension of the trilateral stem. This extension of the form is effected in two ways:—*a*) by adding a fourth stem-letter;—*b*) in some cases probably by combining into one word two trilateral stems, by which process even *quinqueliterals* are formed. Such lengthened forms as arise from the mere repetition of one or two of the three stem-letters, as **לְלִילָה** from **לְלִילָה**, **סְסַסָּה** from **סְסַסָּה**, are not regarded as quadrilateral, but as variations in the so-called conjugation forms (§ 55). So likewise the few

¹ Letters which are not found associated as radicals are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly such as too strongly resemble each other, as **ג**, **גָם**, **בָּבָשׂ**. Some letters, however, have been falsely considered *incompatible*, as **ל**, **ר**, which are found associated, e. g. in **לְלִילָה** and **רְרִירָה**, softened from the harsher forms **לְלִילָה**, **רְרִירָה**. Comp. **γραπτές** along with **γράθην**, **δετώ** along with **ὕδοος**, and much that is analogous in Sanskrit.

words which are formed by prefixing **וְ**, as **שָׁלַחֲתָה** *flame* (from **שָׁבַע**), Aram. conj. *Shāphē'ēl* **שָׁלַחֲבָה**.

Rem. on a). Some forms are made by the *insertion* particularly of *l* and *r* between the first and second radicals; as **כָּרַסְתָּה**, **כָּרַסְתָּה** *to shear off, to eat off*; as **שָׁרְבִּת**=**שָׁבֵט** *sceptre* (the form with **ר** very frequent in Syr.); by the insertion of *l* we have from **זָקַנְתָּה** *to glow*, **זָקְנָה** *hot wind*, **שָׁלְמָנָה** *tranquil* (from **שָׁלָם**) Job 21, 23, possibly also from **גָּלַד** but comp. Delitzsch in Is. 49, 21. Comp. the Aramaic **צָרָגֵל** *to roll*, as an expansion of the *Pa'el* conjugation (corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'el*) **צָרַגְתָּה**. In Latin there is a corresponding strengthening of the stem; as *findo, scindo, tundo, jungo* (in Sanskr., Class. VII.) from *fid, scid, σκεδάω* (=Eng. scatter), *tud* (=Eng. thud), *jug* (=Eng. yoke=Welsh *iau*). Additions are also made at the end, principally of *l* and *n*; as **פָּרָן** *axe*, from **פָּרַן** *to cut* (comp. *graze*); **כָּרְמָלָה** *orchard*, from **כָּרְמָה**; **גְּבָעָלָה** *flower-cup*, from **גְּבָעָה** *cup*; **חֲרֹבָלָה** *to hobble* which *Ges.* derived from **חֲרֹבָה** is by Dietrich referred to **חֲרֹבָה** with the insertion of **ל**, v. Lex.

Rem. on b). So probably are compounded **צְפִידָעָה** *frog* Ex. 8, 1 ff., and **חַבְצָלָה** *meadow-saffron* (or *crocus*, comp. Delitzsch on Is. 35, 1) Cant. 2, 1, although this explanation is not altogether certain. [Comp. *Ges. Lex.* 8th Ed. where **צְפִידָעָה** is not regarded as a compound but, according to Dietrich, a derivation from the Arabic form of the word (**ضُفْدَعٌ**) as the older, and this from the usual stem expansion]. Many words of this class may prove to have been taken from other languages (§ 1. 4) and therefore not appropriately considered here.

5. To a special class as derived from an earlier stage of the language, in which other laws prevailed, or from mutilations of already developed word-stems belong the *pronouns*. At all events their very irregular mode of formation requires a special treatment (§ 32). In like manner the *interjections* (§ 105), as an immediate imitation of natural sounds stand outside of existing formative laws.¹ On the other hand all the so-called particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) have in Hebrew, arisen from the fully developed nominal-stem, although in some instances, on account of their very great abbreviations, the original form is no longer distinguishable, see § 99.

¹ Comp. *Hupfeld's System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhangenden Pronominal- und Partikelbildung*, in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II, S. 124 ff. 427 ff.

§ 31.

OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems, and their inflection, are effected in two ways:—*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels;—*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after. On the other hand the expression of grammatical relations through separate words by periphrasis (as in expressing the comparative degree and several relations of case), belongs rather to the syntax than to that part of grammar which treats of *forms*.

The second mode of forming words, *viz.*, by agglutination, which is exemplified in the Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient of the two. Yet other languages, and particularly the Semitic, had early recourse also to the first mode, *viz.*, internal modification of the stem, and in the period of their youthful vigour developed a strong tendency to follow this process, but in their later periods this tendency continually diminished in force, so that it became necessary to use syntactical circumlocution.—This is exemplified in the Greek (including the modern), and in the Latin with its branches (called the *Romance dialects*).

2. Both methods of formation and inflection are found together in Hebrew. That which is effected by vowel changes exhibits considerable variety (לְבָקָר, לַבָּקָר, בְּלַבָּקָר; בְּלַטָּקָר, בְּלַטְקָר, etc.). To this is joined in numerous cases the external formation (הַקְטִיל, הַקְטִיל, נַקְטֵל etc.), and even the formative additions undergo, also often, the inner transformation, e. g. בְּהַקְטִילָה. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, in the formation of the persons of the verb, where also the import of these annexed syllables is still, for the most part, perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47); moreover, it occurs in the distinction of gender and number in the verb and the noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, there appear in Hebrew only imperfect traces (§ 90).

CHAPTER I.
OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 32.

OF THE PERSONAL OR SEPARATE PRONOUN.

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronouns generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest component parts of the language (§ 30, 5); and therefore it here claims our first attention, because it lies at the foundation of the inflection of the verb (§§ 44, 47).

2. The separate and primary forms of the personal pronoun, which, as in Greek and Latin, serve to express more emphatically the subject-nominative, are the following:—

Singular.	Plural.
1. com. אַנְכֶר, in pause אָנְכֶר; אָנְכִי, in pause אָנְכִי;	1. com. אֲנָכְנָה, in pause אֲנָכְנָה; we (בְּנָה), (אָנָה)
2. { m. אֲנָתָה (תְּתָה) in p. אֲנָתָה or אֲנָתָה } thou	2. { m. אֲתָם f. אֲתָתָה (תְּתָתָה); ye (אֲתָתָה; אֲתָתָה)
3 { m. הוּא he, also it f. היא she, also it }	3. { m. הֵם (הִסְמָה), הם they f. הֵן (הִנְמָה) }

The forms included in parentheses seldom occur. A complete view of these pronouns, with their shortened forms (*suffixes*), is given in Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar. Comp. also § 121.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנָכִי is less frequent than אָנָה which is probably shortened from it. The *former* is found in the Phœnician, Moabitic and Assyrian, but in no other kindred dialect;¹ from the *latter* are

¹ In Phœnician and Moabite (§ 2, 2) it is תְּנָךְ, without the ending תְּ, and in Punic *anec* (*Plaut. Poen.* 5, 1, 8) or *'anekh* (*Plauti Pœnulus*, 5, 2, 35, comp. *Schröder*, *Phon. Sprache*, S. 143); in Assyrian, *anaku*. In ancient Egyptian, ANEK, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

formed the *suffixes* (§ 33). **אַנְכִּי** prevails chiefly in the Pentateuch. In the Talmud **אַנְכִּי** has almost entirely disappeared and in some later books wholly. The *ō* is probably an obscuring of orig. *n* (comp. Aram. **אָנָּא**, Arab. **'ána**).

2. The formation of the plural in this and the following persons, though analogous with that of nouns, exhibits (as also in the pronoun of other languages) much that is peculiar and irregular. The short form **אַנְ**, which resembles the suffix (§ 33), occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 (*Kethibh*). The form **אַנְנָ** is found only six times; e. g. Num. 32, 32. (Gen. 42, 11 in pause **אַנְנָ**). In the Mischna the form **אַנְ** alone appears; in Arab. *nachnu* is the standard form.

3. The first person only is always of the *common gender*, because one that is present speaking needs not the distinction of gender, as does the second person addressed (in Greek, Latin, English etc., the distinction is omitted here also), and as the third person spoken of which needs it still more (but see Rem. 6).

II. Second Person.

4. The forms **תְּךָ**, **תְּךָם**, **אַתָּה**, **אַתָּהֶם**, are contracted from **תְּנַכֵּחַ**, etc., and the kindred dialects have still the *n* before the **ת**, Arab. *ánta*, f. *ánti* thou, plur. *ántum*, f. *antúnnā* ye. In Syriac **תְּנַגֵּג**, fem. **תְּנַרְתִּי** is written, but both are pronounced *at*, in the Western Aramaic **תְּנַ** stands for both genders.

תְּ without **ת** occurs only five times, e. g. Ps. 6, 4, and each time as *Kethibh* with **תְּנַ** as *Qerî*. As the vowels of the text belong to the *Qerî* (§ 17), the reading of the *Kethibh* may have been **תְּנַ**, as an abbreviation from **תְּנַ** (acc. to Aram., see above), for **תְּ** actually serves twice for masc., as in Num. 11, 15, Deut. 5, 24, Ezek. 28, 14.

The feminine form was originally pronounced **תְּנַגֵּג**, as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is still found in seven instances as *Kethibh* (e. g. Judg. 17, 2, 1 K. 14, 2), and shows itself also in the corresponding personal ending of the verb (see § 44, Rem. 4), specially before suffixes (**תְּנַרְתִּי** § 59, 1, c). The final *i* sound, however, was gradually given up (in Syriac also it was at length only written, not pronounced), and the **ת** therefore dropped, so that the Jewish critics, even in those seven passages, place in the *Qerî* **תְּ**, the Shewâ of which stands in the punctuation of the text (**תְּנַגֵּג**, § 17). The same final **ת** — appears, moreover, in the rare forms of the suffix, **תְּנַ**, **תְּנַ** (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals **תְּךָם** (**אַתָּהֶם** **תְּךָן**), are blunted forms (comp. 27, Rem. 4, b) of **תְּמֻמָּם** (**אַתָּהֶם**, Aram. **אַתָּהֶם**, **אַתָּהֶם**), and **אַתָּהֶן** or **אַתָּהֶן** (**אַתָּהֶן**, Aram. **אַתָּהֶן**, **אַתָּהֶן**). Hence doubtless the fact that the suff. of the 2d pers. pl. perf. is added to the ending **תְּ** (instead of **תְּ** or **תְּ**). **אַתָּהֶן** is *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, being found only in Ez. 94, 31 (so *Kimchi*,

others מְנָא), and מְנָא (for which MSS have also מְנָא) occurs only four times, viz., in Gen. 31, 6, Ez. 13, 11, 20, 34, 17 (13, 20 together with מְנָא for fem.).

III. Third Person.

6. At the end of הַוְּה *hû* and הַיְּה *hi*, the הַ seems to be only an orthographic finish for the long open syllable, as in לִיא, בִּירִיא, (§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), yet the writing with הַ is constant in the separate pronoun, and הַוְּה becomes הַוְּ (but הַיְּה becomes הַיְּ) only as a toneless suffix (§ 33, 1)¹ (In Arab., as in Syr., they write حُوا and حَيٌ but speak *hawa*, *húa*, *hû*, and *hiya*, *hiē*). However this Arab. pronunciation alone would decide nothing, as the vowel complement may be derived from the more consonantal pronunciation of the וְ and יְ; but the Æthiopic *welū* for חַוְּה, *yelî* for חַיְּה, shows that originally the הַ indicated a vowel termination (comp. Noldeke, Ztschr. der DMG Bd. XX, S. 459).

The form מְנוּ stands in Kethibh in the Pentateuch (except in 11 cases) also for the fem. מְנוּת as if similar to the epicene use of מְנוּ for boy and girl (see § 2, 5, Rem.). But the punctators, whenever it stands for מְנוּ, give it the pointing מְנוּת, and require it to be read חַיְּה (comp. § 17).²

7. The plural forms הם (הֵמֶת) and הֵמֶת (after pref. הֵן) are derived from מְנוּה and מְנוּת in the same manner as מְנוּמָה from מְנוּמָה. In Arab., where they are sounded *hüm*, *hümma*, the obscure vowel-sound is retained, for which in Hebrew S'ghôl stands also in the suffixes הם and הֵן (comp. § 27, Rem. 4, b). The הֵן- in both forms (חַיְּהֵן, חַיְּתֵן) is of demonstrative nature, but without observable effect of the sense. In West Aram. (חַמְּיָה), Syr. *henün*, Arab. *hümü*, (archaist. for *hum*) and Ethio. (*tümü*) there is an ô or û appended, which appears in Hebrew in the poetical forms מְנוּתֵּה, מְנוּתֵּת (§ 58, 3, Rem. 1). In some passages הֵמֶת stands as feminine (Zech. 5, 11; Cant. 6, 8; Ruth 1, 22). The quite anomalous צְדִידְתָּם 2 K. 9, 18 should probably be read צְדִידְתָּם.

8. The pronouns of the third person חַוְּה, חַיְּה, הֵן, refer to things as well as persons. On their demonstrative meaning, see § 122, 1.

¹ In the inscription of Mêsha' (see § 2, 2), מְנוּ stands for מְנוּה in line 6.

² Kautzsch does not accept the common opinion (v. Lex. 8th ed.) that this use of חַיְּה for חַיְּה is an archaism,—since the epicene use *a)* lacks analogy in Sem. dialects, *b)* is not in oldest texts outside the Pent., *c)* is wanting in the kindred text of Joshua, and since *d)* חַיְּה occurs 11 times (Gen. 38, 25 together with נְנוּה),—but regards it as an orthographic peculiarity arising from some revision of the text of the Pentateuch. He cites as deserving of consideration, the supposition of Levy that originally נְנָא was written for both forms (as it is found on the Moabite stone, see note above) and was then enlarged into נְנוּה without regard to gender.—Ed.

§ 33.

THE SUFFIX PRONOUN.

1. The full forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronouns*), as given in the foregoing section, express only the nominative (but comp. § 121, 3): the accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed mostly by shorter forms (or fragments) of them which are joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*suffix pronouns*, or usually *suffixes*); e. g. הָר (without accent) and הִ him and his (from אֲהָר he), thus קָטַלְתָּהּ I have killed him, קָטַלְתָּהּ or (with āhū contracted to ô) קָטַלְתָּהּ thou hast killed him, סָרַסְתָּהּ and his horse.

The same method occurs in all other Semitic tongues, as also in the Egyptian, Persian, Finn, Tatar and others; but in Greek, Latin and German, we find only slight traces of it, as πατήρ μου for πατήρ ἐμοῦ, Lat. *eccum* in Plautus for *ecce eum*, Germ. *er gab's* for *er gab es*.

2. As to the *cases* which these suffixes indicate, let it be remarked that—

- a) When joined to verbs, they denote the accusative (but comp. § 121, 4), as in קָטַלְתָּהּ I have killed him.
- b) When joined to substantives, they denote the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater ejus*), and then serve as *possessive pronouns*, as אָבִי ('ābh-i') my father, סָרֵסֶת his horse (answering to the Latin *equus ejus* or *equus suus*, comp. § 124, 1, b).
- c) When joined to particles, they denote either the genitive or the accusative, according as the particle involves the meaning of a noun or a verb, e. g. אֲלֵיכֶם (prop. *my vicinity*) *with me*, like Lat. *mea causa*, on the contrary *behold me*, Lat. *ecce me*. בֵּין־ךְ literally *interstitium mei* "between me."
- d) The Indo-Germanic dative and ablative of the pronoun are expressed by combining with the suffixes the prepositions, that are signs of these cases (to sign of the dative, בְּ in, מִן from, § 102), as לְ to him (Lat. *ei* and *sibi*), בְּ in him, מִן from me.

3. The suffixes of the 2d person (נִ—, etc.) are formed with the *k* (and not *t*) sound, based on an exchange of these two sounds exemplified also elsewhere.¹

So likewise in all the Semitic tongues; but in Ethiopic also the verbal form is *qatalka* (thou hast killed)=Heb. נַתְּלָתָךְ.

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative), and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive), are mostly the same in form, but sometimes they differ, e. g. נִי—*me*, נִי—*my*.

Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar, gives a view of all the forms of the *pronoun*, both *separate* and *suffix*; fuller explanations about the *suffix to the verb* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in §§ 58—61, about the *suffix to the noun* in § 91, about *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, about *adverbs with suff.* in § 100, 5.

§ 34.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

<i>Sing. m.</i> הַזֶּה ² <i>f.</i> הַזֶּנֶת (הַזֶּן , זֶן)	}	<i>this.</i>	<i>Plur. com.</i> הַלְאָה (rarely לְאָה) <i>these.</i>
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The feminine form **הַנֶּה** is (ð obsc. fr. orig. *â*) for **הַנִּי** (comp. נִי=הִי); for the feminine ending **הָ**, see § 80), and the forms **הָ**, **הַנִּי**, which are both of rare occurrence, come from **הַנִּי** by dropping **הָ**. In Ps. 132, 12 **הָ** is used as *relat.*, v. Lex. For **הַנִּי** is found Jer. 26, 6 in *Kethibh* הַנִּיאָה (with article and demonstrative **הָ**). **לְאָה** and **לְאָהָה** are plural by usage, and not by grammatical form. The former (**לְאָה**) occurs only in the Pentateuch and then always with the article as **לְאָהָה** and 1 Chr. 20, 8, (without **הָ**). Both the singular and the plural is applicable to things as well as to persons.

¹ That a palatal (*k*) and lingual (*t*) are liable to be exchanged, is manifest from the speech of young children, who frequently confound them, as *likkie* for *little*. Obvious instances of this exchange are found in many languages, as Gr. δαλω=χαλω, Gr. τις=Aeol. χις, Lat. quis, and in the Hebrew itself הַשְׁׁתֵּה—הַשְׁׁתֵּה to drink. There is thus a strong presumption that the pronoun of the second person in the Semitic languages must have had two forms, one with *k* and the other with *t*, as **הַנִּזְקָן** and **הַנִּזְקָן**, **סְמָדָה** and **סְמָדָה**.—Tr.

² In many languages the demonstratives begin with *d*, hence called the *demonstrative sound*, which is, however, interchanged with a *sibilant* (as in Heb. **הַ**) or a rough breathing. Thus in Aram. **אֲזֶה**, **אֲזֶה**, **אֲזֶה** *this*, Arab. *dha*, *dha*, Sanskr. *sa*, *sā*, *tat*; Gr. δ, η, τό; Goth. *sa*, *sō*, *thata*; Germ. *da*, *der*, *die*, *das*, Eng. *the*, *this*, *that*, Welsh *dyna*; *hyn*, *hyna*; *hwn*, *hon*, etc.

A secondary form **הַ** is used only in poetry. It stands mostly for the relative (like Eng. *that* for *who*), and serves alike for the sing. and plur. and for both genders, like **שְׁאָלָה** (§ 36). Cf. § 122, 2.

Rem. 1. This pronoun receives the article (**הַ**, **הִיאָתָה**, **הַיְלֹה**, **הַיְלֹתָה**) according to the same rules as the adjectives, § 111, 2 and § 122, 1.

2. Rarer secondary forms, with stronger demonstrative force, are **הַלְּוִיה** Gen. 24, 65, 37, 19; **אֲלְבִּיה** *fem.* Ez. 36, 35, and shortened **לְ** *masc.* in Judg. 6, 20, 1 Sam. 14, 1, 17, 28; but *fem.* in 2 K. 4, 25. In Arabic there is a corresponding form **'allādhī**, as relative pronoun.

3. Also the personal pronouns of the 3d person often have a demonstrative force, see § 122, 1. Some other pronominal stems occur among the particles, § 99—105.

§ 35.

THE ARTICLE.

By nature the article is a demonstrative pronoun, akin to the pronoun of the 3d person. It nowhere occurs in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connection with the word before which it stands; and it usually takes the form **הַ**, with a short sharp-spoken *ä* and a doubling of the following consonant (by *Dāghésh forte*), e. g. **הַשֶּׁמֶן** *the sun*, **הַרִּיאֵר** *the river* for **הַרִּיאֵר** (see § 20, 3, b).

When, however, the article (**הַ**) stands before a word beginning with a guttural, which (according to § 22, 1) cannot be doubled, then the short and sharp *ä* (*Pā'thāch*) is mostly lengthened into *ā* (*Qā'mēš*) or *ā* (*S'ghō'l*).

But to be more particular:—

1) Before the weakest guttural **ח** and before **ר** (§ 22, 1 and 5, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, b) the vowel of the article is always lengthened into *Qā'mēš*, as **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאָחָר** *the other*, **הָאָם** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאוֹר** *the light*, **הָאַלְדִּים** *the children*, **הָעֵדָה** *the witness*, **הָרָגֵל** *the foot*, **הָאָרֶץ** *earth* becomes **הָרָאֵשׁ**, **הָרָאֵץ** *the head*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the evil-doer*.

2) For the other gutturals there occurs either a sharpened syllable (virtual doubling § 22, 1),—especially with **נ** and **מ**, less often with **ע**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the

first case the article retains —, the syllable remaining virtually closed; in the second, the *Pá'thāch* is either slightly lengthened to — or fully to —. The following cases are to be distinguished:—

A) When the guttural is followed by any other vowel than ā (—) or ö (—), then—1) before the stronger ח and נ, the article regularly remains ח, as **הַחֹדֶשׁ** *that, the month*, **הַחְזִיל** *the force*, but with some rare exception, as in Gen. 6, 19, **הַחֲנִים** Is. 17, 8 and always in **תְּהִימָה**, **הַחֲפֵה**, **הַחֲצֵה** *those*;—2) before ע Pá'thāch becomes generally Qā'mēš, as **הַלְּבִין** *the eye*, **הַעִיר** *the city*, **הַלְּבָד** *the servant*, pl. **הַצְּבָדִים**. (Exceptions in Is. 24, 2; 42, 18, Jer. 12, 9, Prov. 2, 17.)

B) But when the guttural is followed by ā (—), then—1) before נ and צ the article is always ח, provided it stands immediately before the tone-syllable, else it is ח, e. g. **הַעַם** *the people*, **הַר** *the mountain*, **חַצֵּין** (in pause), **הַחַרְהָרָה** *towards the mountain*, on the contrary **הַהֲרָם** *the mountains*, **חַטָּאת** *the guilt*;—2) before נ the article is always ח, without regard to the place of the tone, as **חַכְמָם** *the wise*, **חַזְקָה** *the strong*, **חַחָגָה** *the festival*, **חַחְיָה** *the live* Lev. 16, 20; so also—3) before נ, as **הַחַלְבִּי** *the sickness*, **הַחַרְשִׁים** *the months*. On the contrary **הַחַמְתָּה** according to *A*, 1.)

Gender and number, as in English and Welsh, have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The form of the Hebrew (also the Phoenician) article ח seems to have originated from ל, the ב of which however has been constantly assimilated to the next letter (as in חַבָּר from חַבָּלָה, § 19, 2). This assimilation is to be accounted for from the enclitic nature of the article. In the Arabic it sounds لـ (pronounced *hal* by the modern Bedawîn¹), the ب of which is likewise assimilated, at least before all letters like s and t, and before l, n and r; e. g. 'al-Qor'ân but 'as-sana (Bed. *has-sana*)=Heb. חַצְצָה *the year*. The Arabic article itself occurs also in the Old Testament prob. in the Arabic name אַל-מֹרֶךְ Gen. 10, 26, in אַל-מֹרֶךְ 1 K. 10, 11, 12 (also אַל-מֹרֶךְ 2 Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11) perhaps

¹ See Wallin in the Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. VI, S. 195, 217.

sandal wood (acc. to Ges. fr. Sansk. *mochā*¹, but comp. Lex. 8th ed.), and perhaps also in שָׁבֵןְיָאִים ice, hail=שָׁבֵןְיָאִם (Arab. *gibbs*) Ez. 18, 11, 13, 38, 22, and perhaps also מַכְּנָאִים² in Prov. 30, 31.

2. When the prepositions בְּ, בֶּן, and the בְּ of comparison (§ 102, 2, b) come before the article, the הָ is dropped by contraction, and the preposition³ takes its points (§ 19, 3, b, and § 23, 4), as בְּשָׁמָיִם in the heaven for בְּהָרָיִם בְּבָנָיִם to the people for בְּהָרָיִם בְּלָבָן in the mountains. Exceptions appear almost exclusively in the later books (Ezr. Eccl. Neh. Chr.; yet comp. 1 Sam. 18, 21, Ps. 36, 6. Elsewhere e. g. 2 K. 7, 12 the Massora, in Q^r, requires the Syncope). But in 8 places with בְּ, the הָ remains in כְּהָיוֹם Gen. 39, 11, etc. but oftener without הָ, as בְּיָמִים Gen. 25, 31, 33. But see 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6.—With וְ (and), the הָ always remains, as בְּבָנָיִם and the people.

§ 36.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The relative pronoun is the same for all *genders* and *numbers*, viz., רַקְבָּשָׁ who, which. In the later books, (esp. Eccl. Lam. and the late Psalms) as well as in Canticles constantly and in Judges occasionally, instead of this full form we have וְ (with the נָ elided and the וְ assimilated, § 19, 2, 3), more rarely וְ Judg. 5, 7, Cant. 1, 7, once וְ before נָ Judg. 6, 17 (else וְ before gutturals), and before הָ even וְ⁴ Eccl. 3, 18, and according to some (e. g. *Kimchi*) also 2, 22. On the mode of expressing the *cases* of the relative, see § 123, 1. On the signification see *Lex.* 8th ed.

¹ So also ἐλέφας=elephant is most likely derived from the Sanskrit *ibhas* (elephant), with the Semitic article בְּ or בֶּן prefixed.—Tr.

² Arab. *alqaum* with the signification of militia (*Heerbann*).

³ The prep. בְּ, if prefixed before the article (as rarely happens, § 102, 1), does not take its place, but becomes בְּ, as in בְּשָׁמָיִם בְּגָתָן in 2 Ch. 7, 1, for the usual בְּן בְּנָיִם from the heavens.—Tr.

⁴ In Phoenician the full form וְשָׁנָה does not occur, but וְ, esp. in the later Ph. (*Plaut. Poen.*) pronounced *sa, su, si,* and שָׁנָה (pron. *asse*=וְשָׁנָה, *esse* but also *as, es, is, us, ys*), *Schroder's Phön. Sprache*, p. 162—66. Comp. above in § 2, 7. Also in modern Hebrew the וְ has become quite predominant.

§ 37.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. The interrogative pronoun (about persons) is יְהֹוּ who? and (about things) מַהּ what?

According to Olshausen מַהּ what? was originally מָה, which in close connection (v. below) was assimilated with the following consonant. The forms מַתּ, מַתּ etc. (with *Dāghē' sh fortē conj.*) can however be sufficiently explained from the close uttering of the words. It should be further remarked that a) in closest connection stands מָה with *Mäqqē' ph* and *Dāghē' sh fortē conjunctive* (§ 20, 2) as מָה־מָה what to thee? and even in one word, as מָה־מָה what to you? Is. 3, 15. ב) מָה what is this? Ex. 4, 2; — b) before gutturals in close connection with *Mäqqē' ph* or a conjunctive accent it either likewise receives *Pā'thāch* with the *Dāghē' sh* implied in the guttural (§ 22, 1) — so especially before נ, and (Gen 31, 36, Job 21, 21) before נ,— or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either א is lengthened into *Qā'mēs* comp. § 35, 1, — so always before נ and נ,— or only slightly lengthened into *S'għō'l*, especially before צ, נ, נ (before נ however also מָה). The omission of the implied doubling also occurs, as a rule, with the hard gutturals, when they have no *Qā'mēs* and then it stands מָה or מָה the latter especially before נ, נ when *Mäqqē' ph* follows. The longer forms מָה and מָה also remain before non-gutturals if the connection does not take place through *Mäqqē' ph*, but by a simple conj. accent. As a rule then מָה stands, but, by a wider separation from the chief tone we have also מָה Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (upon מָה in the combination בְּמָה and even מָה 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102, 2, d). c) in great pause מָה stands without exception, also generally with smaller *distinctivi*, and almost always before gutturals (מָה in very rare cases only). On the other hand מָה stands also occasionally before letters that are not guttural, as מָה קָל וּגְרָא what voice, etc.? 1 Sam. 4, 6, 2 K. 1, 7, but only when the tone of the clause is far removed from the word; moreover, in the form מָה בְּמָה (see under מָה in the Heb. Lexicon).

2. Both יְהֹוּ and מַה occur also as indefinite pronouns, in the sense of whoever, whatever; see § 123, 3.

CHAPTER II.

THE V E R B.

§ 38.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The verb is, in the Hebrew, the most elaborated part of speech as to inflection, and also the most important, inasmuch as it mostly contains the *word-stem* (§ 30), and its various modifications are, to a great extent, the basis for the forms of the other parts of speech.

2. Verbal stems are either original or derived. They may be divided, in respect to their origin, into three classes,—

a) *Primitives*, representing the simple stem, e. g. קָלַח to reign.

b) *Verbal derivatives*, those derived from *primitives*, e. g. צָדַק to justify, הַצְטָדֵק to justify one's self, from צָדֵק to be just; usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).

c) *Denominatives*, those derived from nouns (both primitive and derivative), e. g. אֲהַל and אֲהַל to pitch a tent, from אֹהֶל tent; הַשְׁרִישׁ to take root and שְׁרַשׁ to root out, from שְׁרֵשׁ a root.

The noun, from which the denominative verb comes, is in most cases itself derivative, though the meaning shows that the orig. stem is nominal and not verbal, e. g. לבֵן to be white, hence בָּנָה a brick, and hence again לבֵן to make bricks, from רבֵנָה to be prolific comes נֵגֶן a fish, and hence again דָגֵן to fish.

§ 39.

1. The 3d person singular of the *Perfect*, in the simple form of the primitive verbs (i. e. in Qăl, see No. 4) is generally regarded as the stem or ground-form of the verb, as לְשַׁקֵּר he

has killed, קָרַב *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.¹ From this are derived the other persons of the Perfect, and also the *Participle*. Another stem-form, more simple still, is the *Infinitive*, as קְרַב, also קְרַפּ, with which the *Imperative* and the *Imperfect* (see § 47) connect themselves.

Both groundforms contain the idea of a noun (§ 44, 1) and both have therefore this analogy in noun forms. More closely considered the second ground-form, which is generally monosyllabic (Arab. *gätl*, *qätl*, *qütl*) may be called the abstract, and the first, consisting of two syllables (Arab. *qätälä*, *qätilä*, *qätülä*), the concrete. The same analogy prevails in the division of nouns into abstract and concrete.

In verbs whose second radical is נ, the full stem appears only in the second form which is accordingly adopted to represent the verb; e. g. Inf. שׁוֹב *to turn*, of which the 3d person Perf. is בָּשַׂר *he turned*; also most stems with middle נ, e. g. גִּיְּדֵן *to judge*.

2. From the simple form of the primitives, viz., *Qäl*, are formed, according to an *unvarying analogy* in all verbs, the *verbal derivatives*, each distinguished by a specific change in the form of the stem, with a corresponding definite change in its signification (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative; reflexive, reciprocal, partly with corresponding passive forms); e. g. לִמְדָה *to learn*, לִמְדַּךְ *to cause to learn, to teach*; שָׁכַב *to lie*, הַשְׁכִּיב *to cause to lie, to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, נִשְׁפַּט *to contend in judgment, to litigate*. In other languages such words are regarded as new, *derivative verbs*, e. g. G. *fallen*, *fällen* = E. *to fall*, *to fell*, G. *trinken*, *tränen* = E. *drink*, *drench*, L. *lactere* (*to suck*), *lacitare* (*to give suck*); *jacere* (*to thron*), *iacere* (*to lie down*); γίνομαι, γεννάω. But in Hebrew, where these formations are incomparably more regular than (e. g.) in the German, Latin and Greek, they are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations*² (the Heb. grammarians call them בְּנִינִים i. e. *formations*, more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and both in the grammar and lexicon are always treated of in connection, as parts of the same verb.

¹ For brevity's sake the sense of the Heb. stem is expressed in the Infinitive, in most of our grammars and lexicons, thus לִמְדָה *to learn*, prop. *he has learned*.

² The term *conjugation* must therefore be taken here in a totally different sense from what it bears in Greek and Latin grammar.

3. The changes of the primitive form consist partly in varying its vowels, and doubling the middle consonant (לְקָרָב, לְקָרָב; לְבָרֶךְ, לְבָרֶךְ); comp. G. *liegen*, *legen*; *fallen*, *fällen*. E. to *lie*, to *lay*; to *fall*, to *fell*; partly in the repetition of one or two stem consonants לְלִקְרָב, לְלִלְקָרָב and finally in the addition of formative letters or syllables (לְבָרֶכֶן, comp. E. to *speak*, to *bespeak*; to *count*, to *recount*; to *bid*, to *forbid*), to which sometimes the first is united, as לְבָרֶכֶה. Comp. § 31, 2.

In the Aramaean this is effected less by the change of vowels than by the addition of formative syllables; so that, for instance, all the passives are formed as reflexives by the prefix syllable **מְ**, **מָ**. The Arabic is rich in both methods, while the Hebrew holds also here the middle place (§ 1, 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number* and *arrangement* of these so-called conjugations. The common practice, however, of giving to them still the old technical designations, prevents any error. The simple form is called *Qəl* (לְקַلָּה light, because it has no formative additions); the others (כבדים heavy, because weighted as it were with formative additions) take their names from the Paradigm (or pattern) used by the old Jewish grammarians, viz. *עֲשָׂל* he has done.¹ Several of them have passives which distinguish themselves from their actives by more obscure vowels. The most common conjugations (including *Qəl* and the passives) are the *seven* following; but only a few verbs exhibit them all:—

	<i>Active.</i>	<i>Passive.</i>
1. Qăl,	לְטַבֵּד to kill.	(wanting)
2. Niph'ăl,	לְנַכְּבֵד to kill one's self; also passive. ²	

¹ This verb, on account of the guttural which it contains, is unsuitable for a Paradigm, and has been exchanged by some for בְּרַכָּה, which has this advantage, that all its conjugations are actually in use in the Old Testament, but the disadvantage, that there is some indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, as in בְּרַכָּה, בְּרַכָּה. The Paradigm בְּרַכָּה, in common use since the time of Danz, obviates this inconvenience, and is especially adapted to the comparative treatment of the Semitic languages,asmuch as it is found with a slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. بَرْكَة) in them all. In Hebrew, it is true, it occurs only a few times in Qāl, and that only in poetry; yet it may be retained as a *type* or model sanctioned by usage.

² Comp., § 51, 2 d.

<i>Active.</i>	.	<i>Passive.</i>
3. Pi'ēl, פִּיאֵל	to massacre.	4. Pūāl, פָּעָל
5. Hiph'i'l, הַיְהִיל	to cause to kill.	6. Höph'a'l, הַקְּפָאָל
7. Hithpā'ēl, הַתְּקִפְאֵל	to kill one's self.	(Hōthpā'āl, הַתְּקִפְאָאָל.)

There are several other less frequent conjugations, of which some, however, are more common than these in the kindred languages; and in the weak (see § 41) or irregular verb in Hebrew they sometimes take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of forms, and their arrangement is more appropriate. Arranged after the Arabic manner, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus—1. *Qäl*. 2. *Pi'ēl* and *Pūāl*. 3. *Pō'ēl* and *Pō'āl* (§ 55, 1). 4. *Hiph'i'l* and *Höph'a'l*. 5. *Hithpā'ēl*, and *Hōthpā'āl*. 6. *Hithpō'ēl* (§ 55, 1). 7. *Niph'a'l*. 8. *Hithpā'ēl* (§ 54, Rem. 2). 9. *Pil'ēl* (§ 55, 2). The more appropriate division is into three classes.—1. The intensive *Pi'ēl*, with the analogous form *Hithpā'ēl*;—2. The causative *Hiph'i'l*, and its analogous forms *Shäph'ēl*, *Tiph'ēl*;—3. The reflexive and passive *Niph'a'l*.

§ 40.

1. It is chiefly from these *conjugations* or derivative forms, that the Hebrew verb obtains a certain affluence and compass. In *moods* and *tenses* however it is poor, having only two tenses, the *Perfect* (or *Preterite*) and the *Imperfect* (or *Future*),¹ besides an *Imperative*, (active) an *Infinitive* (with two forms), and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms alone (hence the diversity in the senses of the same form, §§ 125—129), or by syntactical combination. The *Jussive* and the *Optative* are partly indicated by expressive modifications of the Imperfect (see § 48).

¹ See note on § 47. *Gesenius*, like other Hebraists, called the tenses the *Preterite* and the *Future*; but since *Ewald* adopted the names *Perf.* and *Imperf.* instead, *Rodiger* and most of the present Orientalists have followed the example, which therefore may now be accepted as the most approved style; though one may not be able to see clearly any decided advantage in the change of terminology, and hence the name *Future* is used in my Heb. Lexicon, as being more convenient. The truth is, that the well-known difficulty about the Hebrew tenses remains practically the same on either system.—*Tr.*

2. In the *inflection* of the Perf. and Impf. as to the persons, the Hebrew differs from the Western languages, since it has distinct forms for both *genders* (in most instances), *just as in the personal pronoun, by whose incorporation with the verb-stem the personal inflection of these tenses is formed.*

As a preliminary view for the beginner, we exhibit here in a Table the formative syllables (*afformatives* and *preformatives*) of both tenses. Fuller information concerning them will be found in §§ 44—47, in connection with the Paradigms.

Perfect.

Sing.	Plur.
3 m. . . .	3 c. ה . . .
3 f. ה — . . .	
2 m. ה . . .	2 m. הֵם . . .
2 f. ה . . .	2 f. הֵן . . .
1 c. הִנּוּ . . .	1 c. הֵנָּה . . .

Imperfect.

Sing.	Plur.
3 m. . . . ה	3 m. ה . . . ה
3 f. . . . ה	3 f. הָןְךָ . . . הָןְךָ
2 m. . . . ה	2 m. ה . . . ה
2 f. ה — . . . ה	2 f. הָןְךָ . . . הָןְךָ
1 c. . . . הָנָה	1 c. הָנָה . . . הָנָה

§ 41.

The general analogy in the inflection of verbs, which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants, holds good for all verbs; and the deviations which occur from this model of the *strong* or *regular verb*, are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and the feebleness of many consonants, viz.—

a) When one of the stem-letters or radicals is a guttural, which occasions various vowel (not consonant) changes, according to § 22 (*guttural verb*, §§ 62—65)

- b) When a stem-letter disappears by assimilation (§ 19, 2) or contraction (*contracted verb*, §§ 66, 67), as in נִגְבָּשׁ.
- c) When one of the radicals is a feeble letter (§§ 23, 24), so that many changes appear through its commutation, omission or quiescence (*quiescent or feeble verb*, §§ 68—75), as in נִשְׁבַּב, נִשְׁבֵּב, נִשְׁבָּב, נִשְׁבָּב.

N.B. The letters of the old Paradigm נִלְעָד are used in naming the letters of the stem, ב denoting the first radical, ו the second, and ב the third. Hence the expressions, *verb נִלְעָד* for a verb whose first radical is נ (primæ radicalis נ); *verb נִלְעָד* for one whose third radical is ל (tertiae radicalis ל); *verb נִלְעָד* (ו doubled) for one whose second and third radicals are the same (mediae radicalis geminatae).

I. THE STRONG VERB.

Paradigm B.

E. G. נִכְרַת to kill, נִכְרֵת to be heavy, נִכְרָת to be small.

§ 42.

As the rules for the inflection of the strong or regular verb apply, with only occasional modifications, to all the weak or irregular verbs, it will be most convenient, and at the same time set the subject in the clearest light to the learner, if while treating of the former, we present whatever belongs to the general analogy of the verb.

Paradigm B (together with the above Table of the formative syllables in § 40, 2) exhibits a complete view of the usual and normal forms. Full explanations are given in the following paragraphs (§§ 43—55), where every subject is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus, under Qāl the inflections of the *Perfect*, and of the *Imperfect* with its modifications, are minutely explained with reference also to the other conjugations; and under the strong verb are given the forms and significations of conjugations which apply also to the weak, etc.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QĀL.

§ 43.

ITS FORM AND SIGNIFICATION.

The common form of the 3d person *Perf.* in Qāl is נִכְרַת, with a short ā (Pər̥thāch) in the second syllable, especially in transitive verbs. There is also a form with ē (Sérē), and

another with *ō* (*Chō'lēm*), in the second syllable; the two latter are usually found with *intransitive* meaning, and serve for expressing states and qualities, e. g. **כַּבד** *to be heavy*, **טָן** *to be small*. Sometimes the transitive meaning is distinguished from the intransitive of the same stem by the aid of vocalization, as **אֲלָמָּה** *to fall* (Est. 7, 5), **מְלָא** *to be full* (comp. § 47, Rem 2); but also with the same (intrans.) sense for both forms, as **קָרְבָּה** and **קָרְבָּה** *to approach*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A*, a verb *middle E* and a verb *middle O* are given side by side. The second example **כַּבד** shows, at the same time, the effect of inflection in the setting of *Dāghēsh lenē*.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal one, and hence the distinction between the transitive and intransitive¹ meaning depends on it. The *Qāmr̄* of the first syllable is lengthened from original *ă* (comp. Arab. *gātlā*) but it can be maintained in Hebrew only before the tone,—or at most with the secondary tone or *Mēthēgh*—; in other places, like all so-called pretonic vowels (*ă*, *ē*) it becomes vocal *Shewā* on the shifting of the tone, as **כָּהֵלָה**. In Aramaean it wholly disappears in the root itself, as **לְפָרָה**=Heb. **לְפָרָה**.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qāl — **רְפָתָה** *to cover with pitch*, from **רָפָה** *pitch*, **סְלָמָה** *to salt*, from **סְלָמָה** *salt*, v. § 38, 2, c.

§ 44.

PERFECT OF QĀL AND ITS INFLECTION.

1. The inflection of the Perfect, in respect to person, number and gender, is effected by the addition of fragments of the personal pronouns and signs of 3 fem. sing. and 3 pl. (*affectives*) to the end of the ground-form, which expresses the predicate idea. In explaining this connection, we may treat the ground-form as a *participle*² or a *verbal adjective*, but ex-

¹ The intransitive forms are in Arabic *qātilā*, *qātūlā*; consequently, in Hebrew (after rejecting the closing vowel) *i* in the accented syllable is regularly lengthened to *ē*, *ă* to *ō*.

² On the intimate connection between the Perfect and the Participle or verbal adjective, see what has been already said in § 39, 1. In intransitive verbs they have the same form, as **אֲלָמָּה** *he was full*, and *full*; **עֲנָקָה** *he was small*, and *small*. In transitive verbs the participle presents, indeed, a different form (**בְּשָׁמָךְ**), but yet with **בְּשָׁמָךְ** may be compared the nominal form **בְּשָׁמָךְ**, though generally it is expressive of quality, as **בְּחִינָה** *wise*, **בְּזִהְבָּה** *gold* (§ 84, 1).

pressing by itself the 3d pers. sing. masc. *Perfect*; as קָטַל he has killed, קָטַלְתָּךְ thou hast killed (as it were killing-thou, or killer-thou, a killer wast thou, a killer אָתָּה קָטַל), רָאָרָא he was fearing, fearing were ye (for רָאָרָא אַתֶּם). In the second pers. sing. and pl. this is readily seen as well as in קָטַלְתָּנוּ we have killed for קָטַל. In the first person sing. קָטַלְתִּי we have תִּ, which probably by virtue of an exchange of כ for ת (comp. § 33, 3) has come directly from אֲנִי.¹ In the third person, הִ— (originally חִ—, comp. Rem. 4) is a mark of the feminine (as in the noun § 80, 2), and הִ (orig. חִ, as still in Deut. 8, 3, 16, Is. 26, 16; comp. *inā* as termination of the masc. pl of nouns in written Arabic) is a sign of the plural.

In the Indo-Germanic tongues, the personal inflections originated in the same manner, by appending pronominal forms, as is shown in Sanscrit and Greek, e. g. from the stem, *as* (to be) Sans. *asmi*, εἰμί, Doric ἔμμι (for ἔσμι) I am, where the ending μί belongs to μοί and μέ; Sans. *asti*, Dor. ἔστι thou art, where στι is identical with σύ; Sans. *astī*, ἔστι he is, where τι answers to the pronoun τό, etc. But the etymology in all these languages (except in Welsh) is more obliterated than in Hebrew. This is partly true also of inflection in the other Semitic languages; e. g. 1st pers. Arab. *qatalū*, Syr. *qæfleth*, where the characteristic i is lost.

2. The characteristic *Päthäch* of the second syllable becomes *Shewá* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, because it then would stand in an open syllable (thus חָלַלְתָּךְ, חָלַלְתָּךְ; but in pause חָלַלְתָּךְ, חָלַלְתָּךְ). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant, the *Päthäch* remains in the tone syllable (חָלַלְתָּךְ, חָלַלְתָּךְ, חָלַלְתָּךְ, חָלַלְתָּךְ; in pause חָלַלְתָּךְ etc.) as well as before it. In the latter case however the *Qæməš* of the first syllable, standing no longer before the tone is reduced to *Shewá*, thus; חָלַלְתָּם, חָלַלְתָּךְ; comp. § 27, 3 and § 43, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E*, falling back in their inflection to the type of verbs *middle A*, generally lose in Heb. as in Ethiopic (but not in Arabic and Aramaean), the *E sound*, which passes over into *Päthäch*, as the Paradigm shows. This tendency comes from the laws

¹ See Note to § 33, 3 by Dr. Davies.—Rödiger held that the demonstrative תִּ was inserted before the simple germ of the pronoun (—) as if to form תִּאָתָּר, תִּאָתָּר, after the analogy of תִּאָתָּה; others (Gesenius, Ewald) maintained that תִּאָתָּר, תִּאָתָּר may have been ancient forms actually in use for תִּאָתָּה. The explanation given above, as adopted by Kautzsch from Olshausen, is much simpler.—Ed.

of vocalisation of the accented closed penult, which does not easily take *Sérē*, and not at all the *Chirēq* shortened from *Sérē*. The original *E* appears, however, in open syllable; regularly so in the feeble stems נָלַךְ (§ 74, Rem. 1); in strong stems only in *pause*, e. g. דָבַרְתָּ *she cleaves* (not דָבַרְתָּ), Job 29, 10; comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23, Job 41, 15; even in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. שָׁבַע Deut. 33, 12 (but שָׁבֵן without the pause Is. 32, 16).

2. In some feeble stems *middle A*, the ā under the second radical sometimes passes over into (—), in one example also into (—), when the syllable is closed and toneless. Thus שָׁלַחֲתִי *I have asked him* 1 Sam. 1, 20, שָׁלַחֲתָם *ye have asked* 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29; וַיַּרְשֶׁתָּם *ye possess* Deut. 4, 1, 22; וַיַּרְשֶׁתָּהָיו Deut. 17, 4, וַיַּרְשֶׁתָּם Deut. 19, 1; קָרְתָּהָיו *I have begotten thee* Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12, Jer. 2, 27, 15, 10); וַיַּשְׁתַּחַטֵּת Mal. 3, 20. The ī in these forms may be simply an attenuated ā (§ 27, Rem. 2, 3), which is also favored by the following sibilant or labial and esp. sustained by the consimilation of the vowels; but see § 64, Rem. 1, § 69, Rem. 4 and Davies' Heb. Lex. on a secondary form *Med. E*.

3. In verbs *middle O*, Chōlēm is retained in the inflection where it has the tone, as רָחַזְתָּ *thou hast trembled*, רָכַבְתָּ in *pause* for בָּכַבְתָּ *they could*. But when the tone is thrown forward, Chōlēm becomes Qāmēš-chāṭūph, as יָתַחֲתָהָיו *I have prevailed over him* Ps. 13, 5, יָתַחֲתָהָיו (see § 49, 3) and *thou will be able* Ex. 18, 23.

4. Uncommon forms.¹ Sing. 3. *fem.* in הִ— (as in Arab., Ethiop., Aram.), e. g. אָלַמְתָּ *it has gone* Deut. 32, 36. Before suffixes this is the prevailing form (§ 59, 1, a), so with stems הִנְ— partly in the form הִ— (as often w. verbs נִלְ—, § 74, Rem. 1) partly with disapp. of — bef. the pleon. ending הִ—, e. g. תִּרְאֶה § 75, Rem. 1.—In Ez. 31, 5 אָבֹתָה acc. to Aram. orthog. for אָבֹתָה.—2. *masc.* חִתָּה (differing only orthographically) for הִ, as אָבֹתָה *thou hast been unfaithful* Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12.—2. *fem.* sometimes has still a Yôdh at the end, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as אָבֹתָה Jer. 31, 21 (which really means אָבֹתָה pointed as if without ה, cf. מִתְּאַלְפָה in § 32, Rem. 4). Thus we have the form אָבֹתָה always before suffixes (§ 59, 1, c).—1. *com.* sometimes without Yôdh, as אָבֹתָה in Ps. 140, 13, Job 42, 2, 1 K. 8, 48, Ezek. 16, 59. This, however, is found only in the K'thîbh and is probably only a curtailed form anal. w. 2. *fem.* תִּדְּבַרְתָּ (comp. Aram. 1st pers. תִּדְּבַרְתָּ), the Q'rî has the full form.—*Plur.* 2. *fem.* תִּדְּבַרְתָּה (according to others תִּדְּבַרְתָּה) Amos 4, 3 (as ה follows it may be merely *dittography*; but cf. אָתָה תִּדְּבַרְתָּה § 32, Rem. 5).—3. *com.* 3 times with the old plural ending הִ (but often in Aram. and Samar.), as יְדִיעָנָה *they know* Deut. 8, 3, 16 (probably to avoid a hiatus) and Is. 26, 16, or with a superfluous נ (according to Arabic orthography)

¹ Almost all these forms, which in Hebrew are infrequent, are the usual ones in the kindred dialects, and they may be called Aramaisms, Syriasm, and Arabisms. It should be understood however that they have not been taken from these dialects but merely indicate a return to more original forms.

§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), as **הַלְכִּיא** Josh. 10, 24, Is. 28, 12. For the Impf. with **נָ** see § 47, Rem. 4.

5. With the affirmatives **תִּ** (תְּ), **חִ**, **נִ**, which are generally unaccented the word is *Mil'ēl* (e. g. **מִלְּפָנֶיךָ**), with the others it is *Milrā'* (§ 15, 2). The place of the tone is shifted,—*a*) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), where it is moved backwards, and at the same time the vowel of the second syllable, if it has become a *Shewā* (—), is restored, as **קָרְבָּה** for **קָרְבָּה** (f. **רָבָּה**), **אֲנָשָׁה** for **אֲנָשָׁה** (f. **אֲנָשָׁה**;—*b*) in certain cases after *Wau consecutive of the Perfect* (see § 49, 3).

§ 45.

THE INFINITIVE OF QĀL.

1. The Infinitive, strictly a verbal substantive, has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The shorter form (*Infinitive construct*), in *Qāl לְטֹב*, is used in various ways, partly in connection with the pronominal suffixes, and as governing the genitive as well as the accusative of the object (§ 133), partly in connection with prepositions before it, as **לְטֹב** *for to kill* (§ 132, 2) and finally in dependence upon substantives (as genitive) or upon verbs (as accusative of the object). The longer form (*Infinitive absolute*), in *Qāl טֹב*, is limited to the expression of the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently, when added to a finite verb of the same stem, as an adverbial accusative (see § 131).¹

To the flexibility and variety in the uses of the Infin. constr. and the inflexibility of the Infin. absolute corresponds also their vocalisation. The latter has *Chō'lēm* unchangeable, but the former has *Chō'lēm* changeable (hence with suff. **לְטֹבָלֵלָה**).

Besides **לְטֹב**, the Infin. Qāl has also the following unusual forms:—

- a)* **לְטֹבָה**, e. g. **בָּשָׂא** *to lie down* Gen. 34, 7, **לְפֹגֶשׁ** *to sink* Ec. 12, 4 especially with verbs which have *ă* in the second syllable of the imperfect or with those whose second or third stem consonant is a guttural (frequently in addition to the usual form). Before suffixes the form **לְטֹבָה** becomes **לְטֹבָה** or by attenuating *ă* into *î* **לְטֹבָה**, e. g. **בְּלֹעִי** Job 7, 19.

¹ In the Paradigms, the *Inf. constr.*, as the predominant form, is put before the other, under the name of Infinitive **צָאת'** **קְבוּחָה**.

b) תְּלַקֵּב and, attenuated from it, תְּלַקָּה קְלַקֵּה and קְלַקָּה (feminine forms from בְּקֵב and בְּקֵה mostly used with intransitive verbs and partly beside forms without feminine-endings), as חֲשַׁבֵּן to trespass, שְׁנָאֵה to hate, קָרַבֵּה to approach Ex. 36, 2, חַמְלֵה to pity Ez. 16, 5. But see Gen. 19, 16 תְּלַקְּחָה (orig. ā inflected into ē); comp. also Is. 8, 11.

These rare forms are more in use as *verbal nouns* (§ 84, Nos. 10, 11, 14).

2. A sort of *Gerund* is formed in Hebrew by the *Infin.* constr. with the preposition לְ, as לִטְמֹד (*for to kill*) *interficiendo*, *ad interficiendum*, לִגְפֶּלֶת (*for to fall*) *ad cadendum*.

The לְ is here so closely connected, that it constitutes part of the grammatical form, as appears from the syllable-division and the use of *Dāghēsh lenē*, viz., בְּנֵפֶל *lin-pōl* (§ 28, 1), so probably also *liq-tōl*. On the contrary, בְּנֵפֶל *bin-phōl* Job 4, 13, בְּנֵפֶל *kin-phōl* 2 Sam. 3, 34, where the prepositions בְּ and בְּ are conceived to be less closely connected with the Infinitive, and by way of exception it is so also with לְ, as בְּנֵרֶת וּבְרֵיחָה Jer. 1, 10. שְׁבֵדִיר 47, 4 and according to some בְּנֵבֶל Num. 21, 4.

§ 46.

THE IMPERATIVE OF QĀL

1. The groundform of the Imperative לְקַרְבֵּן (לְקַרְבָּה) is consonant with the infin. construct and lies also at the basis of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ It expresses only the *second* person, but has forms for the feminine and the plural. For the *third* person it has no distinct form (see § 130, Rem. 2), but this is expressed by the Imperfect as the jussive form (§ 127, 3, c), and even the second person must be expressed by the jussive form, when a negative precedes, as לֹא תִּקְרַב (not לְקַרְבָּה אַל) *kill thou not*, Lat. *ne occidas*, see § 128, 2, b. The proper passive conjugations have no Imperative,² but the reflexive Niph'äl and Hithp'äl have.

2. The inflection of the 2d Sing. fem. and the 2d pl. masc. is quite similar to that of the Imperfect, and it will be understood from the explanations given below in § 47, 2. Like the Imperfect, the Imperative Masc. Sing. also has a lengthened

¹ The *Inf. absol.* also is occasionally used, like the Greek Infinitive, for the Imperative (§ 131, 4, b). Upon the infinitive in general comp. Koch, *Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffh. 1874).

² An Imper. is found twice (Ez. 32, 19, Jer. 49, 8) in *Hoph'äl*, but with a reflexive meaning rather than a passive.

and a shortened form, the first after the manner of the cohortative (**נִ—** paragog.), the second after the analogy of the jussive (see § 48, 5).

Rem. 1. Besides the form **לָמַדְךָ** (also **לָמַדְךָ;** before *Māqqēph* **לָמַדְךָ**), there is also one with *Pāthāch*, for verbs middle *E* and also for a number of intransitive verbs which have *ă* in the perfect, as **כָּלַעַתְּ** *lie thou down* as in the *Inf.* and *Impf.* 2 Sam. 13, 5; in *pause* **כָּלַעַתְּ**. See the Paradigm.

2. Now and then there is found in the first syllable of the feminine sing. and masc. plural (which have the *Shewā vocal*, as *qīlī'*, *qīlī'ū*; therefore **אֲשֶׁרְ**, without a *Dāghēsh lenā*, comp. however **אֲשֶׁרְ** Jer. 10, 17, and in the same combination **חֲשֵׁבְ** Is. 47, 2) an *ō* (*Qā'mēsh-chāṭuph*) instead of the *î*, as **שְׁשַׁבְּ** *draw ye* Ez. 32, 20, **לְכָהְ** *reign thou (fem.)* Judg. 9, 10. This throwing back of original *ă* of the 2d syllable (for *ō* is inflected from *u*) would be really according to rule, and the forms with *î* are merely an attenuation of the characteristic vowel. In *pause* we get **אֲרֹרְיָהְ** 1 K. 3, 26, from **שְׁמַעְיָהְ** etc., likewise from 2. sing. fem. in *Pause* **קְנֻבְּרִיְהְ** Is. 23, 12 (even outside of *pause* 1 Sam. 28, 8 in *Kethîlh*); from **שְׁמַעְיָהְ** Joel 2, 21.

3. In the form **לְבִנְךָ**, the **נִ—** is at times dropped, and then a helping vowel is introduced, as in **שְׁמַעְ** *hear ye (fem.)* for **שְׁמַעְתָּם** Gen. 4, 23. The anomalous **אָרַקְ** *call ye (fem.)* for **אָרַקְתָּם** Ex. 2, 20 ought perhaps to be read **אָרַקְתָּם**, as it is in Ruth 1, 20.

§ 47.

THE IMPERFECT OF QAL AND ITS INFLECTION.¹

1. Fragments of the personal pronoun are employed in the inflection of the Imperfect as well as of the Perfect; but

¹ The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to *Perfect*; and therefore in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Heb. (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes, in general, the *concluded*, *ended* and *past*, what is come to pass or is gone into effect; but at the same time, that which is *represented* as completed, whether extending still into the present, or in reality yet future. The *Imperfect*, on the contrary, denotes the *incoming*, *unfinished* and *continuing*, that which is being done, or coming to pass, and is future; but also that which is repeated or in connected sequence in past time (the Latin *Imperfect*). From the above it is manifest that the formerly used designation of the *Impf.* as *Future* expresses only a part of the idea. Altogether the transfer of the names of Indo-Germanic tenses to the Semitic tenses (carried out under the influence of Greek grammarians by the Syrian, Arabic and afterward the Hebrew scholars, following their example) has created a great many misconceptions. To the Semitic idea of time which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the indo-germanic division into three *tempora* (past

in the Imperfect these fragments are *pre-fixed* (*preformatives*) to the stem in the abstract or Inf. form (לְטָקֵן), as however the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the stem form, or passes over (2 fem. sing. and 3 and 2 masc. pl.) to the afformatives, these preformatives of the Imperfect, are much more curtailed than the afformatives of the Perfect, so that in every case only one consonant remains (ר, נ, נ, נ). But as these are not always sufficient to mark, at the same time, the distinction of gender and of number, the defect is in some cases supplied by additions at the end. Comp. the Table in § 40, 2.

2. The derivation and signification of both the preformatives and the afformatives, are still in most cases clear.

In the 1st pers. לְטָקֵן, plur. לְטָקִין, נ is an abbreviation of נִהְנָה; and here no addition at the end was needed to mark the gender and number. As to vocalization, the Arab. points towards the groundforms 'aqūl and nāqūl; the i of the 1. plur. is therefore attenuated from a (as in the other preformatives). The *Seghōl* of the 1. sing. may be explained from the predilection which the נ has for this sound.¹

In the 2d pers. sing. the נ in לְתָקֵה (orig. form tāqū'l) is from נִהְךָ, the ר— in לְתָקֵלה is the sign of the feminine, as in נִהְךָ thou (feminine, see § 32, Rem. 4). In the 2d pers. plur. the נ (more fully נִי, see Rem. 4 below) in לְתָקִין is the sign of the plural as in the 3d person, and as already in the Perfect (§ 44, 1), but it is here appropriated to the *masculine*;²

(present and future) is quite foreign.—Thus Semitic distinction of tenses shows itself in the mode of their formation. Thus, in the more objective Perfect, the verbal-stem precedes, and the designation of the person follows as some accessory idea; but in the Imperfect, the subject, from which the action proceeds or of which some state is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun. See more in the Syntax §§ 125—29.

¹ According to Kimchi the *Seghōl* of the 1st sing. may be explained from the endeavor to avoid the conformity of sound in לְתָקֵן and לְתָקִין, the latter being supposed to have been pronounced iqṭōl.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable an, a. It is true that in the Perf. the Hebrew employs it for both genders; but in the kindred tongues, it stands even in the Perf. for the masculine alone: as in Syriac, mas. qatalūn, fem. qatalēn; in Arabic, mas. qātālū, fem. qātālnā; in Eth. qitālū, qātālā.

while נָהַ (for which also נִ) in נָהֲקָה is the sign of the 2d and 3d pers. plural *feminine* and either points towards an old fem. pl. ending (in Aramaic נְ—) or is borrowed from הָנָה they or those (*sem.*), and אָתָה you (*sem.*).

In the 3d person the preformatives (נִ in the masc. נִקְטָל¹, Grdf. *yäq'üł*, plur. נִקְטָלִי, Grdf. *yäq'üłù*; נִ in *sem.* נִקְטָה, plur. נִקְטָלָה), have not yet found a satisfactory explanation. The נִ is probably allied to the original feminine-ending נִ— of nouns as well as of the 3 sing. fem. Perfect. For the affirmative נִ (נִי) and נִי see above.

3. The characteristic vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Sh'enâ* before an accented affirmative beginning with a vowel, but is retained (in the tone-syllable) before the unaccented affirmative נִהְיָה. Therefore נִקְטָלִי, נִקְטָלִי, נִקְטָלִי (pause נִקְטָלִי etc.), נִקְטָלָה.

Rem. 1. The final ö, leng from ü, is only tone-long (§ 9, No. 10, 3), as in the *Infn. constr.* and *Imper.* Hence,—a) The examples in which it is written *fully*, though not rare, are to be regarded as exceptions,—b) Before *Mäqqəph* it becomes *Qä'mëç-chätiçph.* e. g. וַיְמִתְבַּשֵּׂל and he wrote there Josh. 8, 32,—c) It becomes vocal *Sh'evâ* before the affirmatives נִ— and נִי (v. above No. 3). Quite anomalous are the three examples which have long נִ instead of *Sh'evâ*. חֶם Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the great pause, but according to *Qimchi* (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18 b), contrary to our editions, with the tone in the ultima; in the same way לְאַדְבָּרְךָ מִזְחָה Ruth 2, 8; רְשָׁמוֹן (in great pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the two first cases perhaps קְבָרְךָ and יְשַׁפְּחָה (for נְשַׁפְּחָה etc.) were intended, by virtue of a retraction of the pause, whilst נִ Prov. 14, 3 could only be explained as a vocal equivalent for נִ (comp. e. g. Ez. 35, 6). In the few instances in which it remains before these affirmatives, the pointing becomes נִ, because it stands close before the pause, e. g. שְׁפָטָה רְמִי *yish-pü'tü* (they were judging) Ex. 18, 26, Ruth 2, 8, comp. Prov. 14, 3.

2. This *Chö'lém* is confined almost exclusively to verbs *middle A*, like נִקְטָה. *Intransitive* verbs (*middle E* and *O*) take ä (*Pä'thäch*) in the Impf., as בְּרַאֲ to be great, גְּרַעֲלֵל to be small, נְמַנֵּן. Sometimes

¹ The usual derivation of the נִ from the נִ of the pronoun נִהְיָה, analogous to נִשְׁבַּב from נִשְׁבַּב (§ 69) has little in its favor, nor does it explain the נִ preformative of the plural. *Rodiger* supposed that formerly a corresponding pronoun of the third person (*ya?*) may have existed, and compared with it the Amharic *yeh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the supposition that this is old Semitic. The fact that in the Arabic and West. Aram. *Yodh* stands also as preformative of the 3d pl. fem., at all events, deserves consideration (v. below, Rem. 3).

both forms exist together; the Impf. with *ō* is then transitive, and that with *ă* intransitive; e. g. יִקְרַב *he will cut off, will reap*, יִקְרַב *he will be cut off*; i. e. will be short. So also שָׁבֵךְ, Impf. *ō*, to subdue Ex. 17, 13, Impf. *ă*, to be subdued Job 14, 10. More seldom both occur without any difference in signification, e. g. זָבֵחַ and זָבֵחַ *he will bite, gnaw* and זָבֵחַ *he is inclined* (but, cf. Job 40, 17). In the irregular verbs וְזָהָבֶן and some אַתְּ, a changeable ē (*Sere*) is also found in the final syllable (§ 68, 1; § 69, 1), besides only in תְּזַיֵּן for יִתְּזַיֵּן *he will give* (תְּזַיֵּן). These three forms of the Impf. are called Imperfect *O*, Impf. *A*, Impf. *E*.

3. For the 3d plur. fem. הַקְרֹבְתָּה there occurs in three instances, as if to distinguish it from the 2d pers., the form קְרֹבְתָּה, as in West. Aram., Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, e. g. יְקַרְבְּתָה *they shall arise* Dan. 8, 22; comp. Gen. 30, 38, 1 Sam. 6, 12. In several instances seems to have been used improperly for the 3d pers. fem. or 2d masc. singular, as חַשְׁלִיבְתָּה (for which חַשְׁלִיבָה ought probably to be read) Judg. 5, 26 and Obad. 13 (for 2 masc. sing., acc. to Olsh. mutil. fr. חַשְׁלִיבָה); comp. Job 17, 16, Is. 28, 3.¹—In the Pentateuch (mostly) נָהָי (*nāhā*) occurs in place of חָנָה, especially after *Waw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), e. g. Ex. 1, 18, 19, 15, 20, in Arabic always *nāhā*. Acc. to Elias Levita חַשְׁבָּבָה 2 Sam. 13, 18 is the only ex. of this kind in strong verbs.—Once occurs (Ezek. 18, 50) the anomalous form חַשְׁבִּירְתָּה with ה--- inserted, after the manner of verb עֲשָׂה and צָבָה (§ 67, 4, § 72, 5), which Olshausen regards as a blunder, caused by the following form.

4. The plural forms ending in ה appear also not unfrequently (but oftenest in the older books) with the fuller ending הָיָה, most commonly with obvious stress on the word at the end of a period or clause, where the vowel of the second syllable is then retained, as גָּמְנָה יְלַכְּדָה *they gather* Ps. 104, 28, רָגְנָה יְרַגְּנָה *they tremble* Ex. 15, 14, תָּשְׁמַנָּה יְשַׁמְּנָה *ye shall hear* Deut. 1, 17. But it is not confined to this position, see e. g. Ps. 11, 2 שְׁרָה (comp. 4, 3, Gen. 18, 28, 29, 30—32, Is. 8, 12, 1 Sam. 9, 13). In the last example and perhaps in some others, euphonic reasons may have cooperated. But the preference for this form at the end of a clause or sentence is clearly seen in Is. 28, 11 בְּלֹא תִּרְאֵנָה יְרַבְּשָׂו *they see not; may they see and be ashamed*. This holds also for the corresponding forms of the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.² This original ending הָיָה is the common one in Aramaean and Arabic (Old Arab. *fīnā*); yet in vulgar Arabic it is likewise shortened. Of the Impf. with ה appended, (following the Arabic orthography § 44 Rem. 4) יְנִיטָרָה Jer.

¹ By this small number of examples we are hardly justified in taking them as remainders of an emphatic imperf. form (anal. to the *Modus energeticus I* with the ending *ānnā* in Arabic).

² It is worthy of remark, that the Chronicles often omit the Nān where it stands in the books of Kings; see 1 K. 8, 38, 43, comp. 2 Chr. 6, 29, 33.—1 K. 12, 24, 2 K. 11, 5; comp. 2 Ch. 9, 4, 28, 4.

10, 5 is the only example (but this may stand by erroneous metathesis for **וְיָשַׁבְתִּי** caused by the preceding **וְיֹאשֵׁבָה**).

5. In like manner **חֲדָקָה** has a longer form with final **ה**, viz., **חֲדָקָה**, which is also the common one in Aramaean and Arabic (old Arab. *īnā*); yet in Hebr. chiefly as a fuller form in great *pause*, and almost everywhere with the retention of the vowel in the penult as **חֲדָקָה** Ruth 2, 8, 21. See examples in 1 Sam. 1, 14, Ruth 3, 4, 18, Jer. 31, 22, Is. 45, 10.

6. On the restoration in *pause* of **וּ** which had become *Shewā* in the forms **חֲדָקָה** etc. v. above No. 3. In consonance with this also is the fact that the imperfects with **וּ** restore this vowel in *pause* and, at the same time, lengthen it (as a tone vowel) into **וֹ** e. g. **חֲדָקֹה**, **חֲדָקֹה**. This influence of the pausal tone extends itself even to the forms which have no affirmative, e. g. **וְיָרַכְלָה** in *pause*; but the fuller forms in **וְיָרַכְלָה**—keep the tone on the last syllable (the vowels **וֹ** and **הָ** in the closed *ultima* never allow the removal of the tone).

§ 48.

SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING OF THE IMPERFECT AND IMPERATIVE.

Jussive and Cohortative Forms.

1. Against the lack of specific forms to express the *relative Tenses* and the *Moods*, which is felt in the Hebrew and its kindred dialects, a small set-off is made by *changes* in the *form* of the Imperfect, to which changes a certain signification is either exclusively or principally attached.¹

2. We distinguish, accordingly, between the common form of the Imperfect and two others, viz., a *lengthened* form (with a *cohortative* force) and a *shortened* form (with a *jussive* force). The lengthened Imperfect, however, occurs only in the 1st person (with few exceptions), while its shortened form is mostly found only in the 2d and 3d persons, rarely also in the first (1 Sam. 14, 36). In Hebrew, however, for reasons of accentuation and vowel formation the Jussive could not always be orthographically distinguished from the common (*Indicative*) form of the Imperfect.

In classic Arabic the distinction is almost always clear. Besides the common Indicative *yāqtūlū*, it has—*a*) a Subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*; *b*) a

¹ In the Perfect, the corresponding relations or modal senses are expressed only by the one common form, that stands also for the Indicative (§ 126, 5).

Jussive, *yäqtǖl*; and—c) a doubled so-called *Modus energicus* of the Impf. *yäqtǖlannā* and *yägtǖldn* (in pause *yäqtǖlā*), which latter answers to the Heb. Cohortative.

3. The characteristic of the *cohortative* is a long *ă* אָ, attached to the 1st person, as in אֲקֹטְלָה from אֶקְטַלֵּ; comp. the אָ—directive of the noun § 69, 2, a. It is found in all the conjugations and in all classes of strong and weak verbs (except in the *passives*), and the ending אָ—has the tone wherever it is taken by the afformatives וְ and וּ; hence it affects the final vowel in precisely the same manner as these do; e. g. in *Qōl asmatrā* I will observe, in *Piel nikkâh* let us break asunder Ps. 2, 3; but the unchangeable vowel of the final syllable is retained before אָ—, as in *Hiphîl azalîrah* I will praise. Finally (as before *û* and *i*) the vowel is restored in pause, as tone vowel; thus the cohortative אֲשִׁמְרָה becomes in pause אֲשִׁמְרָה (Ps. 59, 10).

Twice אָ— takes the place of אָ—, e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 15, and, with the 3d pers. Ps. 20, 4 (here in a syllable sharpened by *dag. forte con-junc.*). The אָ— is attached to the 3d person Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20 (and afterward required v. 16 in *Qerî*), where, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3 it has no influence upon the signification. Probably Job 11, 17 also belongs here although קְנִיחָה may, with *Kimchi* be regarded as 2nd Masc. Quite anomalous is בְּוֹאָחָה Deut. 33, 16 (for בְּבִיאָה=בְּבִיאָה). It is not impossible that in some of the above named cases the אָ— may be a second (pleonastic) designation for the feminine.

The *Cohortative* expresses *effort* and the *direction of the will to an action*; and accordingly it especially denotes *excitement of one's self, determination, wish* (as *Optative*), in the 1st Pl. also an exhortation of others, etc. (see § 128).

4. The *Jussive* form of the Impf. essentially rests on quicker pronunciation, united with a tendency of the accent towards the beginning of the word (in order, as it were, to emphasize the command immediately in the first syllable), so that it very often causes a shortening at the end. Yet elsewhere the jussive must be satisfied with the shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable, without being able to withdraw from it the tone, and very frequently the nature of the form does not allow any change whatever, v. above No. 2. It is not impossible however that even in such a case the *Jussive* and *Indi-*

cative differed perceptibly in the tone of the living speech. So יְקַטֵּל as Ind. means *he will kill*, but as Jussive *let him kill*. Where the shortening is orthographically indicated, will be shown in every case under the conjugations. In the strong verb it is confined, as a distinct form, to Hiph'il, as in Juss. יְקַטֵּל, Ind. יְקַטֵּל. It is found in Qäl and Hiph'il of verbs יָמַת and יָמַת, Ind. יָמֹת and יָמִת; and in all the conjugations of verbs הָלַךְ, where after the removal (*apocopé*) of the ending ה— in Qäl and Hiph'il monosyllabic forms arise with or without a helping vowel under the 2d stem consonant (*Impf apoc.*), e. g. Qäl, Ind. רָגַל, Juss. רָגַל; Hiph. Ind. רָגַל, Juss. רָגַל; but also in Pi'el צָרַ from Indic. צָרָה. But in all cases the plural forms of the *Jussive* coincide with those of the *Indicative*, only that the ending יְ cannot occur. Also the 2d pers. sing. fem. sounds the same in both, viz., חָגַלְיָ, קָמַתְלָיָ, תָּקַטְלָיָ, etc., and so likewise all the singular and plural forms, when they have pronominal suffixes, e. g. חָמִיתְנִי as *Indicative* in Jer. 38, 15, as *Jussive* in Jer. 41, 8.

The force of this form is similar to that of the *Cohortative* only that in *Jussive* the command or wish extends, with few exceptions, only to the 2d or 3d person. On particular uses of the *Jussive*, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the first person), see § 128, 2.

5. The *Imperative*, as it is allied in form and meaning to the *Imperfect*, is also lengthened (by ה—) and shortened, in a manner perfectly analogous (compare the Arabic *Imperativus energicus*, with the ending -ánná or -an, in pause -á). The lengthened *Imp.* occurs, e. g. in Qäl of the strong verb, as שְׁמַרְתָּ (shóme'-rá' like שְׁמַרְתִּי qíṣ'li, § 46, Rem. 2) *keep thou*; שְׁכַבְתָּ (shék̠ab'-rá' like שְׁכַבְתִּי qíṣ'li, § 46, Rem. 2) *lie thou down*; the shortened *Imp.* in verbs הָלַךְ, as in Pi'el לָלַךְ for לָלַחַ. In Hiph'il the i of the 2d syll. is reduced to ē, when the syll. is closed e. g. לְקַטְלָה; but the i is retained in open syllables e. g. תְּקַטְלָה (both cases exactly as in *jussive*). The force of these forms is not always so strongly marked as in the *Imperfect*. The longer form, however, is often emphatic, as קִם stand up!, קָפַחֲה up! תְּנַהֶּה give!, תְּנַהַה give!

§ 49.

THE PERFECT AND THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The use of the two tenses, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 126, 127; compare Note ¹, § 47), is by no means confined to the expression of the past and the future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the consecution of the Hebrew¹ tenses, is this; that in continued narrations of the past, only the first verb stands in the Perfect, the following ones being in the Imperfect; and on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb is in the Imperfect (Future), while the subsequent ones are in the Perfect. Thus in 2 K 20, 1: *In those days Hezekiah sickened* (Perf.) *and Isaiah came* (Impf. וַיָּבֹא) *to him, and said* (Impf. וַיֹּאמֶר) *to him, etc.* Just the reverse in Is. 7, 17: *And the Lord will bring* (Impf. וַיְבִרֵא) *upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days, such as have not come since, etc.* 18 v. *And it will happen* (Perf. וְהִהְיֶה) *on that day* This progress in the succession of time is generally indicated by the so-called *consecutive Wāw*,² which in itself, it is true, is but a variety of the usual copulative *Wāw*, but partly (in the impf.) appears with an unusual vocalization. Moreover the tenses compounded with the *consecutive Wāw* undergo in part a variation of tone and hence at times also other variations.

2 The *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is—*a)* regularly prefixed with *Pū'thāch* and a *Dāghe'sh forte* in the next letter,

¹ The other Semitic tongues have no trace of this construction, except that the Phœnician (the most closely related to the Hebrew), and of course the trans-Jordanic Heb. (or Moabite) inscription of Mēsha¹ has it (see § 2, 2).

² This name expresses best the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *Wāw consec* an action is always represented as a direct or at least temporal *sequence* of a preceding action. If whole books (Lev., Num., Josh., Judg., 1 and 2 Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with *impf. consec*, others (Ex., 1 Kings, Ezia) with *Wāw copul*, it is to establish a close connection with the historical books preceding them (now or originally). Compare on the other hand the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. Merely external is the formerly used designation as *Wāw conversive*, as changing the respective tenses into their opposites (acc. to the former conception, the *fut.* into *pret.* and vice-

as לְקַטֵּל *and he killed*, but with *Qū'mēš* before the נ of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22, 1), as לְאָקַטֵּל *and I killed* (the preform. ה with *Dāgh. f.* omitted occurs in such cases as וְדָבַר *and word*, see § 20, 3, b);—b) it takes a shortened form of the Imperfect, where possible (comp. § 48, 4), e. g. in *Hiph'il* וְקִטְבֵּל (§ 53, Rem. 4), and tends to remove the tone from the ultima even more than the jussive. With this removal is necessarily connected a decided shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable which being closed is now toneless, as in וְקֹמֵן, Jussive סְקַמֵּן, with *Wāw consecutive* סְקַמֵּן *and he arose* (§ 67, Rem. 2 and 7, § 68, 1, § 69, Rem. 3, § 71, § 72, Rem. 4 and 7, § 73, Rem. 2).¹ But in the 1st pers., especially in the singular, the shifting back of the tone and even the reduction of long vowels in the 2d syllable (û to ô, i to ē) is not usual, and the apocope in verbs חָנַךְ occurs much seldomer, e. g. always וְאָקִים (def. סְקָאָם) *and I arose*; *Hiph.* וְקָרִים; וְאָרַתָּה; וְאָרַתָּה *and I saw* (rather oftener than אָרַתָּה). But on the contrary we oftener find, specially in the later books, the *Cohortative* form in חָנַךְ used here, e. g. always וְשָׁלַחֲהָה *and I sent* Gen. 32, 6, Judg. 6, 9, 10, Ps. 3, 6, Neh. 2, 13, 5, 7, 8, 13, 6, 11, 13, 7—11.—See more in § 129.

NB This חָנַךְ is in sense a strengthened *Wāw copulative* and resembles in its pronunciation the usual Arab. *copul.* (*wād*). The close connection of this *wād* with the following consonant caused in Hebrew the doubling of the latter, especially as d could not stand in an open syllable; comp. בְּמַתָּה, בְּמַתָּה, בְּמַתָּה (for בְּמַתָּה), where the prepositions בְ, בְ, בְּ are connected with בְּמַתָּה in a similar way.

The encounter of numerous *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not lead to the supposition of a close relationship between the two moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (or the shifting of the tone) is occasioned by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, and is only accidentally similar to the form of the Jussive, where the shortening is based on the character of the form itself.²

3. The counterpart of *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is *Wāw consecutive of the Perfect*, by which the Perfects are

¹ Also the plural forms in חָנַךְ, occur more seldom after *Wāw consecutive*, but comp. וְיִרְבֶּן Judg. 8, 1, 11, 18, Am. 6, 3, Ez. 44, 8, Deut. 4, 11, 5, 20. The 2d fem. sing. in חָנַךְ— never occurs after *Wāw consecutive*.

² The opinion of earlier grammarians, according to which לְשִׁקְטֵל is an abbreviation and contraction from חָזַח יְקַטֵּל (=חָזַח) *it was (that) he killed*, is in every respect erroneous, and now obsolete.—Equally unfounded is the opinion of some that it is a contraction of וְחָזַח יְקַטֵּל.

placed as the future sequents of actions or events conceived of as incomplete (therefore in Imperf., Imperat. or even Partic.). In form it is the usual *Wāw copulative* and therefore also shares its various vocalization (וְ, וֵ, וָ e. g. 2 K. 7, 4, וְ), e. g. וְהִרְחַת (after an Impf.) *and it happens=it will happen*; yet it has generally the effect of shifting the tone to the last syllable in those verbal forms which would otherwise have it on the penultima, e. g. הַכָּמֵר I went, consec. form וְהַלְכָמֵר (coordinate with another *Perf. consec.*, which is a consecutive to an Imperat.) *and I will go* Judg. 1, 3; הַבְדִילָה, consec. וְהַבְדִילָה *and it shall divide* Ex. 26, 33 (but this loss of the tone by *i* in the 2d syll. is exceptional, comp. under letter *b*). See more on the usage in § 126.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qā'meq* of the 1st syl. is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now with the secondary tone (therefore necessarily provided with *Méthégh*). On the other hand the *ō* of the 2nd syl. in verbs *med. ō*, upon losing the tone, becomes *ō* e. g. וְרִבְבָרֶת Exod. 18, 23. This shifting forward of the tone does not always take place, and the exceptions are sometimes strange. It is omitted—*a*) always in the 1st pers. pl. וְשָׁנָנִים Gen. 34, 16);—*b*) generally at least in *Qal* in verbs אָלָל and אָלָה, e. g. וְנִירְאָה Ex. 26, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc., but before a following נ the vowel, long by contraction in the *Perf. Qāl* of these verbs, frequently loses its tone, for orthophonic reasons, e. g. וְבָאָל Gen. 6, 18,—*c*) always when such a Perfect stands in pause, e. g. וְשִׁבְעָה Deut. 8, 10, 11, 15, and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29, 3, *b*) as in בְּשִׁבְעָה Deut. 17, 14, שְׁמָרָה פְּשָׁעָה אֲמָרָה Deut. 23, 13, Amos 1, 4. 7. 10. 12 (yet also שְׁמָרָה בְּשִׁבְעָה Deut. 21, 11, 23, 14, 24, 19). Elsewhere the accent is shifted back even before the *Méthégh*, e. g. Zeph. 1, 17.

§ 50.

OF THE PARTICIPLE OF QĀL.

1. Qāl has two forms of the Participle, viz., an *active*, called also *Pō'ēl* from its form (פֹעֶל), and a *passive*, called *Pā'u'l* (פָעָל).¹

The *Pā'u'l* is doubtless a remnant of a lost passive form of *Qāl*, which still exists complete in Arabic. In the Aramaean the passives of *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph'îl* are in like manner lost, except in the Participles.

2. The form of the Participle *active* of Qāl in the intransitive verbs *mid. E* and *mid. O*, coincides with the form

¹ The Jewish Grammarians call the Part. Act. also (בריגייד) (*middle word*); yet not in the sense of the Latin name, but as holding in sense (as present Participle) the *middle* place between the past and the future; in this sense the בִּינִי is opposed by them to the passive form פָעֵל as part. *praeterit.*

of the 3d person sing. of the Perfect, as **רַשֵּׁן**, *sleeping* (from **ר.** **רִשְׁנָה**), **רִגְנָר**, *fearing* (only orthographically different from the Perf. **רִגְנָר**); comp. the formation of the Part. in Niph'āl (§ 51, 1). But the Participle of verbs *mid.* *A*, takes the form **קָטָל**, the ô of which has sprung from *â* and is therefore unchangeable (*qôlēl* from *qâtēl*, § 9, No. 10, 2). (The form **לָקָטָה**, which with two changeable *Qâ'meṣ* would correspond to the forms **רַשְׁרַת** and **רִגְנַר**, is in use only as a *verbal noun*, § 84, 1.)—The inflection of the Participle in *Pi'el*, *Pu'el*, *Hiph'îl*, *Hoph'îl*, *Hithpâ'el* follows a different method, taking a prefixed **מ.**

3. Participles form their feminine (*act.* **קָטָלה** or **קָטָלה**, *pass.* **קָטְלִיה**) and their plural (*act.* mas. **קָטָלים**, fem. **קָטְלָה**; *pass.* m. **קָטְלִים**, f. **קָטְלִות**) like other nouns (§§ 87, 94).

Rem. 1 From the above it follows: 1) the *a* of the form **רַשְׁנָה** is lengthened from *ă* and is consequently changeable (e. g. fem. **רַשְׁנָה**); 2) the ô of **לָקָטָה** on the contrary is inflected from unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adj. after the form *qâtil* corresponds to the form *qâtel* and the part *qâtil* to *qôtel*. In both cases therefore the ē of the second syllable has been lengthened from *ă*, and is therefore changeable (e. g. **לָקְטָה** pl. **קָטְלִים**; **כָּבְדָר** const. pl. **קָטְלִים**).—An uncommon form perhaps is **חוֹמִיךְיָה** supporting Ps. 16, 5, it is possible, however, that **חוֹמִיךְיָה** is intended with incorrect full writing of **וְ**— (comp. סָכָר 2 K. 8, 21), or perhaps it is the *impf.* *Hiph.* of **חוֹמֶךְ**. Many reckon here also **רוֹסִיף** Is. 29, 14, 38, 5; but this is rather 3 sing. *Impf.* *Hiph'îl* of **חוֹמֶךְ** (compare a quite similar construction in Is. 28, 16; the prop. n. אֵיבָרְלָל Ch. 27, 30, being a foreign word, need not be considered here).—The form **הַחֲזִים** Is. 41, 7 (for **חוֹזִים**) is explained in § 29, 3, b.

2. The Participle in the passive form at times belongs to an intransitive verb and cannot properly take a passive meaning, but expresses a passive state. Thus **בָּטִיחַ** is *trusting* (not *trusted*) in Ps. 112, 7, **בָּשָׂר** *inhabiting* (not *inhabited*) Judg. 8, 11 (like the Lat. deponent forms *confusus*, *commoratus*) and even in the transitive verb **אָחַרְוָה** *holding* (not *held*) Cant. 8, 8.

B. DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51.

NIPH'ÄL.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a : prefixed to the stem. This is either vowelless with prefixed **נ** (in all verbs whose 1st stem letter has a firm vowel) or joined to the stem by a short vowel (orig. *ă* but in strong verbs attenuated to *i*), so that, by assimilation of the **נ**, we have the *Impf.* and *Inf.* **הַקְטָל** (for the **הַקְטָל**), the *Inf. absol.* **לְקָטָל**, and also

the *Impf.* לְשַׁקֵּר (with the ה elided) for לְשִׁקְרָה. But when the latter is vowelless the ש joins itself to the stem by means of a short vowel, as in the *Perf.* לְשִׁקְרָה, *Part.* לְשַׁקֵּר, and at times in the *Inf. absol.* לְשִׁקְרָה. The inflection of Niph'äl is perfectly analogous to that of Qäl. (The VIIth conjug. of the Arab. *'inqatāla* corresponds to the *Niph'äl*.)

Niph'äl may be known in the *Perf.* and *Part.* by the *Nün* prefixed; in the *Imp.* *Inf.*, and *Impf.*, by the *Dāgh. f.* in the first stem-letter. The same marks are found in the irregular verbs, except that, where the first stem-letter is a guttural, the *Dāgh*-sh must be omitted (§ 63, 4), and consequently the preceding vowel made long (§ 22, 1).

2. The significations of *Niph'äl*. It is similar to the Greek *middle voice*, and hence—*a*) It is primarily *reflexive* of Qäl, e. g. שָׁמַר to *watch one's self*, to *beware*, φυλάσσεσθαι, שָׁמַר to *hate one's self*; often in verbs which express an emotion that re-acts on the mind, as נִזְבַּח to *trouble one's self*, to *grieve*, נִזְבַּח to *bemoan one's self*, to *bewail*; comp. ὀδύρεσθαι, *lamentari, contristari*;—*b*) Then it frequently expresses *reciprocal action*, as from שְׁפֹט to *Judge*, Niph. שְׁפַט to *go to law with me another*, ψηφίζω to *counsel*, Niph. to *consult together*; comp. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (ψηφίζω), μάχεσθαι (ταλλάγμα), altercari, praelvari, luctari, ἐπίζεσθαι (ψηφίζω);—*c*) It has also like Hithpä'el (§ 54, 3, *c*) and the Greek *middle*, the signification of the active, with addition of *self*, Lat. *sibi*, for *one's self*, e. g. בָּאֶשֶׁר to *ask for one's self* (1 Sam. 20, 6, 28, Neh. 3, 6), precisely like αἰτοῦμαι σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα to *put on (one's self) a tunic*;—*d*) It is often also *passive* of Qäl, e. g. בָּלַד to *bear*, Niph. to *be born*, קְבַר to *bury*, Niph. to *be buried*; likewise of Pi'el and Hiph'il, when Qäl is intransitive or not in use, e. g. כָּבֵד to *be in honour*, Pi'el to *honour*, Niph. to *be honoured*, כָּהֵד, in Pi'el to *conceal*, Hiph. to *make disappear*, to *destroy*, Niph. passive of both: and in this case its meaning may again coincide with Qäl (חַלְה Qäl and Niph. to *die*), and even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).

Examples of *denominatives* are בָּנֵר to *be born a male* (from בָּנֵה male) Ex. 34, 19, בָּנֵב cordatum fieri (from בָּבֵב heart) Job 11, 22

N.B. The older Hebrew grammarians have represented Niph'äl as strictly the *passive* of Qäl. This representation is decidedly incorrect; for Niph'äl has not the characteristics of the other passives. There

are still found in Qāl traces of an early passive form (§ 50, 1), and the Arabic has a distinct conjugation, corresponding with Niph'āl (*ingātālū*), which has its own passive; nay, in Hebrew itself, there is probably a trace of the passive of Niph'āl in the form נִגְנַתֵּל Is. 59, 3, Lam. 4, 14. According to the *usage* of the language, the *passive* signification is certainly predominant; but it was first derived from the reflexive.—The תְּ prefixed has the force of a reflexive pronoun, like *myself* in Hithpā'ēl,¹ the תְּ probably serving to make the characteristic וָ utterable (comp. Arab. *'inqātlū*).

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* בְּמֹךְ connects itself, in form, with the Perf., to which it bears the same relation as בְּמֹלֶךְ to בְּמַלְכָה; it also occurs in connection with the Perfect, as in בְּמַשְׁאָבָן *rogando* 1 Sam. 20, 8, בְּמַבְּחָדָה *desiderando* Gen. 31, 30. An example of the other form, connecting with the Impf., is בְּמַתְּהָנָן Jer. 32, 4; once בְּמַרְאָתָה Ezek. 14, 3. The ô in the final syllable (which is originally ā) is also exhibited in this Infinitive form in Pī'ēl and Pū'āl, and it resembles, in this respect, several Arabic Infinitives, in which there is a corresponding ī. Moreover, the form בְּמַעֲרָקָה is not infrequently used for the Inf. absol., e. g. Num. 15, 31, Deut. 4, 26, 1 K. 20, 39.

2. In *Pause*, a Pāthāch often takes the place of Šērē in the final syllable of the Impf. e. g. בְּלִבְנֵי יִהְיָה and *he was weaned* Gen. 21, 8, as also in other cases, comp. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final וְ): 17, 23 (with פְּ); Jonah 1, 5 (with וְ), (§ 29, 4 at the end). In the 2d and 3d pers. plural feminine, the Pāthāch is common, e. g. חִזְכְּרָנָה they shall be remembered Is. 65, 17; Šērē is found only in חִזְכְּנָה Ruth 1, 13 (from עַמְּנָה for חִזְכְּנָה with Dāghesh omitted; comp. Is. 60, 4).

3. When the Impf., Inf., or Imp. is immediately followed by a word of one syllable, the tone is commonly shifted back upon the penultima, and consequently the final syllable, losing the tone, takes Seghōl instead of Šērē; e. g. בְּקַדְשָׁה יָרַחַ and *he stumbles at it* Ez. 33, 12; וְיִרְאֶה יְהֹוָה and *he heard him* Gen. 25, 21; also Pāthāch גַּם יְהֹוָה Job 18, 4, but comp. בְּמַלְכָה וְיִרְאֶה אֱלֹהִים and *God heard* 2 Sam. 21, 14. While in some isolated cases e. g. Ezra 8, 23, the shifting back of the tone is omitted, in spite of an accented syllable following, it has however become general with certain forms, even when the following word begins with an unaccented syllable; especially after וְ cons. e. g. וְיִרְאֶה and *he fought* Num. 21, 1 etc. For the *imperative* דַּקְבָּרֵה there is found (with the rejection of initial וְ): נִקְבָּרֵה Is. 43, 9 (in *pause* נִקְבָּרֵה Joel, 4, 11; comp. וְלֹא Jer. 50, 5).

¹ Also in other languages, specially in the Slavonian, the change of the reflexive into the passive is observed. It is still clear in Sanscrit and in Greek how the middle goes before the passive voice; the r at the end of the Latin passive is the reflexive pronoun = *se*; in the ancient Slavic and Bohemian, *amat-se* stands for *amatur*, in Dacoroman *io me laudu* (*I am praised*). See Pott's *Etymologische Forschungen*, Th. 1, S. 183 ff., Th. 2, S. 92; Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, § 476 ff.

4. For the 1st pers. sing. of the Impf. נִבְרַאֲנָה the form נִבְרַאֲנָה is equally frequent, as נִבְרַאֲנָה I will let myself be sought Ez. 14, 3; נִזְבְּנַאֲנָה I swear Gen. 21, 24; in the Cohortative always with *i*, e. g. נִזְבְּנַאֲנָה I will avenge me Is. 1, 24. Comp. § 69, Rem. 5.

§ 52.

PI'E'L AND PU'A'L.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation is the doubling of the middle stem-letter. In the active (Pi'el), the Perf. would naturally have נִבְרַק from the simple stem נִבְרַק (comp. § 43, Rem. 1, and Arab. Conj. II *qāttālā*); the *ă* of the first syllable is however with one exception (v. Rem. 1) always changed to *ī* in the Perf. In the 2nd syllable *ă* has usually been retained (therefore the conjugation should properly be called *Pi'al*); often here however occurs an attenuation to *i* which the tone regularly lengthens to *ē* (comp. Aram. נִבְרַק, Biblical Aram. נִבְרַק). Thus arise for the 2d sing. masc. perf. forms like נִבְרַק, נִבְרַק, נִבְרַק; נִבְרַק, נִבְרַק etc.¹—Before affirmatives however *ă* is always retained, thus נִבְרַק, נִבְרַק, נִבְרַק etc. The Infinitive absol. has נִבְרַק (inflected from *qattāl*). The Inf. const. and Imp. have נִבְרַק with *ă* in the first syllable, and so the Impf. makes נִבְרַק, and the Part. נִבְרַק, the preformatives here having a vocal *Shewā*, which seems to be the relic of a short vowel.—The passive (Pu'el נִבְרַק) has an obscure vowel of the third class (*ū* or rarely *ō*) after the first stem-letter, and *ă* (in pause *ă*) after the second. On the use of obscure vowels to express intransitives, comp. § 43. Also in Arabic passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the 1st syllable. In regard to inflection these two conjugations are analogous to that of Qal.

The *ן*, which occurs also in the succeeding conjugations, as the characteristic of the Part., seems to be connected with *ן* who? (fem. *תְּ* comp. § 37) in the sense of some one.

Piel and *Pu'el* are throughout distinguished by the *Dāghēsh* in the middle stem-letter. It is omitted only in the following cases:—
 a) Always when this letter is a guttural (§ 64, 3);—b) Sometimes, though rarely, when this letter has *Shewā* (§ 20, 3, b), as נִבְרַק she stretches

¹ On three cases which take — instead of — before final *נ* or *ן* see below Rem. 1.

forth (for בָּחַר) Ez. 17, 7; בָּשַׂר for 'בָּשָׂר' they sought him 2 Ch. 15, 15; also at times the omission is indicated (§ 10, 2 Rem.) by a *Châṭéph*, under the *litera dagessanda*, e. g. בָּרַקְלָבָן for בָּרַקְלָבָן she was taken Gen. 2, (23, — though influence of preceding —) comp. 9, 14. In the Impf. and Part. the *Shewā* under the preformatives may always serve as a mark of these conjugations.

2. The primary idea of *Pi'ēl* is *urgency*, especially that which is *self impelled* (a busy doing) hence.—a) It denotes *intensity* and *repetition* (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative nouns*, which are likewise formed by doubling the middle stem-letter, § 84, 6—9);¹ e. g. קָרַזְקָרַז to laugh, *Pi'ēl* to sport, to jest (to laugh repeatedly), בָּאַשְׁרָאַשְׁר to ask, *Pi'ēl* to beg; hence it denotes that the action has to do with *many*, as בָּקַר to bury (one) Gen. 23, 4, *Pi'ēl* to bury (*many*) 1 K. 11, 15. (So in Syriac and Arabic frequently). This signification of *Pi'ēl* is found with various shades of secondary meaning, as רָחַח to open, *Pi'ēl* to loose, סָפַר to count, *Pi'ēl* to relate.—The eager performance of an action makes the agent *influence* others also in the same direction. Hence—b) *Pi'ēl* has a *causative* signification (like *Hiph'il*), e. g. לָמַדְרָמַד to learn, *Pi'ēl* to teach. It often takes the modifications expressed by to permit, to declare or to hold us. to help, as חִרֵה to let live, קָדַם to declare innocent, רִילָדְרִילָד to help in child-bearing.—c) *Denominatives* are frequently found in this conjugation, which in general mean to make a thing (viz. that which the noun expresses), or to be in any way occupied with it; as קָרַב to make a nest (from קָרֵن nest), עָפַר to throw dust, to dust (from עָפָר dust). It also expresses the taking away or injuring the thing expressed by the noun (as in English to behead, to skin, to bone), e. g. שָׁרַבְשָׁרַב (from שָׁרֵב a root) to root out, extirpate, זָבְזָב (from זָבֵב tail) properly to injure the tail,

¹ Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has an *intensive* force, are found in the German words, *reichen*, *recken* (E. reach, rack); *streichen* (stringo, Anglo-Saxon *strecan*), *strecken* (E. stretch, streak); comp. *Strich*, *Strecke*; *wacker*, from *wachen*. others in which it has the *causative* signification, are *stechen*, *stecken* (E. stitch, stick); *wachen*, *wecken* (E. watch, wake); τέλλω to bring to an end, from the stem τέλω to end, γεννάω to beget, from γένω to come into being. The above examples in German show also that *ch*, when doubled, takes the form of *kk*, *ck*, in accordance with the laws relating to the Dāghēsh in Hebrew (§ 13, 3).

hence *to rout the rear* of an army, **שָׁרֵךְ** *to remove the ashes*, **בָּשַׂךְ** *to break the bones*. So also in verbs the origin of which may not now be traceable to a noun; e. g. **סִקְלָה** *to stone*, and also *to remove the stones* (i. e. from a field);¹ comp. Eng. *to stone* in both senses.

The significations of the *passive* (Pu'äl) will occur readily from the above, e. g. **נִזְבֵּךְ** *to steal*, Pi'el *to steal*, Pu'äl *to be stolen*.

In Pi'el, the proper and literal signification of a word is often retained, when Qäl has adopted a figurative one, the former being the stronger and more palpable sense, e. g. **רָפַא** in Pi'el *to stitch up*, in Qäl *to heal*; **אָמַר**, Pi'el *to cut or hew out*, Qäl *to form or make*; **חָלַץ**, Pi'el *to uncover*, Qäl *to reveal*.

In intransitive verbs, also, Pi'el occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic diction, as **בָּשָׂרֶה** *to be broken in pieces* Jer. 51, 56, **תָּזַחֲדֵךְ** *to tremble* Deut. 51, 13, Prov. 28, 14, **תָּחַזֵּךְ** *to be open* Is. 48, 8, 60, 11, **רִיחַנְתָּה** *to be drunken* Is. 34, 5, 7.

Rem. 1. The Perf. Pi'el has (—) in the final syllable quite as often as (˘), e. g. **אָכַבֵּר** *to destroy*, **בָּשַׂרְבֵּשְׁ** *to break in pieces*, **תֹּאַכְלֵל** *to teach*. This occurs especially before Mäggēph (Eccles. 9, 15, 12, 9), and in the middle of a period in continuous discourse; but at the end of a period (in pause), Sérē is the more common vowel. Comp. **גָּדֵל** Is. 49, 21 with **גָּדֵל** Josh. 4, 14, Est. 3, 1. Some verbs have *Séghôl*, namely **דִּבְרֵי** *to speak*, **בָּבֵר** *to alone*, and **כָּבֵט** *to wash clothes*, but **דִּבְרֵי** in pause.

A single instance of (—) in the first syllable (after the manner of the Arab. and Aram.) is found in Gen. 41, 51 **תָּשַׁׁׁמֵּה** *to cause to forget*, a change occasioned by the play upon the name **מָשָׁׁמֵה**. Compare the quadrilateral **רָשָׁׁם**, which is analogous in form to Pi'el (§ 56).

2. The *Impf.*, *Inf.*, and *Imp.*, when followed by Mäggēph, generally take *Séghôl* in the final syllable, e. g. **רָבְקַשְׁלֵי** *he seeks for himself* Is. 40, 20, 29, **קָרְשַׁלֵּי** *sanctify to me* Ex. 18, 2. So too in Hîthpâ'el.—In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* besides **לְמַעַן**, there occurs also in a few cases the form with (—) under the N, as **אַזְרָה** Lev. 26, 33; and even with (˘), as **אַזְרָה** Zech. 7, 14 (according to § 23, 3, Rem. 2). With Wâw cons. we have also **אַגְּנָה** for **אַגְּנָה** Judg. 6, 9. Instead of **חַבְלָה** are found forms like **חַבְלָה**, as in Is. 3, 16, 13, 18 (before a sibilant in pause).

3. The *Inf. absol.* in Pi'el has the special form **בָּזַק**, as **יִזְקַ** *castigando* Ps. 118, 18; but much more frequently the form of the *Inf.*

¹ In Arabic, *denominatives* of Conj. II. often express injury done to a member, the removal of vermin and noxious things. This force is not wholly foreign, also, to the simplest Conj. I. Comp. Hebrew Qäl (from **בָּשַׂר**) *to buy or sell grain*, Lat. *causari, praedari*, etc.

constr. בָּשֵׂר is used instead, as in Jer. 12, 17, 32, 33. For the latter the form בָּשָׂר also occurs exceptionally, namely in Lev. 14, 43 יְבִרַת, and (for the sake of assonance) even for *Inf. absol.* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 בְּשָׂרֶן יְבִרַת.

4. In *Pū'āl*, instead of *Qibbūṣ*, *Qā'meṣ-chāṭūph* is found less frequently, e. g. מִצְרָיִם dyed red Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7; Ps. 72, 20, 80, 11. It is merely an orthographic variation when *Shū'req* takes the place of *Qibbūṣ*, as בְּנֵי in Judg. 18, 29.

5. As the *Inf. absol.* of *Pu.* there is found בְּנֵי in Gen. 40, 15.—The *Inf. constr.* does not occur in a regular verb in *Pū'āl*.

6. The *Part. Pū'āl* sometimes occurs without the prefixed א¹; and is then distinguished from the 3. pers. Perf. (like the Part. Niph.) only by the *Qā'meṣ* in the final syllable, e. g. נְקֻבָּה taken 2 K. 2, 10, comp. יְמִילָה for מִילָה Judg. 18, 8; also Ec. 9, 12, Ez. 26, 17, Prov. 25, 19, Is. 18, 2; the last two examples on account of the presence of an initial א.

§ 53.

HİPH'İL AND HÖPH'ÄL.

1. The characteristic of the *active* (Hiph'il) is א, in the Perf. א (the ā being attenuated into ī as in Pi'ēl) and forming with the 1st stem consonant a closed syllable. The 2d syllable had in the Perf. originally likewise ā; comp. Arab. conj. IV. 'aqṭālā and in Hebrew the return of *Pā'thāch* in the 2d and 1st person נְקֻבָּה etc. The ā having been attenuated into ī, the latter when having the tone, should, according to rule have been lengthened into ē (as in Aram. נְקֻבָּא, in Biblical Aram. נְקֻבָּה). Instead of this however the strong verb has received i. Thus in the Inf. constr. הַקְטִיל with which are connected the Impf. and the Part. יְקֻטִיל, מְקֻטִיל,² contracted from מִתְקֻטִיל, יְתֻקִטִיל. In the *passive* (Höph'äl) the ה is sounded with an obscure vowel, and the second syllable has ā instead of ī, as נְקֻטָּל or הַקְטִיל, Impf. יְקֻטִיל (syncopated from יְתֻקִטִיל).

¹ This omission of the א seems to occur also at times in *Part. Pi'ēl*, as in שְׁבֹבָה for שְׁבֹבָה praising Ecc. 4, 2, בְּאָזְן for בְּאָזְן refusing Ex. 7, 27, perh. also חֲלֹלִים in Ps. 67, 7 may be for חֲלֹלִים dancing or dancers.—Tr.

² Here the corresponding Arab. forms (*yagtil* and *maqtil*) indicate an original ī in the second syllable. In Hebrew this ī is lengthened into ē (after the general rule) at least in the *Jussive* and the *Imperf. consec.* (see below 3 Rem. 4) as well as in the *Imperative* of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. (see 3, Rem. 3).

or לְמַקֵּן, Inf. absol. לְמַקֵּן, Participle לְמַקֵּן and לְמַקֵּן; and in its other forms it follows the general analogy. Upon the origin of the preformatives נַ compare § 55, No. 6.

The marks of this conjugation are, therefore, in the Perf., Imp. and Inf., the prefixed נַ; in the Impf. and Part., the vowel under the preformatives, which in Hiph'il is Pāthāch, in Hoph'āl, Qibbūṣ (—) or Qā'mēṣ-chāṭāph (—).

2. *Significations of Hiph'il.*—It is properly *causative* of Qāl, and in this sense is more frequently employed than Pi'el (§ 52, 2, b), e. g. נָשַׁר to go forth, Hiph. to bring out, to lead forth; קָדֵשׁ to be holy, Hiph. to sanctify. To the category of the *causative* belongs also the *declarative* signification, e. g. קָדַם הַצִּדִיק to declare just; הַרְשִׁיךְ to declare guilty (render criminal). When Qāl is transitive, Hiph. takes two accusatives (see § 139, 1). Frequently Pi'el and Hiph'il are both in use in the same signification, as נָפַר to perish, Pi. and Hiph. to destroy; but generally only one of them is found, or they have some difference of signification, as קָבַד to be heavy, Pi. to honour, Hiph. to make heavy. Intransitive verbs merely become transitive, e. g. נִבְנָה to bow (intrans.), Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Rem. 1. The Semitic conception of the causative and transitive signification of Hiph'il embraces also other forms of thought which can only be translated by periphrase. Thus a) the Hiph. is used to express some assumption of a corporal or spiritual condition, e. g. נָתַתְּךָ, רָתַתְּךָ, Hiph. to emit a lustre, נָשַׁתְּךָ, Hiph. to create gloom, נָכַתְּךָ, Hiph. to be prosperous, נָאַתְּךָ, Hiph. to be needy, נָפַתְּךָ, Hiph. to become fat (properly to produce fat);¹ חִזְקָתְּךָ and צָבָאַתְּךָ, Hiph. to become strong (properly to develop strength); so too נָפַקְתָּךָ, Hiph. to become feeble; נָתַתְּךָ רֹאַתְּךָ to be red (prop. to show redness), חֲלַבְנָתְּךָ to be white, דָהַרְיָתְּךָ to be silent, but properly to keep silence (silentium facere. Plin.); b) the Hiph. expresses entrance into and continuance in a given state or condition, e. g. נָפַקְתָּךָ to be firm, חֲלַבְנָתְּךָ to become sick, שָׁבַתְּךָ to become ashamed, חֲרַגְנָתְּךָ to keep quiet; c) the Hiph. expresses a qualified action,

¹ The verb נָפַתְּךָ to make is employed in the expression of the same ideas, e. g. to make fat (fatness), i. e. to produce fat upon the body Job 15, 27; to make fruits, to make branches, i. e. to produce, to put forth Job 14, 9, Hos. 8, 7. Compare in Latin, *corpus facere* Justin. 11, 8, *robur facere* Hirtius, Bell. Afr. 85; *sobolem, divitias, facere* (Plin.) and in Italian *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*.

as חָדְרִבּ to deal well, חַשְׁוֹרָה to do wickedly, properly to make good, or bad one's way (sc. הָרְדוּ בָּהּ which are also often expressed); אֲשַׁרְתּוּ to make sinful, קָרַבּ to act craftily.

2. Causatives also are certain *denominatives*, in Hiph. expressing the idea of *producing* or *putting forth* that of which the original noun is the name, e. g. חַשְׁרֵת to put forth roots, הַקְרִין to put forth horns. It also expresses the active use of a member, as הַאֲזִין to listen (properly to make ears), גַּלְשֵׁת to chatter, to slander (after the same analogy, properly to make tongue, to use the tongue freely).

3. The signification of *Hōph'āl* is *passive*—*a)* chiefly of *Hiph'īl*, as in הַשְׁלִיךְ to cast out, הַשְׁלָךְ or הַשְׁלָךְ to be cast out;—*b)* at times also of *Qāl*, as in נַקֵּם to avenge, הַקֵּם to be avenged.

Rem. 1. The ī of 3d sing. masc. Perf. Hiph. remains unchanged also in the 3d fem. (in the tone-syllable). But that it has arisen from a short vowel and is therefore changeable is shown from the Imperf. and Imper., where ē (through the influence of a guttural also ö) takes its place. In an open syllable the ī is retained, only in rare cases does it become *Shewā* (v. Rem. 4 and 5).

2. The Inf. absol. has generally *S'érē*, usually without *Yōdh*, as חָקְרָה Judg. 17, 3, rarely (and incorrectly) with *Yōdh*, as חָקְרָה Amos 9, 8. After the manner of the Aram., we have ה instead of the ח in אָשַׁכְנִים to rise early Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, in which the form with *S'érē* stands for the Inf. constr., are found in Deut. 32, 8. Is. 57, 20. For the usual Inf. constr. לְקַצְבֵּן we find a few times לְחַטְרֵל, as חַשְׁמֵיד to destroy Deut. 7, 24, 28, 48, Josh. 11, 14, Jer. 50, 34; so also הַקְצֹות for הַקְצֹות from קָצַח Lev. 14, 43. Upon elision of ה v. Rem. 7.

3. The Imperative retains the ī (ִ) according to Rem. 1 in the open syllable and therefore before suffixes (v. § 61, 2) and before ה—paragogic e. g. חַשְׁשֵׁרָה. On the other hand in the 2nd masc. sing. the original ī (comp. Arab. 'aqtil) is lengthened into ē, e. g. אַשְׁמֵן to become fat and before *Mäggēph* it becomes *S'eghōl*, e. g. אַשְׁמֵנָי Job 22, 21.—In a few instances the form לְקַצְבֵּן is anomalously substituted for לְקַצְבֵּן: Ps. 94, 1 (77, 2?) Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 8; in other places the Massora has preferred the incorrect fully written form לְקַצְבֵּל, e. g. 2 K. 8, 6.—In Lament. 5, 1 for the *Qer̄ē* requires בְּבִרְכָה.

4. In the Impf. of Hiph. the apocopated form with *S'érē* is the usual one for the *Jussive* in the 2. m. and the 3. m. singular, as אַלְגַּדְתּוּ not great Obad. 12, יְבִרְתּוּ let him cut off Ps. 12, 4, also with י consec., as בְּלִינְדֵל and he divided Gen. 1, 4 (yet the 1. per. sing. is usually ī, as אַשְׁרֵי Am. 2, 9). Before *Mäggēph* the *S'érē* becomes *S'eghōl*, as בְּלִינְקֵל and he held him Judg. 19, 4. In the plural the forms קַצְבְּרִיל, יְבִרְכִּים

וַיִּרְבֹּקְדָּלֵךְ stand also in the Jussive and with 1 *cons.*, e. g. וַיִּרְבֹּקְדָּלֵךְ and they pursued Judg. 18, 22; but the ī (after the Aramaean) sometimes becomes Shׁwā, as וַיִּרְכֶּבְנָה 1 K. 20, 23, וַיִּרְכֶּבְנָה and they bent Jer. 9, 2, and they pursued 1 Sam. 14, 22, 31, 2. This shortening is found also in the imperf. and in 2d and 3d masc. sing. before suffixes (1 Sam. 17, 25. Ps. 65, 10. Job 9, 20). It is however doubtful whether we really find in these isolated examples a trace of the groundform (*yaq̄tl*) and not rather a misconception from defective writing (וַיִּרְכֶּבְנָה etc.) which often occurs elsewhere as a pure orthographical license (even in the 3d sing. Is. 44, 28 רְשָׁבָם).

5. The Part. מִסְתָּר (Is. 53, 3) might be traced to the Grdf. *maḡil* unless with *Delitzsch* one regards the word as a substantive (comp. also מִרְאֵת Ps. 135, 7, where, however, *S̄erē* could be explained from the shifting of the tone).* In the following plurals the vowel has become Shׁwā: מִחְלֵמִים dreamers Jer. 29, 8, פִּזְעָרִים helpers 2 Ch. 28, 23 and in Q̄er̄i בְּמִחְצָרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24.—The fem. is usually like מִקְשָׁלָה, e. g. מִשְׁנָה Lev. 14, 21, מִזְפָּרָה Num. 5, 15.

6. In the Perf. are sometimes found such forms as הֲבָאתָנִי we have reproached 1 Sam. 25, 7, comp. Job 16, 7, also אָגַטְלָתָר I have soiled (with 8 for 7, as in Aramaean) Is. 63, 3; comp. אָשְׁרִים, Rem. 2.

7. In the Impf. and Part. the characteristic ה regularly gives place to the preformatives, as בְּלִיכְתִּי, בְּקִרְבִּי, but not to prepositions in the Inf., because their connection with the stem is less close than that of the preformatives. In both cases, however, there are some few exceptions, as יְהִוָּשֵׁעַ he will save for יְשִׁיעָה Ps. 118, 6 (in pause), יְהִירָה he will praise for יְהִירָה (only in verbs יְהִי) Neh. 11, 17, on the contrary לְשִׁמְעָה for לְשִׁמְעָה to sing Ps. 26, 7, לְאַרְיוֹב for לְאַרְיוֹב to cause to faint 1 Sam. 2, 33, לְשִׁמְרָה for לְשִׁמְרָה to destroy Is. 23, 11, לְשִׁבְרָה Am. 8, 4, בְּצִיר for בְּצִיר Ps. 78, 20, לְמֻרוֹת for לְמֻרוֹת Ps. 78, 17.¹

8. The tone, in Hiph'il, does not fall on the affirmatives הֲ—, חֲ—, and וְ—, not even in the Perf. with Waw consec. except in Ex. 26, 38, Lev. 15, 29; (to avoid a hiatus because ה or ו follows in an unaccented syllable) but the plur. ending וָ takes the tone, as in תְּקִרְבָּנוּ Deut. 1, 17.

9. In the passive (*Höph'äl*) Perf., Impf. and Part. וּ(—) is found in the first syllable as well as וּ(—) בְּלִקְרָבָה, but not so often in the regular verb, e. g. הַשְׁפֵּבְנָה he is laid Ez. 32, 32 (but הַשְׁבִּבָּה in 32, 19), הַשְׁבָּבָה Part. בְּלִקְרָבָה 2 Sam. 20, 21 (but תְּחַצְּבָּה in Is. 14, 19). Verbs יְהִי have וּ constantly, as יְהִידָּה (according to § 9, 9, 2).

¹ So also בְּנָחָם for לְנָחָם, לְאַבְנָתָה for לְאַבְנָתָה Num. 5, 22, בְּלִבְנָה for לְבִנָה to purify Dan. 11, 35; but part. Hoph. בְּמִקְשָׁנָה in Ez. 46, 22 for חֲנָה.—Tr.

10. The Inf. absol. has (—) in the final syllable (in *Hoph.* as in *Hiph.*); e. g. **בְּרִאָתָהּ fasciando** Ez. 16, 4; **לְפָנֵי nuntiando** Josh. 9, 24. The Inf. constr. is not found in any regular or strong verb.

11. About the Imperative of *Höph'äl*, see above on p. 117, note 2.

§ 54.

HITHPÄËL.

1. This conjugation connects itself with *Pi'ël*, inasmuch as it prefixes to the form **לְפָקַד** the syllable **הַתָּה** (West. Aram. **תָּאָתָה**, but Biblical Aram. **הַתָּה**; Syr. **תָּאָתָה**), which, like **הַ** in *Niph'äl* (§ 51, 2, Rem.), has undoubtedly the force of a reflexive pronoun.

2. The **ת** of the syllable **הַתָּה** in this conj., as also in *Hithpō'ël* and *Hithpā'lēl* (§ 55), suffers the following changes:—

- a) When one of the sibilants (**ס**, **צ**, **שׁ**) is the first radical of the verb, it changes places with the **ת** (§ 19, 5), as **הַשְׁמַר** *to take heed*, for **הַשְׁמַרְךָ**; **הַסְּבַל** *to be burdened*, for **הַסְּבַלְךָ**. (A solitary exception is found in **שְׁבֹשׁוֹת** *to avoid cacophony* which would result from the succession of three T sounds Jer. 49, 3). With **ז**, moreover, the transposed **ת** is changed into **צ**, as being more akin to the **צ** (see § 19, 1), as **הַצְטִידָךְ** *to justify one's self*, for **הַצְפִּיךְ**.
- b) Before **ר**, **ט** and **ת**, the **ת** is assimilated (§ 19, 2), e. g. in **תְּצִלָּקִים** *to be crushed* (but **מְצִלָּקִים** in Judg. 19, 22). **הַפְּחַד** *to cleanse one's self*, **אֲטַמֵּת** *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. **הַמְּמֻמֶּת** *to behave uprightly*; sometimes also before **כ** and **ב**, as **הַבְּנִיא** *to prophesy* Jer. 23, 13, else **הַבְּנִין**; **הַתְּבִיבָה** *to make one's self ready*, **תְּגִסָּה** for **תְּגִסָּת** Prov. 26, 26. Also before **שׁ** Ec. 7, 16, before **ר** Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis should likewise take place when **ת** and **י** meet, and the **ת** should be changed into **י**. Instead of this the **ת** has been assimilated with the **י** in the only instance of this kind. **תְּמִימִינִי** Is. 1, 16.

3. *The significations of Hithpā'ël.*—a) Most frequently it is **reflexive**, but chiefly of *Pi'ël*, as **הַחֲקֹרֵךְ** *to sanctify one's self*, **הַתְּנִקְנֵת** *to avenge one's self*, **הַחֲזֹרֵךְ** *to gird one's self*. Then

further it means, *to make one's self* that which is expressed by the first conjugation; hence, *to conduct one's self* as such, *to show one's self*, *to imagine one's self*, *to affect* to be such; properly *to make one's self* so and so, *to act* so and so; e. g. הַתְּנוּלָה to make one's self great, to act proudly; הַחֲנֹכָם to show one's self cunning, crafty, also (Ec. 7, 16) to fancy one's self wise; הַחֲשִׂרָה to make (i. e. to feign) one's self rich. Its signification sometimes coincides with that of Qäl, and both forms are in use with the same meaning, e. g. אָבֵל to mourn, found in Qäl only in poetry, in Hithp. in prose, and it can then even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).—*b*) It expresses reciprocal action (like Niph. § 51, 2, *b*), as הַתְּרַאָה to look upon one another Gen. 42, 1.—*c*) More frequently it expresses what one does more directly *to* or *for himself* (comp. Niph. § 51, 2, *c*). It has then an active signification, and governs an accusative, e. g. הַצָּבֵט exiit sibi (vestem), הַתְּפַתֵּח solvit sibi (vincula). So without the accusative הַחֲלֹלָה to walk about for one's self (*ambulare*).—*d*) Only seldom it is passive, e. g. הַשְׁפִּיכָה to be forgotten Ec. 8, 10. Comp. Niph'äl, § 51, 2, *d*.

Rem. 1. The passive *Hothpä'dl* is found only in the few following examples: נָטַעַת to be made unclean Deut. 24, 4, דָבַבָּס to be washed Lev. 18, 55, 56, דָבַבָּשָׁה (for דָבַבָּשָׁה, see § 20, 3, *b*) it is glutted with fat Is. 34, 6. Comp. also הַדְּקִינָה; see Rem. 4.

2. Denominatives with the reflexive signification are הַחֲרִידָה to embrace Judaism (i. e. to make one's self a Jew), from יְהִינָּה Jew; הַצְּבִידָה to provision one's self for a journey, from צְבִידָה.

3. The Perf. has often, as in Pi'el, Pä'thäch (or Qā'meṣ in verbs נְלָכֵד) in the final syllable, as הַזְּהֹרֶן to strengthen one's self 2 Ch. 13, 7, 15, 8, נְבָשֵׁה he shall defile himself Lev. 21, 1. Final Pä'thäch occurs also in the Impf. and Imp., as הַתְּהִנֵּמֶן he deems himself wise Ec. 7, 16. In pause these forms always take Qā'meṣ, as הַנְּגִידָה he has girded himself Ps. 93, 1, Ez. 27, 27, יְרִאַבְדָּה Job 38, 30, הַתְּהִקְדִּשָּׁה Job 18, 8; הַתְּהִקְדִּשָּׁתָה sanctify thyself Josh. 8, 5. But in the Part. always Sē're, e. g. מְחֻנָּבָם Ps. 8, 3, Is. 45, 15.—As in Pi'el הַמְּלַכְּלָה (§ 52, Rem. 2), so in Hithp. הַמְּלַכְּלָה Zech. 6, 7.

4. To this Reflexive נְמַקְדִּשָּׁה (apparently from Pi'el) are commonly reckoned also some reflexive forms of the verb נְקַדֵּר (to muster), which do not double the middle radical and have under the first a long ī (Qā'meṣ), namely יְרִקְדִּישָׁה Judg. 20, 15, Impf. יְרִקְדִּיר Judg. 21, 9, together with the passive form נְמַקְדִּשָּׁה Num. 1, 47, 2, 33, 26, 62, 1 K. 20, 27. But these forms appear rather to be a reflexive of Qal, with the

sense to present oneself at the muster, to be mustered, after the manner of the Aram. *Ithpē'ēl* (West. Aram. בְּחִרָא, Syr. ﻋَصْرَى) and of the Ethiopic *tagatela*, also Arab. *'iqta'tala* (which has always the *t* transposed behind the first radical (see above in No. 2, p. 138).—Such a reflexive of *Qal* (also with the *t* transposed) is to be recognised in חַלְלָה (i. e. הַלְלָה) after the analogy of the O. Test. Hebrew) in the Moabite inscription of king Mēsha' (§ 2, 2), in the sense of the O. Test. *Niphal* כַּבֵּב to fight or wage war (see lines 11, 15, 19 and 32 of the Inscription, the two former lines showing אֲלֹתֶם in the *Impf.* with the *Wāw consecutive*; on line 19 *infin.* with suff. בְּ בְּחִלְלָה by his fighting with me).

§ 55.

RARER CONJUGATIONS.

Of the unusual conjugations (§ 39, 4) some are connected, in form, with *Pi'ēl*, and are made by the doubling or repetition of one or more stem-letters, or by the lengthening of a vowel, i. e. by changes *within* the stem itself; others are analogous to *Hiph'il*, and are formed by the addition of prefix letters or syllables. To the former class besides a *passive*, distinguished by the vowels, belongs also a *reflexive* form with the prefix נָה, after the analogy of *Hithpā'ēl*.

Those which are analogous to *Pi'ēl*, and which follow it in their inflection, are—

1. *Pō'ēl*; as נָטַק, pass. *Pō'āl* נָטַקִי, reflex. *Hūhphō'ēl* נָטַקְנִי (corresp. to Conj. III. and VI. in the Ar. *qātālā*, pass. *qūtīlā*, reflex. *tāqātālā*) *Impf.* נָטַקוּ, *Part.* נָטַקָה, *Impf. pass.* נָטַקוּ, etc. Accordingly in Heb. the *ō* of the first syllable is everywhere inflected from the *ā* whilst the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a* sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations occur but very seldom. Examples are:—Part. נָשַׁפֵּךְ my opponent at law Job 9, 15, יְמִצֵּחַ I have appointed 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless we ought to read יְמִצֵּחַ), שָׁרֵשׁ to take root, pass. שָׁרֵשׁ, denom. from שָׁרֵשׁ root; of *Hithpō'ēl* Jer. 25, 16, 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (part. מְנַצֵּחַ for מְנַצֵּחַ). In verbs "צַ" (§ 67) it is more frequent, e. g. חָזַן, סָובֵב, חִילֵל.

The signification of *Pō'ēl* is, like that of *Pi'ēl*, often causative of *Qal*. Sometimes both *Pō.* and *Pi.* are in use in the same signification, as צַדֵּךְ and צַדֵּךְ to oppress; sometimes each has its peculiar shade of meaning, as סָבֵב to turn about, to change, סָבֵב to go about, to sur-

round; חִלֵּל to exult; חִלֵּל to make foolish (from הַלְּלָה to be brilliant, but also to be vainglorious, foolish); *חִזֵּן to make pleasant; חִזֵּן to commiserate; שִׁרְשָׁה to root out, שָׁרֶשֶׁת to take root.*

With קָטָב may be connected the formation of quadrilaterals that insert a liquid at the end of the first syllable, as קָרְטָלָה (§ 30, 3, § 56).

2. *Pī'lēl, Pi'lāl, Pū'lāl, Hithpā'lēl;* as נָלַכְתָּ and נָלַכְתָּ (i atten. from original ā, so final ē=i=ā), pass נָלַכְתָּ, reflex נָלַכְתָּה, like the Arabic Conj. IX. 'iqtāllā, and XI. 'iqtāllā, used especially of permanent states or of colours, as נָאָשָׂה to be at rest, נָרָא to be green; pass. נָלַמָּה to be withered; but of all these verbs there is no example in Qāl. It is more frequent in verbs צָהָב, where it takes the place of Pi. and Hithp. (§ 72, 7).—See also § 75, Rem. 18.

3. *Pē'āl'āl;* as נָלַבְבָּה with repetition of the last two stem-letters, used especially of slight motions in quick succession, e. g. סְחִירִיר to go about with quick motion, hence (of the heart) to palpitate Ps. 38, 11, from סָחַר to go about; pass. סְחִירְרָה to ferment with violence, to make a rumbling sound Lam. 1, 20, 2, 11, Job 18, 6. Nouns of this form are diminutives (§ 84, 23). Nearly related to this is—

4. *Pilpēl,* formed from verbs צָהָב and צָהָב, by doubling both of the essential stem-letters; as נָלַבְבָּה to roll, from נָלַבָּה=נָלַבָּה, reflex. נָרַגְלָה to roll one's self; נָלַבְבָּה, from בָּלַבָּה (בָּוֹלָה).¹ This also is used of motion quickly repeated, which all languages are prone to express by repetition² of the same sound, צָהָב to chirp, נָצָב to tinkle, נָגַג to gurgle, נָעָפָה to flit or flutter (from צָהָב to fly).³

With *Hiphī'l* are connected the following—

5. *Tiphē'l;* as נָרַכְתָּ, with נ prefixed, as נָרַכְתָּה to teach to walk,

¹ Hence the passive *Polpal* בְּלִבְלִיב 1 K. 20, 27; so too from עַזְבָּה we get *Pilpēl* צָשְׁבָּה to caress Ps. 94, 19. *Polpal* צָשְׁבָּה to be fondled Is. 66, 12, and from יְמִין prob. comes in *Polp.* יְמִינְתָּ Ps. 45, 8.—Tr.

² Compare Lat. *tinnio, tintinnus* (=our *ding-dong*) and in German *Tick-tack* (=our *tick-tack*), *Wurrwarr, Klingklang* (=our *clink-clank*). The repetition of the same letter in verbs צָהָב produces also the same effect; as in פְּלִבְבָּה to lick, פְּבִבָּה to beat, נָבְבָּה to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by diminutive forms, comp. in Lat. the termination -illo, as in *cantillo*, in Germ. -eln, ern, in *flimmern, trillern, tropfeln* (comp. our *drip, dribble*). Hence we may discern the relation, mentioned under No. 3, between these forms and the *diminutives*. Comp. F. A. Pott, *Doppelung*, Lemgo, 1862, 8vo.

³ Both נָרַגְתָּ and נָרַגְתָּה are probably kindred forms of the stem נָרַגְתָּ=נָרַגְתָּ=Ar. نَرَجَ = Sans. *rag* = G. *regen* = E. *wrig* = *wriggle* = W. *rhaglo*, and all meaning to stir or move, and used especially of the feet, tongue, etc., and hence to walk, talk, translate, etc. Hence come תְּרִינּוּם (Targum) *interpretation* or *version*, and תְּרִינּוּן (*interpreter*) = E. *dragoman* = Fr. *trucheman*.—Tr.

to lead (*denom* from **רָגַל** a foot), in a **לְגַלֵּל** stem, **רָגַלְתִּי** *to vie with* Jer. 12, 5, 22, 15 (from **רָגַל** to be hot, eager) The Aram. has a similar form, **רָגַלְתִּי** *to interpret*, whence also the Heb. has the *Part. pass.* **מְרָגִילָם** Ezra 4, 7.

6. *Shāphēl*, as **שָׁפֵלָה** frequent in Syr., as Aram. **שָׁפֵלָה**, Syr. **شَفَلَةٌ**, *to flame*, from **שָׁפֵל**. In Hebrew it is found only in the noun **שָׁפֵלָה** *flame*, § 84, No. 34, but this conjugation may underlie the Hiph'il, with **נ** for **ש**, see Davies' Heb. Lex. p. 608. Compare § 39, 4, Rem.

* * * *

Forms of which single examples occur — 7. **קָטַלְתִּים**, *pass.* **קָטַלְתָּם**, as **קָטַלְתָּה** *scaled off*, *having the form of scales* Ex. 16, 14, from **קָטַלְתָּה** = **קָטַלְתָּה** *to peel*, *to shell* — 8. **לְשָׁבָלָה**, as **וּרְזִיקָה** *a violent rain*, from **לְשָׁבָל**. — 9. **נְשֹׁקֶרֶת** (frequent in the Rabbinic), a form compounded of Niph. and Hithp., found in the examples for **נְסֹרֶר** for **נְזֹרֶר** *they let themselves be warned* Ez. 23, 48, for **נְאָמֵר** for **נְאָמֵר** *to be expiated* Deut. 21, 8.

We may mention also, as worthy of notice, — 10. the form **חֲצֵצָרָה** *to sound the trumpet*, commonly derived from the stem **חַצֵּץ**. But it is probably a *denom* from **חֲצֵצָה** *a trumpet*, an *onomatopoetic* (or *mimetic*) form like the old Latin *taratantara* for the sound of the *tuba*, Ennius ap. Servium ad AEn. 9, 503.

§ 56.

QUADRILITERALS.

Of the formation of quadrilaterals we have already spoken (§ 30, 3). The few verbs of this kind (of nouns there are more) are formed after the analogy of Pi'el, once after Hiph'il. The following are all the examples that occur:—

Perf. **פָּרַשְׂתָּה** *he spread out* Job 28, 9 (with *P'd* in the first syllable, as in Aram.)¹ *Impf.* **יְכַרְסַתְּהָ** *he will devour it* Ps. 80, 14, *r* **מְכֻרָּה** of **יְכַרְסָה**. *Pass.* **מְבָרָסָה** *to become green again* Job 38, 25. *Part.* **מְבָרָסָה** *girded* 1 Ch 15, 27. Like Hiph'il is **מְשֻׁבָּאֵלָה** (*contracted לְשֻׁבָּאֵלָה*, **מְשֻׁבָּאֵלָה**) *to turn to the left* (*denominative from לְשֻׁבָּאֵל*) Gen 18, 9, Is. 80, 21.

¹ But Delitzsch more properly regards this as the *inf. absol.* of a Piel form of **פָּרַשְׂתָּה** with an euphonic change of the first **ת** into **תָּ** and the second into **תָּ**. Besides this, there are also many evidences in favor of the reading **יְכַרְסַתְּהָ** and this has therefore been accepted by Baer in his text of Job.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹*Paradigm C.*

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal Pronoun which follows a verb active may be expressed—*a*) by a distinct word, תְּאַתָּה the accusative-sign with the *suffix-pronoun* (§ 117, 2), as תִּחְיֶה לְבָקָר (he has killed him); or—*b*) by the mere *suffix*, as תְּהִלְלֵךְ or תְּבָקֵר (he has killed him). The second method is the usual one (§ 33), and it is only of it we now treat.² Neither of these forms is employed when the accusative of the Pronoun is reflexive, in which case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Niph'āl and Hithpā'ēl (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. תְּהִלְלֵךְ he sanctified himself not תְּבָקֵר, which would only signify he sanctified him.

Two points are here concerned, viz., the form of the suffix, and the changes in the verbal form in consequence of appending it. The former is exhibited in § 58 and the latter in § 59—61.

§ 58.

THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES OF THE VERB.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal Pronoun*; and they are the following:—

¹ We treat of this subject here in connection with the strong or regular verb, in order to show in it the general analogy. As to the weak or irregular verbs, the mode of shortening their forms before the suffixes will be noticed under each class.

² On the cases where the former must be employed, see § 121, 4, Rem.

Singular.	Plural.
1. com. נִיּ—; נִיּ— (in pause נִיּ—); נִיּ— me.	1. com. נִיּ— נִיּ— us.
2. { m. הָ, הַ— ('khā), in pause הַ—, also הַ— } f. הָ; הַ—, הַ—; ra- rely הַ— thee.	2. { m. כָם, כָמִ— f. כָן, כָנִ— } you.
3. { m. הָרָ, הָרָ, (הָ), f. הָרָ, הָרָ, הָרָ her. him.	3. { m. סָמֵךְ, סָמֵךְ (contr. from סָמֵךְ), סָמֵךְ; סָמֵךְ (contr. from סָמֵךְ), סָמֵךְ; poet. f. מָמוֹן, מָמוֹן, מָמוֹן סָמֵךְ, סָמֵךְ, סָמֵךְ } them.

2. That these suffixes are *shortened forms of the personal Pronoun* is for the most part quite clear; and only some of them require explanation.

The suffixes נִיּ, נִיּ, הָרָ and הַ never have the tone, but the syllable preceding them always takes it.

In the suffix of the 2d person (הָ, הַ, כָם, כָן) the basis appears to be a lost form of the pronoun **הָרָא** with בָ² instead of הָ (אֲבָה, אֲבָה; אֲמָן, אֲמָן), which was employed here perhaps in order to distinguish the suffixes from the afformatives of the Perfect (§ 44, 1).

In the 3d person *masc.*, out of הָרָ, by rejecting the feeble הָ, there arose ā-u, and thence often by contraction ö (§ 23, 4) usually written וּ, much more seldom וַיּ. In the *sem.*, the suffixes from אֲרָא ought, according to analogy, to sound וּ, וַיּ, וַיּ; but instead of וַיּ, we have, for the sake of euphony, simply וַיּ, where the וַיּ is regularly a consonant,

¹ סָמֵךְ occurs but once as *verbal suffix* (Deut 32, 26); סָמֵךְ not at all. Yet they are given in the list as ground-forms, which frequently occur with nouns and prepositions.

² Traces of this lost form appear still in the afformatives of the Ethiopic verb, as *qatalka* (thou hast killed), and also in the Samaritan (see *Gesenii Carmina Samaritana, Anecdota Orientalia*, p. 43; *Petermann, Brevis linguae Samarit. grammatica etc.* Berol. 1873 p. 21). Comp. what was said on § 44, 1. The t and k are not infrequently interchanged in languages generally (see § 33, 3, Note 1).

and therefore with *Mappiq*; however there is also found **נָ**— (see No. 3, Rem. 1).

Once (Ez. 41, 15) **נְנָ**— stands for **נָנָ**—, as in West. Aram. and Arabic.

3. The *variety* in the forms of the suffixes was occasioned by the form and tense of the verb, which received and modified them. Thus, *three forms* of almost every suffix may be distinguished:

- a) One beginning with the consonant itself, as **נָ**, **גָ**, **כָ**, (**הָמָ**) **םָ**, etc. This is appended to verbal forms which end with a vowel, as **נִירָאָבָק**, **נִתְרָאָבָק**.
- b) A second and a third, with the so-called *union-vowels*¹ (**נֵיָ**, **נֵיָ**) for the verbal forms which end with a consonant (for the exception, see § 59, Rem. 3): with *a* as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Perfect, as **נֵיָבָק**, **נֵיָבָק**, **נֵיָבָק**; with *e* (rarely *a*) as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Imperfect and Imperative, as **רֵקָבָק**, **רֵקָבָק**. To the Perfect belongs also the suffix **וּ**, as having originated from **וְהָ**— (§ 33, 1). With **כָ**, **בָ**, **כָנָ**, the uniting sound is only a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), as **נָ**—, **כָ**—, **כָנָ**—, e. g. **נָלַבָּק** (*qə'lā-ləkhā*); or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, **גָ**—, as in **גָחַלְשָׁ**. In *pause*, the *Shewâ* of **נָ**—, **נָ**— becomes *S'eghôl* with the tone, as **נָ**— in **נָלַבָּק**, **גָחַלְשָׁ**. Comp. however also **נָ**— Deut. 28, 24 et al.

Rem. 1. As rare forms, may be mentioned: sing. 2d pers. **m.** **נָנָ**— 1 K. 18, 44, in *pause* **נָנָ**— Prov. 2, 11; *fem.* **נָנָ**— Ps. 137, 6, and often in the later Psalms. (**נָ**—, contrary to the rule, joined to the Perf. in Judg. 4, 20).—In the 3d pers. *mas.* **נָ** Num. 23, 8; *fem.* **נָ**— without *Mappiq* Ex. 2, 3, Amos 1, 11, Jer. 44, 19.—The forms **נָנָ**—, **נוֹנָ**—, **נוֹנָ**—, are strictly poetic (except Ex. 23, 31), instead of **נוֹ**— we find **נוֹ**— once in Ex. 15, 5. On the origin of these forms, see § 32, Rem. 7.

¹ We retain the common name *union-vowel*, although it rests on a rather superficial view, and is somewhat vague. These union-sounds seem, for the most part, to be traces of ancient terminations of the verb, like *i* of the 2d pers. sing. fem. in **נִירָאָבָק**. Take, for example, the Hebrew form *qə'lal-anî*, when compared with the Arabic *qatala-ni*; and, on the other hand, the Hebrew *qə'lalatni* and the Arab. *qatalatni*.

2. By comparing these suffixes of verbs with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91), we find that—*a*) there is here a greater variety of forms than there (because the forms and relations of the verb are themselves more various);—*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer, as **נִי**, **נִיְתָן**, **נִיְתַּחֲדַשׁ** (*me*), **מֵי** (*my*). The reason is, that the object of the verb is less closely connected with it than the possessive pronoun is with the noun; on which account, also, the former may even be expressed by a separate word (§ 117, 2).

4. The suffix gains still more strength, when instead of the union-vowels there is inserted between it and the verb a union-syllable, **נָ**, which, when the syllable has the tone, becomes **נוּ** (commonly called *Nün epenthetic* or *Nün demonstrative*), which, however, occurs only in the Imperfect and chiefly in *pause*, e.g. יְבָרֶכְתָּה *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15), יְבָרֶכְתָּנוּ *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23). This *Nün* is, however, for the most part incorporated with the suffixes, and hence we get a new series of forms, viz.—

1st pers. **נִיְ-**, **נִיְתָ-**, for **נִנְיָ-**, **נִנְיָתָ-**;

2d pers. **נִךְ-**, once **נִנְךְ-** (Jer. 22, 24) and *Pause* **נוּךְ-** (Prov. 2, 11);

3d pers. **נִיְ-** for **נִנְיָ-**, also **נִיְ-** (Num. 23, 13); *fem.* **נוּךְ-** for **נוּנְךְ-**;

1st pers. plur. **נוּנְ-** for **נוּנְנְ-**.

In the other persons this *Nün* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nün* written distinctly are rare and only poetic (Ex. 15, 2, Deut. 32, 10, Jer. 5, 22, 22, 24), and do not occur at all in 3 *fem. sing.* and 1 *plur.* The contracted forms (with the *Nün* assimilated) are rather frequent also in prose, especially in *pause*, (very seldom **נִיְ-** as first pers. pl. Hosea 12, 5; comp. נִנְיָתָן Gen. 44, 16, 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for **נוּנְתָן**).

This *Nün* is of a demonstrative nature, and gives more emphasis to the word, and is therefore chiefly found in *pause*. But it occurs also in the union of the suffixes with certain particles (§ 100, 5).

It is frequent in West. Aram.; in Samaritan it is appended also to the Perfect, and in similar cases even a **וּ** is inserted (Petermann, gramm. Samar. p. 12 ff.). In the Syriac we find *i* and *ai* inserted in the same way. The Arabic too has a corresponding emphatic form of the Imperfect with the pronominal suffixes, as *yaktulan-ka* or *yaqtullan-na-ka*, which is however used also without suffixes. Comp. § 48, 2.

§ 59

THE PERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The personal endings (*affirmatives*) of the Perfect have in part a different form, when connected with the suffixes; viz.—

- a) In the 3 sing. *fem.* הִנֵּה, הִנֶּה, the original feminine-ending, for הִנְהָ;
- b) 2 sing. *mas.* הִנָּה, also הִנָּה, to which the union-vowel is attached, but the only clear instance of this is with נִיּוֹת¹;
- c) 2 sing. *fem.* הִנְנָה, likewise an older form for הִנָּה (comp. תְּנִינָה, קְטַלְנָה, § 32, Rem. 4; § 44, Rem. 4). This form is to be distinguished from the 1st pers. sing. only by the context.
- d) 2 plur. *mas.* הִנָּה for הִנָּה, which is explained by the Arabic 'antum, qataltum, West. Aram. אַתֶּן, קְטַלְתֶּן for Heb. אַתָּה, קְטַלְתֶּם (§ 32, Rem. 5). Examples are found only in Num. 20, 5, 21, 5, Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* קְטַלְנָה with suffixes does not occur, but probably it took the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit, first, the forms of the Perfect in *Hiph'il* as they appear in connection with suffixes, because here no further change takes place in the stem itself, except as to the tone (see No. 2):

Sing.	Plur.
3 m. הִקְטִיל	3 c. הִקְטִילָה
3 f. הִקְטִילָה	
2 m. הִקְטַּלְתָּה, הִקְטַּלְתָּה	2 m. הִקְטַּלְתָּה
2 f. הִקְטַּלְתָּה, הִקְטַּלְתָּה	
1 c. הִקְטַּלְתִּי	1 c. הִקְטַּלְתִּי

The beginner is recommended to practise first the manner of connecting the suffixes with this *Hiph'il*-form, and then to take up that with the Perf. of *Qăl* (see No. 2).

2. The tone inclines towards the appended suffix, so that it does not readily remain on the stem itself. And this

¹ The short *a* here also belongs properly to the form of the verb itself. See Note 1, under § 58, 3, b.

occasions, particularly in the Perfect of *Qāl*, certain vowel changes, *a)* the *Qā'mēš* of the 1st syllable no longer standing before the tone, becomes vocal *Sh'wā*; *b)* the original *Pā'thāch* of the 2d syllable, which had disappeared in the third person sing. and plur. appears anew lengthened into *Qā'mēš*; likewise original *i* becomes *e* e. g. אָהָבָּוּ 1 Sam. 18, 22; in consequence of which we have the following forms in that tense:—

Sing.	Plur.
3 m. בְּקַר	3 c. קְבָּלָר
3 f. בְּקַרְתָּ	
2 m. בְּקַרְבָּ (תַּלְכַּדְתָּ, Rem. 4)	2 m. קְבָּלָתִי
2 f. בְּקַרְבָּתִי (תַּלְכַּדְתִּי, Rem. 4)	
1 c. בְּקַרְבָּתִי	1 c. קְבָּלָנִי

The connection of these forms with all the suffixes is shown in Paradigm C. There it will be seen, too, how the *Sé're* in the Perfect *Pi'el* changes sometimes into *S'ghōl*, and sometimes into *vocal Sh'wā*.

Rem. 1. The *suffixes* for the 2d pers. pl., בְּם and בְּן, are (together with בְּמָה and בְּנָה) rather more weighty (i. e. more strongly accented) forms than the others, and hence are called *grave suffixes*, and always have the tone. Compare their connection with *nouns* in § 91. With a verb in the Perfect we find only בְּמָה occurring (Ps. 118, 26). The form בְּקַרְבָּ, which is generally represented as a form of combination before בְּמָה and בְּנָה in the 3d sing. masc. (also by Kimchi and in Parad. C. in this grammar) is only formed from analogy and, according to *Abraham de Balmis* it is without any example in the Old Testament.

2. In the 3 sing. mas. אֲהָבָּה is very often contracted into אֲהָבָּה, according to § 23, 4, and so likewise in the 2 sing. mas. אֲהָבָּתָּה into אֲהָבָּתָּה.

3. The 3 sing. fem. קְבָּלָתִי (=תַּלְכַּדְתִּי) has the twofold peculiarity—
a) that the ending *ath* constantly draws the tone to itself,¹ and then takes the suffixes that make a syllable of themselves (בְּ, נְ, יְ, חְ, נָ, יָ) without a union-vowel, contrary to the general rule (§ 58, 3, *a*);—
b) with the other suffixes the union-vowel is indeed adopted, but the tone is drawn back to the penultima, so that they appear with shortened vowels (בְּ, נְ, יְ, etc. e. g. אֲהָבָּתְּךָ she loves thee Ruth 4, 15, in many MSS. אֲהָבָּתְּךָ, שְׁבָּרְתָּם it burned them Is. 47, 14, בְּרָבְּנָגָן she has stolen them Gen. 31, 32. For בְּרָבְּנָגָן etc., we find in *pause* בְּרָבְּנָגָן Ps. 60, 10, בְּרָבְּנָגָן Cant. 8, 5, and also without *pause*, for the sake of correspondence

¹ בְּקַרְבָּתִי in Cant. 8, 5 is an exception. בְּמָה and בְּנָה would probably have the tone even here (Rem. 1), but no examples occur in O. T.

in sound, **נָתַתְּךָ בְּתֵבֶל** (*she has born thee*) in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The forms **תִּתְחַזֵּקְתָּה** and **תִּתְפַּרְתֵּחְתָּה** are contr. from **תִּתְחַזֵּקְתָּה** (in pause **תִּתְחַזֵּקְתָּה** Is. 59, 16) and **תִּתְפַּרְתֵּחְתָּה**, after the analogy of **תִּתְחַזֵּקְתָּה** —, for **תִּתְחַזֵּקְתָּה** — (§ 58, 4).

4. In the 2 sing. masc. **קָטַלְתָּךְ** is mostly used, and the suffixes have therefore no union-vowel, e. g. **וְתַתְּמַנֵּנִי פְּרֻצְתָּמְנִי** *thou hast rejected us, hast scattered us* Ps. 60, 3; only with 1 p. sing. we have **קָטַלְתָּנוּ** (from **קָטַלְתָּךְ** and **נוּ**) e. g. **תַּתְּמַנֵּנִי** *thou searchest me* Ps. 139, 1, but also in pause **קָטַלְתָּנוּ** *thou hast forsaken me* Ps. 22, 2.—In the 2 sing. fem. **תִּתְפַּרְתֵּחְתָּה** is written also defectively, as in **רְמִירְתָּהָנִי** *thou (fem.) hast deceived me* 1 Sam. 19, 17, **תִּתְפַּרְתֵּחְתָּה** **לְדָרְכָּה** Jer. 15, 10, Cant. 5, 9, Ex. 2, 10, a few times the suff. is attached to the shorter form (**תִּתְפַּרְתֵּחְתָּה**), as in **שְׁפִיטְתָּהָנִי** *thou (fem.) adjurest us* Cant. 5, 9, Josh. 2, 17, comp. Jer. 2, 27; and with **סְרֵךְ** *thou (fem.) hast let us down* Josh. 2, 18.

5. In verbs *middle E*, the *E* remains before the suffixes, e. g. **לְבָשָׂתָה** *he puts them on* Lev. 16, 4, **אָהָבָתָה** *he loves thee* Deut. 15, 18, **אָהָבָתָה** *she loved him* 1 Sam. 18, 28. From a verb *middle O*, we have **יָדָלָתָה** *I have subdued him* Ps. 13, 5, with a shortened *o* in a syllable that has lost the tone (§ 44, Rem. 3).

§ 60.

IMPERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In the forms of the Imperfect *Qəl*, which end with the last stem-letter, the vowel *ō* of the final syllable is shortened generally to *'*, simple *Shewā vocal* (—), at times to *º*, *Chātēph-qā'meṣ* (—) Jer. 31, 33; but to *ö*, *Qāmēṣ-chātūph* (—), before **תְּ** —, **כְּ** —, **כָּ** —. Instead of **תִּקְרַבְתָּהָנִי** the form **תִּקְרַבְתָּהָנִי**² is used as 2nd and 3rd person, Cant. 1, 6, Jer. 2, 19, Job 19, 15. The forms with *Nūn demonstrative* (§ 58, 4) are very apt to stand at the end of the clause or sentence.

Rem. 1. Verbs with *Impf. A* (to which belong specially all that have a *guttural* for the 2d or the 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65) retain the full *A* in the *Impf.* (and also the *Imp.* § 61, 2), and the *Päthāch*, when it comes to stand in an open syllable, is lengthened into *Qā'meṣ*, e. g. **וְתַתְּמַנֵּנִי** *and it put me on* Job 20, 14, **וְתַתְּמַנֵּנִי** *let them demand it back* Job 8, 5, **וְתַתְּמַנֵּנִי** *and he sent them* Josh. 8, 3, **וְתַתְּמַנֵּנִי** *they call upon him* Ps. 145, 18.

2. Occasionally, as exceptions, suffixes with the union-vowel *a*,

¹ Comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6, Is. 34, 17, Jer. 49, 24, Ruth 3, 6; in pause Ez. 14, 15, everywhere, according to *Kimchi* without *Mapping* in the closing **ת**. The form **אֲתָתְּבֹרְתָּהָנִי** is found 1 Sam. 18, 28 in pause.

² This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix in Jer. 49, 11, Ez. 37, 7.

occur also in the Imperfect, as in **כָּבַדְתִּי** Ex. 29, 30; comp. 2, 17, Gen. 19, 19, 29, 32; even **רָאַתִּי** (*ô* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3: Comp. Ps. 35, 8, etc.

3. The *suffixes* are at times appended also to the plural forms in **ן**, e. g. **תְּדַבֵּרְתִּי** *ye crush me* Job 19, 2; elsewhere always without a union-vowel, as in **תְּצִאֵנִי** *they shall find me* Prov. 1, 28, Is. 60, 7, 10, Jer. 5, 22.

4. In *Pi.* the *Shérê* of the final syllable, like the *Chôlém* in *Qâl*, becomes *Shewâ*; but before the suffixes **תְּ**, **כְּ**, **נְ**— it is only shortened into *S'ghôl*, e. g. **תְּגַזֵּעַ** *he will gather thee* Deut. 30, 4 (with final guttural **קְ** **שְׁ** **מְ** Gen. 32, 27), more rarely into *Chîrêq*, as **תְּגַזְּעֵנִי** *I will strengthen you* Job 16, 5; comp. Ex. 31, 13, Is. 25, 1.

5. In *Hiph.*, the long *i* remains, as in **תְּלִבְרִיתִי** *thou clokest me* Job 10, 11; after **וְ** consecutive frequently written defectively e. g. **תְּלִבְשָׂתָה** Gen. 3, 21; and only rarely we meet with forms like **תְּלִבְשָׂתְךָ** *thou enrichest it* Ps. 65, 10, 1 Sam. 17, 25. Comp. § 53, Rem. 4.

§ 61.

INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND PARTICIPLE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The *Infinitive* of a *verb active* can be construed with an accusative, and then it takes the *verbal suffix* (i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronouns), as **קָטַלְנִי** *to kill me*; but as a *noun* it can take also the *nominal suffix* (i. e. the *genitive* of the personal pronoun) as **קָטְלִי** *my killing* (see § 133, 1, 2). In either case it usually assumes in *Qâl* the form **לֶשֶׁק**, with the *ô* drawn backward. The syllable which is created thus is a slightly closed one, e. g. **בְּחַטְבֹּו** *by his writing* Jer. 45, 1 (not **קֹתְבֹּו** *köth-bô* § 21, 2, a); only before **תְּ**, **כְּ**— there is a complete closing e. g. **בְּאָסְפָּה** Exod. 23, 16, Lev. 23, 39, if the throwing back of the vowel is not omitted altogether (v. Rem. 2). Comp. the *segholate nouns* of the form **לֶשֶׁק**, with which **לֶטֶק** is closely related, § 84, Nos. 10, 11, and § 93, Parad. I.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* of the form **בְּשָׁבֵעַ** becomes with suffixes **בְּשָׁבְּעַתְךָ** Gen. 19, 33, instead of **בְּשָׁבְּעַתְךָ**, *a* attenuated to *i*.

2. Before **תְּ**, **כְּ**, **נְ**—, forms are found which depart from the analogy of *segholate nouns*, e. g. **אָכְלָתְךָ** *your eating* Gen. 8, 5 **קְרָאָתְךָ** *thy standing* Obad. 11; but this analogy is followed in **כְּנָאָתְךָ** *your harvesting* Lev. 19, 9 (restoring orig. *û*), and **מְשָׁבְּעַתְךָ** (*mô-ôse-khê'm*) *your contemning* Is. 30, 12. In the *infinitive* of the *Piel* the *ê* of the *Suff.* **תְּ**, **כְּ**, **נְ**— is changed into *S'ghôl* e. g. **תְּבִרְךָ** Ex. 4, 10, or attenuated into *i* e. g. **תְּבִרְבֵּךָ** Is. 1, 15 (v. § 60, 4).

2. The leading form of the *Imperative* in *Qəl* (קְלֹךְ) takes the *suffixes* in the same form as the *Infinitive*. In יִשְׁמַךְ (pronounced *qōṭelēni*) the *Shewā* is very slightly heard, hence we have e. g. רָדַחֲנֵי *rōdh-phē'ni*, without Dāghēsh in the □ (§ 21, 2, a). The forms קְטַלֵּי, קְטַלְתֵּי, which are not presented in the Paradigm, suffer no change. For the *fem.* קְטַלְתָּה the masculine form קְטַלֵּי is used, as in the Imperfect.—In the verbs that form the *Imperative* with *A* (to which belong especially those that have a *guttural* in the 2d or 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65), as in חָלֵשׁ, the *A* remains before the suffixes but is lengthened into *Qā'mēṣ*, because it comes to stand in an open syllable (just as in the *Impf. A*, § 60, Rem. 1), e. g. שָׁלַחֲנֵי קְרָאֵנֵי send thou me Is. 8, 8, בְּחַנֵּי prove thou me Ps. 26, 2. קְרָאֵנָה call thou me Ps. 50, 15, בְּעַמְּדֵנֵי Gen. 23, 8. בְּצַעַם Amos 9, 1 is abnormal (for בְּצַעַם) with toneless ām as in the *perf.* after 3d sing. *fem.* § 59, Rem. 3. In the *Imp.* of *Hiph'il*, not the form לְקַטֵּל, but קְטַלֵּי is used (*i* on account of the open syllable); e. g. הַקְרִיבֵה offer it Mal. 1, 8.

3. The *Participles* shorten their vowels in the same way as nouns of the like form do, e. g. רְדַפֵּי, קְטַלֵּי etc. On the contrary before the *Shewā mobile* נְצַחֵן etc., or by sharpening אֲרֵבָה Exod. 23, 4, נְסֻכָּת 2 K. 22, 20; from מְקַטֵּל is formed מְקַטְּלָה etc. (by sharpening ē into ī, Is. 52, 12).

On the difference between קְלַבֵּלִי (*my killing one*) and יִשְׁמַךְ (*killing me*) see § 135, 2.

II. THE WEAK VERB.¹

A. VERBS WITH GUTTURALS.

§ 62.

Paradigms D. E. F.

Verbs which have a guttural for one of the three stem-letters deviate from the strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These deviations do not change the stem consonants and therefore can only in part be taken for actual

¹ See the general view of the classes of verbs, in § 41.

weakness, as in the omission of the doubling (by *Dāghēsh forte*, § 63, 4 and § 64, 3), on the other hand, a few original elements have been preserved in guttural stems whilst they have degenerated in the regular strong verb. For instance in forms like יְהִמְדֵּךְ (§ 63, 2), the original *ă* of the preformative is kept (§ 47, 2), which is weakened into *i* in the so-called strong verb, as in לְטַבֵּךְ. Of course the **א** and **נ** come into account here only when they retain their power as consonants, and are not substitutes for vowels as the **א** in a part of the verbs אָתָּה, § 68, as well as in some אָתָּה § 73, Rem. 4 and in all אָתָּה § 74. In all these cases the **א** is originally a full consonant, while **נ** in verbs הָתָּה was never anything else but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The real consonant **נ** at the end of the word is known by the *Mappiq*—but the **נ** shares only partially in these anomalies (§ 22, 5). For more convenient representation, we distinguish the three cases in which the guttural stands first, second, or third in the stem. The three Paradigms, D, E and F, where only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular, exhibit the inflections, which are more fully explained in the following sections (63–65).

§ 63.

VERBS PĒ (ם) GUTTURAL.

E. g. עֲמַד *to stand.* *Paradigm D.*

The deviations here from the regular verb may be reduced to the following particulars:—

1. When the first stem-letter, at the beginning of the word, would regularly have a *simple Sh'wā* (לְטַבֵּךְ, מְמֻחָּבֶךְ), it takes here always a *composite Sh'wā* (*Chāṭeph* § 10, 2, § 22, 3); e. g. *Inf.* עֲמַד *to stand*, *לְאַכְלָה* *to eat*, *Perf.* עָמַדָּה, עָקְשָׁתָה from עֲקֹשָׁה *to be inclined.*

2. When a preformative is placed before a guttural, they either form together a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative appears again as *Chāṭeph* under the guttural. In both cases a double formation may again be distinguished

according as the original ā remains or is attenuated into ī. Examples *a)* for closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative: יְחִמֵּד, יְחַמֵּל, יְחַשֵּׁב etc. (and thus mostly with initial ח in *Impf. Qal*, sometimes with forms repeating ā as *Chātēph* under the guttural e. g. יְחַשֵּׁב etc.); the same in the *impf. Hiphil* יְחִסֵּר etc. Very rarely the original ā is found in a closed syllable under the *preform.* כ of the *Perf. Niphāl*: נְחַבָּת Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2, Jos. 2, 16; on the other hand ā occurs very frequently under the preformative followed by *Chātēph Pāthāch* e. g. גְּעַשֶּׁה etc. likewise in the *Particip. Niphāl* נְעַרְעֵץ Ps. 89, 8 etc. *b)* slightly closed, with *Chātēph* after the original vowel: יְהִרְאֵס, יְעַמֵּד, יְהִלְכֵל (and so almost always with ע and ח in *Impf. Qal* and *Hiphil*; הְעַמֵּד in *Hophāl*). — The ī attenuated from ā is almost always changed before gutturals into *Səghōl* (comp. however Rem. 5); this *Səghōl* appears partly *c)* in closed syllables e. g. יְחִבֵּשׁ, יְחִמֵּר, יְחִבֵּשׁ, יְהִאֵשׁ, וְהִפְקֵד and so almost always in the *Impf. Qal* with ā in the 2d syllable (comp. however Rem. 2); in *Niph.* e. g. נְהִפְקֵד etc., in *Hiph.* הְחִסֵּר etc., and partly *d)* slightly closed, followed by *Chātēph Səghōl* e. g. אֲסֵף, יְאַסֵּף in *Impf. Qal* (however never with ע); הְעִמֵּיד *Hiph.* נְעַמֵּד *Niphāl*.

Rem. In connection with the above examples the following remarks may be made: 1) The forms with the closed syllable (the so-called "hard combination" *a)* and *e)*) occur frequently in the verb by the side of forms with slightly closed syllables (the so-called "soft combinations" *b)* and *d)*). 2) In the 1. sing. *Impf. Qal* the preformative Aleph receives continually —, whether in the slightly or firmly closed syllables. 3) The removal of the tone towards the end causes frequently a change of the *Pāthāch* of the preformative into *Səghōl* and vice versa, e. g. בְּשִׁיר, but 3 sing. fem. בְּאַסְפֵּי; בְּשִׁירָה, but בְּאַסְפֵּה; בְּגִזְמִיר, but בְּאַסְפֵּי; בְּגִזְמִירָה, but בְּאַסְפֵּה etc., and thus almost always with the change of the *Chātēph Səghōl* group into the lighter *Chātēph Pāthāch* group, whenever the tone is removed one place farther back (comp. § 27. Rem. 5). 4) In all these examples cited above *Səghōl* may also be considered as a modulation of the original short *Pāthāch*. In this case all the formations of the *verba primae gutturalis* (Pe guttural verbs) would be based on a restoration of the original vowel of the preformatives. Compare however the same change from ī to ē in the Imper. (Rem. 1).

3. When in forms like יְעַמֵּד, יְעַמֵּל, the vowel of the final syllable is changed into simple *Sh'wā* vocal, on account of the

accession of one of the afformatives (אָמַן, אָמֵן, חָזַק), then the composite *Shewâ* of the guttural changes to the corresponding short vowel, as גָּמֹד, plur. רְעִמְדָּר (sound *yă-ām'-dū'*), נָעֹזֶה she is forsaken. But here also there exists a harder form besides, as יְחַבֵּל they take a pledge (also יְחַבֵּל), as well as יְחֻזְקֵי they are strong. Compare in general § 22, 4, § 28, 3.

4. In the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* of *Niph.*, where the first stem-letter would regularly be doubled (חֲקֹטָל; שְׁלֹקָה), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative is lengthened into *Sé're*, as יְשַׁמֵּד for יְשַׁמֵּד (§ 22, 1).

R E M A R K S.

I. On *Qăl*.

1. In verbs נָפַת the *Inf. constr.* and *Imp.* take (—) under the first letter (according to § 22, 4, Rem. 2); hence אָזַר gird thou Job 38, 3, אָהָב love thou Hos. 3, 1, אָכַל to eat, with a prefix קָאָכַל, נָאָכַל. The (—) is found also at times, as in *Inf.* אָרַח 1 K. 6, 6; e. g. קָאָכַל חָאָשַׁךְ Num. 26, 10.

Also in the other forms of the *Imp.*, the guttural often exerts its influence upon the vowel, which it changes to *S'ghôl*, as הַשְׁפֵּר strip thyself Is. 47, 2, צְרַח (for צְרַח, w. מ cohort.) set thyself Job 33, 5; especially when the second radical also is a guttural, as in Ps. 31, 24. *Păthâch* occurs in שְׁבִרְתָּךְ pledge him Prov. 20, 16, and perhaps Ps. 9, 14 (*רְגָנָנָךְ*).

2 The *Imperfect A.*, as the Paradigm shows, has regularly under the first two letters —; by those verbs which are at the same time חָתָם; and with the hard combination — as בָּלְטָה he ceases, רָתָם he is wise. This is true likewise of some verbs *Per Guttural*, which are also verbs חָלָל, as יְרֹחֵה he sees, יְרֹחֵה he divides, but some are like יְרֹחֵה, יְרֹחֵה, יְרֹחֵה. The pointing — is found even in verbs *Impf. O*, but less frequently, as אָסַב he collects, יְרֹשֵׁב he lays bare. The form and she loves Ez. 28, 5, stands quite by itself.—In these forms the pointing — is frequently shortened to — (according to § 27, Rem. 5), as רָאֵסֶר he binds, plur. with suffix אָצְרָרְוּהָ, also בִּרְכָּרְוּ. The form רְרִיחָה, Ps. 7, 6, which according to *Kimchi* is a mixed form derived from the *Qăl* (רְרִיחָה) and *Pi.* (רְרִיחָה), can be considered only as a further change from יְרֹרְהָ (comp. § 64, Rem. 8 פְּרִירְהָ); חְרִיחָה Ex. 9, 23 is similar.

II. On *Hiph'îl* and *Hoph'âl*.

3. The above-named (Rem. 2) shortening of — to — occurs here also in the *Perf. Hiph.* after *Wâw consec.*; i. e. after the throwing

forward of the tone, as **תַּעֲשֵׂה**, *thou didst set*, but with the *Wāw* ! and *thou shalt set* Num. 3, 6, 8, 18, 27, 19; **תִּצְבֹּר**, but **תִּצְבֹּרְךָ** Jer. 15, 14, Ez. 20, 37.

4. In the *Perf.* of *Hiph.*, —— is sometimes changed into ——, and —— into —— in *Hoph.*, by lengthening the short vowel, under the influence of the *Mèthèg*, e. g. **תִּצְבֹּרְךָ** *thou leddest over* Josh. 7, 7, **חִזְכֶּלֶת** *he brings up* Hab. 1, 15; **תִּצְלֹחַ** *Judg. 6, 28, Nah. 2, 8.* On an other case of this kind (**תִּמְצֵא**) see § 64. 2. Something similar occurs with nouns of the so-called Segholate forms after *qōṭl* comp. § 93.

III. In General.

5. In the verbs **חִי** *to be* and **חִירָה** *to live* the guttural is almost wholly without influence in combination with the preformative; thus the *Impf.* *Qāl* **חִיָּה** and **חִירָה** *Niph.* **חִיָּה**; only in *Perf. Hiph.* **חִירָה** (2. plur. **חִירִים**, Jos. 2, 13). Where initial **ח** and **ח** should have *vocal Sh'wā* this is always replaced by *Chateph Seghôl* e. g. **חִירָה**, **חִירִים** (except in 2. sing. fem. of the *Impf.* *Qāl*: **חִיָּה** Gen. 24, 60; Ez. 16, 6 and in *Inf.* **חִירִים** Jos. 5, 8); after the prefixes **ל**, **ב**, **בְּ**, however, the *Chat. Seghôl* becomes *Sh'wâ* and the prefix takes **וּ**, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Sh'wâ*; therefore in *Perf. Qāl* **חִירָה**, *Imper.* **חִירָה**, *Inf.* **חִירָה** etc. The only exception is the 2. *masc.* of the *Imper.* after *Wāw*: **חִירָה** Gen. 12, 2; **חִירָה** Gen. 20, 7.

6. On verbs **נִ"בְּ** in which the **נ** loses its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, see § 68.

§ 64.

VERBS 'AYIN (א) GUTTURAL.

E. g. **טַחַשׁ** *to slaughter.* *Paradigm E.*

The deviations from the strong verb are less important in this class,¹ and are mainly as follows:—

1. Where a *simple Sh'wâ* is required, the guttural takes, nearly without exception, a *composite Sh'wâ*, viz. the *Châṭéph-Páṭhâch* (—); e. g. *Perf.* **טַחַשׁ**, *Impf.* **רִטְחַטְּרָה**, *Imp. Niph.* **חַטְחַטְּוָה**. In the *Imp. Qāl* before the afformatives **וְ** and **וּ** the original *Páṭhâch* occurs in the 1st syllable and is followed by *Châṭéph-*

¹ *Hoph'āl*, which is not exhibited in the Paradigm, is inflected like *Qāl*: *Hiph'āl* is regular.

Părthăch, the syllable being only slightly closed; but in אַרְבָּהָא the preference of the *א* for *S'ghol* has caused the change from *ă* to *ē* and in אַחֲדָה Job 6, 22 the *i* remains before a hard guttural.

So in the *Inf.* *Qăl* w. suf. as in Is 9, 6 סִירֵדָה to support it (but אַשִׁירֵד thy marching Judg. 5, 4) and in the fem. form (§ 45, 2, b) אַחֲבָה to love, לְאַחֲבָה to languish.—

2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *A* sound has generally less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel (§ 22, 2), so not only is the *Chō'lém* in *Inf.* *Qăl* טָהֹרֶת, טָהֹת שָׁמֶן retained, but also, for the most part, the *Şé're* in *Impf.* *Niph.* and *Pi.* יְלַחֵם he fights, יְמַחֵם he comforts, and even the more feeble *S'ghō'l* (after *Wān consecutive*) يְלַחְלָה. But in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qăl*, the last syllable generally takes (—), through the influence of the guttural even in transitive verbs, e. g. בָּחַר יְזַקֵּק, יְשַׁחַט שְׁחַט, בָּחַר, בָּחַרְתָּ (seldom like רָחַם, אָחַז), with suff. in the *Imp.* בָּחַנְתָּ, בָּחַנְתָּשׁ, in the *Impf.* נָגַלְתָּה; with the *ō* in *Imper.* *Qăl* is found only נָעַל 2 Sam. 13, 17; אָחַז Ex. 4, 4, 2 Sam. 2, 21 fem. אָחַז Ruth. 3, 15 (so according to *Kimchi* in the *Wurzelwörterb.* with the unusual echo of the expelled *ō* as *Chătēph-Qă'mēš*; on the other hand in pl. regularly אָחָז); סָעַד Judges 19, 8 (according to *Kimchi* סָעַד 19, 5 can only be read *s'ăd* with the abnormal lengthening for סָעַד); finally, here also belongs גָּמָה instead of גָּמָת Num. 23, 7 v. § 63, 4. Just as rare are the *Imp. med. gut.* with *ō* as רָחַם, יְאַחַז comp. Is. 27, 4, Ez. 16, 33 and also in the *Perf. Pi.*, *Părthăch* occurs more frequently than in the strong verb, as בָּחַם to comfort.

3. In *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, the *Dăghésh forte* is inadmissible in the middle stem-letter; but, in the greater number of examples, particularly before ה, ח, and ש, the preceding vowel remains short, the guttural having *Dăghésh forte* *implicatum* (see § 22, 1); e. g. *Pi.* קְחַק, *Inf.* קְחַשׁ to sport, *Pu.* רְחַזֵּה to be washed, *Hithp.* *Imper.* הְתִּחְרְרֵר cleanse yourselves. The complete omission of the doubling and therefore the lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs continually only with ר e. g. בְּרַךְ to bless, *Impf.* רְבַּרְךָ, *Pu' al* בְּרַךְ; before א it occurs regularly in the stems בְּאַרְבָּא, בְּאַלְבָא, נְאַרְבָּא and in the *Hithpă'el's*

of בָּאַתְּ רָאֵתְּ and בָּאַתְּ שָׁאַתְּ; on the other hand נִשְׁאַתְּ is virtually doubled in the *Perfects* נִשְׁאַתְּ (once in *Impf.* Jer. 29, 23) to commit adultery, שָׁאַתְּ to despise (twice besides in the participle Is. 60, 14, Jer. 23, 17) נִנְאַרְתְּ to abhor Lam. 2, 7 (also נִאַרְתְּ Ps. 89, 40) and נִנְאַתְּ Ps. 109, 10; furthermore in the *infinitive* שָׁאַתְּ וְנִשְׁאַתְּ Eccl. 2, 20 according to the best reading; in the *Pū'āl* רָאֵתְּ Job 33, 21 the נִ should be written with *Dāghésh forte*, according to the correct Massora.

Rem. 1. In the verb נִשְׁאַתְּ to ask, beg some forms of the *Perfect Qāl* seem to have been based upon a secondary form *Med. E.* (acc. to *Kimchi*, see also Davies' *Heb. Lex.*), comp. נִשְׁאַלְתָּ Gen. 32, 18, Judg. 4, 20, נִשְׁאַלְתָּ Ps. 137, 3, אָנְשָׁהָ 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29, נִשְׁאַלְתָּיְהוּ Judg. 18, 6, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph.* נִשְׁאַלְתָּרְרָה 1 Sam. 1, 28). Compare however similar cases (attenuation of an original ē) § 69, Rem. 4 and especially § 44, Rem. 2. In the three first cases the ī (attenuated from ē) would be lengthened into ē (before the tone); in the three following cases ī would be changed into ē.

2. In *Pī.* and *Hithp.*, the tone is sometimes drawn back upon the penultima, and the *Sérē* of the final syllable shortened to *S'ghōl*, viz.—
a) Before a word of one syllable (according to § 29, 3. b) as שָׁמַעַתְּ in order to serve there Deut. 17, 12; even with virtual doubling of the gutt. Gen. 39, 14, Job 8, 18.—b) After *Wāw consecutive*, as וַיְבָרֶךְ and he blessed Gen. 1, 22, שָׁמַעַתְּ and he drove out Ex. 10, 11.

3. The following are rare anomalies: in the *Impf. Qāl* קָצַק Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere קָצַק etc., in *pause* קָצַק, comp. § 63, Rem. 2); אֲחַתְּרָה Gen. 32, 5 (for אֲחַתְּרָאָ), in the *Perf.* of *Pī.*: אֲחַתְּרָה they delay Jud. 5, 28, for אֲחַתְּרָאָ; and the similar form וַיְחַזְּבֵרְגִּי she conceived me Ps. 51, 7, for וַיְחַזְּבֵרְגִּנִּי; finally in the *Imper. Hiph.* קְרִתְמָנִי Job 18, 21 and לְמַעַד Ps. 69, 24, in both cases not without the influence of the closing consonant, and at the same time with the preference of *Pāthāch* in *pause* (as a clearer and sharper sound).

4. A few examples where the נִ, as a middle guttural, loses entirely its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, will be found in § 73, Rem. 4.

§ 65.

VERBS LĀMĒDH (בָּ) GUTTURAL.

E. g. שָׁנַתְּ to send. *Paradigm F.*

1. According to § 22, 2, a and b, when the last syllable has a vowel which is heterogeneous to the guttural (i. e. not an A sound) we distinguish two cases, viz., either the regular

vowel of the final syllable *remains*, and the guttural takes *Páthäch furtive*, or the full vowel *Páthäch* takes its place. The particulars are as follows:—

- a) The strong unchangeable vowels אֵ, אָ, אַ (§ 25, 1), are always retained; hence *Inf. absol.* Qāl עֲלֹתָה, *Part. pass.* עֲלֹתָה; *Hiph.* הַשְׁלִיחָה, *Impf.* הַשְׁלִיחָה, *Part. constr.* הַשְׁלִיחָה. So also the ô, though less firm, is retained in the *Inf. constr.* חַלְחָה, (comp. however in close connection with the substantive חַלְחָה Is. 58, 9 and נַעֲמָה Num. 20, 3).
- b) Instead of the ô in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl* we have ā, either through the influence of the guttural (comp. the remainder of the o sound in שְׁמַעַת Is. 27, 4) or because the *Páthäch* was the original vowel, thus: רַחֲלָה, חַלְחָה. With *suff.* רַחֲלָה נִיְרַחֲלָה, see § 60, Rem. 1.
- c) Where *S'erē* is the regular vowel of the last syllable, the forms with ē and ā are both employed, but usage generally makes a distinction. Thus—

In the *Part. Qāl* and *Pi.* the only predominant form is חַלְחָה, שַׁלְחָה, and the full *Páthäch* appears only in the *constr. state* חַלְחָה, שַׁלְחָה.

In the *Impf.* and *Inf. Niph.*, and in the *Perf. Inf.* and *Impf. Pi.*, the shorter form with (—) usually stands at the beginning and in the middle of a sentence, the one with (—) at the end, and in *pause*; e. g. קָרַב it is diminished Num. 27, 4, comp. קָרַב עֲשָׂר 36, 3; קָרַב he cleaves Hab. 3, 9, comp. קָרַב עֲזָב Ez. 13, 11, עֲזָב to swallow Hab. 1, 18, Num. 4, 20 with עֲזָב Lam. 2, 8. It may further be observed, that the *Inf. absol.* retains *S'erē*, but the *Inf. constr.* loses it, e. g. קָרַב Deut. 22, 7, 1 K. 11, 22, else חַלְחָה to send. Outside of the *pause* there is found יָרַב Hab. 1, 16 and even יָרַב 2 K. 16, 4; furthermore in the *Imper. Pi.* קָרַב Ps. 86, 4 (with *Dechî*): on the other hand in *pause* קָרַב Ez. 21, 11 as *Imper. Niphal*. An example of ā in *Imper. Pi'el* through the influence of a closing ר is קָרַר Job 36, 2.

In *Hiph.* the shortened forms of the *Imp.* and *Impf.* admit only (—), e. g. קָרַבְתָּ thou prosper thou, יָרַבְתָּ and he caused to trust, קָרַבְתָּ and he caused to sprout. The *Inf. absol.* takes (—), as קָרַבְתָּ to make high; but as *Inf. constr.* also קָרַבְתָּ occurs in Job 6, 26.

2. The guttural here has *simple Sh'wâ* whenever the third radical regularly takes it (because it is *Sh'wâ quiescent*, which generally remains even under gutturals, § 22, 4), as קָרַבְתָּ, קָרַבְתָּ. But in the 2 *fem. Perf.* a helping-*Páthäch* takes its place, as קָרַבְתָּ (§ 28, 4), yet comp. קָרַבְתָּ 1 K. 14, 3.

The softer combination with (—) for (—) occurs only in some examples of the 1. plur. *Perf.* when the tone is thrown forward, as נָתַתְּךָ we know thee Hos. 8, 2, comp. Gen. 26, 29, Ps. 44, 18, 2 Sam. 21, 13; and also before the suffixes תָ, בָ, נָ, as נְתַנְתָּ אֶת I will send thee 1 Sam. 16, 1, נְתַנְתָּ בְּנֵי Gen. 31, 27, נְתַנְתָּ נְבָנָי Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs נָ, see especially in § 74.

B. CONTRACTED VERBS.

§ 66.

VERBS יְהִי.

E. g. וְיַחֲדֵל to approach. *Paradigm H.*

The weakness of initial נָ consists principally in its submitting to *Aphæresis* in the *Inf. constr.* and *Imper.* in a part of these verbs (comp. 19, 3, a). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נָ (v. above) cannot really be considered as weakness, as the stem still retains three consonants (by the doubling of the 2d cons.). More particularly we remark:—

1. The *Aphæresis* of the *Nün a*) in the *inf. constr.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) with such verbs as have a in the 2d syllable of the *Imperf.*, thus: שָׁמַע, *Imperf.* שָׁמַע, *Inf.* really שָׁמַע, but always enlarged with ה to the Segholate form שָׁמַעַ; with *Suff.* שָׁמַעַ Gen. 33, 3 (attenuated from שָׁמַעַ); with the concurrence of a guttural עֲשָׂרָה to touch, *Imperf.* עֲשָׂרָה, *Inf.* עֲשָׂרָה (also עֲשָׂרָה); עֲשֹׂרָה to plant, *Inf.* עֲשֹׂרָה (also עֲשֹׂרָה). The feminine ending in this case serves as a means of artificially reestablishing the semblance of a triliterality. (On the verb נְתַנָּה to give v. especially Rem. 3). On the other hand, *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have o in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נְפַלָּה to fall, *Imperf.* נְפַלָּה, *Inf.* נְפַלָּה, with *Suff.* נְפַלָּה also נְפַלָּה (which originated from נְפַלָּה, נְפַלָּה).—b) In the *Imper.* Here the dropping of the *Nün* takes place everywhere in verbs with a in the *Imperf.*, e. g. שְׁגַנָּה, *Imper.* שְׁגַנָּה (frequently with *paragog.* ah שְׁגַנְּהָ, before *Mäqqēph* also שְׁגַנְּהָ Gen. 19, 9), שְׁמַרָּה etc., however also with o שְׁמַרָּה Ruth 2, 14, and שְׁמַרָּה 2 Chron. 29, 31; in both cases outside of the *pause*. With *Nün* preserved is found only שְׁגַנָּה 2 Kings 4, 24 (*Impf.* יְשַׁגְנֵה without the assimili-

lation of the *Nün*; comp. also of verbs **הַבָּ** which are at the same time **בְּנָה**: Ez. 32, 18, **בְּנָה**: Gen. 32, 34). Here also *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Impf.*, e. g. **נִצֵּר**, **נִחְזֵץ** etc.

2. Whenever *Nün* stands at the end of a syllable after a preformative, it assimilates itself to the following stem-letter (§ 19, 2, a); viz., a) in the *Impf. Qäl*, e. g. **יַפְלֵל** for *he will fall*, **יַגְשֵׁשׁ** for *he will sit*, **יַתְאַזֵּן** for *he will give* (the *Impf. O*, as in the strong verb, being usual, the *Impf. E* only in this example);¹ b) in the *Perf. Niph.*, e. g. **שָׂבֵעַ** for **שָׂבַע**;—c) in the whole of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.* (which here has always *Qibbūš*, according to § 9, 9, 2), e. g. **הַנִּישֵׁב**, **הַגְּנִזֶּה**, **הַנִּגְנֵשׁ**, for **הַנִּשֵּׁב**, **הַגְּנִזֶּה**, **הַנִּגְנֵשׁ**.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. *Perf.*, *Inf. absol.*, *Part. Qäl*, all *Pi'ēl*, *Pū'āl*, etc. Only the irregular conjugations are given in the Paradigm H.

The characteristic of these verbs in all forms which begin with a formative letter, is the *Dāghēsh forte* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, appear also in some verbs **וְמַ** (§ 71) and even in verbs **וְצַ** (§ 67, 5). The *Inf. Rishāq* and the *Imp. Shāq*, also **שָׁגַג** (Gen. 19, 9) and **שָׁגַן**, coincide with those of verbs **וְמַ** (§ 69)—On **קֹחַ**, **קֹחַת** (from **קֹחַל** to take), see below in Rem. 2.—**יְקַוּם** is *Impf. Niph.* of **קָם**, and so in all weak verbs **וְצַ** (§ 72, 4).—Also **סָבָא** (Ps. 139, 8) is not from **סָבַע**, but contracted from **סָבַעַ** from **סָבַע** to ascend (see § 19, 2, Rem.).

Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nün*, before a firm consonant, e. g. *Impf.* **יַגְנֵבָ** *he keeps* Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere **גָנַב**), of **נִצֵּר** the pausal form is always **נִצְרֵי** (outside of the pause **נִצְרָה** Prov. 20, 28); in the same way the *Nün* is retained with the pause in Ps. 61, 8, 140, 2, 5, Prov. 2, 11. In *Niph.* this never occurs and very seldom in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, as **תִּטְבַּשְׁ** to melt Ez. 22, 20, **תִּנְחַרְךָ** they are cut off Judg. 20, 31. It regularly occurs, however, in all verbs which have a guttural for their second stem-letter, as **בִּנְנֵה** *he will possess*. In these verbs the *Nün* only rarely falls away, as **לִזְבַּח** for **לִזְבֵּחַ** *he will descend*; *Niph.* **נִחְמַד** for **נִחְמַד** *he has comforted himself*.

2. Like the *Nün* of these verbs (§ 19, 2), the **ב** of the verb **תִּקְרַב** (to take) is also treated. Hence *Impf. Qäl* **תִּקְרַב**, *Imp. נִקְרַב* in pause and be-

¹ The *Impf. A* (**וְמַ**) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in **שָׂבֵעַ**.

fore suff. מִתְּבָרֵךְ, *paragog.* קָרְתָּה etc. (comp. however also לְקֹרֶת Ex. 29, 1. Ez. 37, 18. Prov. 20, 16. לְקֹרֶת 1 K. 17, 11); Inf. constr. קָרְתָּה (w. suff. קָרְתָּה), Hoph. Impf. קָרְתָּה, but *Niph'el* is always גָּלְתָּה.

3. The above mentioned verb קָרְתָּה to give furnishes the only example of an Imperf. with ē (קָרְפָּנָה for קָרְפָּנָה); corresponding to which also we have the Imper. קָרְתָּה or (very frequently) קָרְתָּה, before *Maqqēph* דָּגֵשׁ, fem. קָרְתָּה etc. This much used verb has this farther peculiarity that the third radical (the final Nūn) is assimilated, as קָרְתָּה for קָרְתָּה, קָרְתָּה for קָרְתָּה (very frequently קָרְתָּה as a kind of orthographical compensation for the assimilated); *Niph'el* Perf. קָרְתָּה: Lev. 26, 25.—Also in the Inf. constr. Qal the groundform קָרְתָּה has not been enlarged into קָרְתָּה (comp. קָרְתָּה from קָרְתָּה) but contracted into קָרְתָּה, and this was afterward lengthened into קָרְתָּה when the Dāghēsh forte was dropped v. § 20, 3, a; therefore with the suffixes קָרְתָּה, קָרְתָּה etc. (before *Maqqēph* with the prefix קָרְתָּה e. g. Exod. 5, 21, but also elsewhere in close connection e. g. Gen. 15, 7; also the strong formation of the Infin. constr. in קָרְתָּה Num. 20, 21 and קָרְתָּה Gen. 38, 9.) In other stems, the תָּה as third radical is retained, קָרְתָּה, קָרְתָּה. Upon the entirely anomalous *Aphaeresis* of the Nūn with a strong vowel in קָרְתָּה for קָרְתָּה 2 Sam. 22, 41 comp. § 19, 3, a.

§ 67.

VERBS 'ĀȲIN DOUBLED (אֲיִינָה).

E. g. סָבָבָה to surround. Paradigm G.

1. The principal irregularity of these verbs consists in the utterance of the second and third radicals often as one doubled letter, as סָבָבָה (contracted from the original form *sābhābhā*) for סָבָבָה (Rem. 10 below), even when a full vowel should regularly stand between them, as סָבָבָה for סָבָבָה (from the orig. *sābhābhā*, contr. *sābbā*) for סָבָבָה. Those forms are not contracted which contain unchangeable vowels, or a Dāghēsh forte, as סָבָבָה, סָבָבָה, סָבָבָה.

2. The monosyllabic stem thus obtained takes, throughout, the vowel which the full form would have had in its second syllable, because that serves to characterise the form (§ 43, Rem. 1), e. g. Perf. סָבָבָה for סָבָבָה; סָבָבָה for סָבָבָה (both from the original *sābhābhāth*), Inf. סָבָבָה for סָבָבָה; Hiph. הַסָּבָבָה for הַסָּבָבָה (comp. No. 6).

3. The Dāghēsh forte, which, after this contraction, properly belongs throughout to the final stem-letter, is ex-

cluded from it (§ 20, 3, *a*), except when formative additions are made at the end, as סְבִּיבָּה, סְבִּיבָּה, *Impf.* סְבִּיבָּה, but not סְבִּיבָּה, סְבִּיבָּה.

4. When the afformative begins with a consonant (ב, ת), a vowel is inserted before it, in order to render audible the Dāghēsh of the final stem-letter¹ (§ 20, 3, *c*, Rem.), which vowel in the Perf. is ī, in the Imp. and Impf. —, e. g. סְבִּוֹתָה, סְבִּוֹתָה, *Impf.* סְבִּוֹתָה (for *sabb-ta*, *sabb-nu*, *t'sobb-na*).

5. The preformatives of *Impf.* Qāl, *Perf.* of Niph., *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which in consequence of the contraction stand in a simple syllable (יָסַב instead of יָסַבֵּב), take, instead of the short vowel of the regular form, the corresponding long one (according to § 27, 2, *a*), e. g. *Impf.* *Hiph.* יָסַבְּבָה for יָסַבְּבָה, *Imper.* הַסַּבְּבָה for הַסַּבְּבָה etc. Where the preformatives now have ī, either the original ā (which was attenuated into ī) is restored and lengthened e. g. יָסַבְּבָה in *Impf.* Qāl from original יָסַבְּבָה, or the ī itself is lengthened into ē e. g. הַסַּבְּבָה *Perf.* *Hiph.* for הַסַּבְּבָה (see further details in No. 6). This lengthened vowel can be retained however only before the tone (except the ă of the Hophal lengthened from ă to הַסַּבְּבָה for הַסַּבְּבָה); by the removal of the tone, the vowel, according to § 27, 2, becomes necessarily *Sh'wā* (under ה and ה composite *Sh'wā*) e. g. הַסַּבְּבָה but הַסַּבְּרִיה; *Hiph.* *Perf.* הַסַּבְּרִיה etc.

N.B. There is still another mode (the common one in *Aramaic*) of constructing these forms, which supplies a Dāghēsh in the first radical in place of doubling the third (comp. § 19, 2, Rem.); e. g. *Impf.* Qāl יָסַבְּבָה for יָסַבְּבָה, *Impf.* *Hiph.* יָסַבְּמָה for יָסַבְּמָה, *Hoph.* יָסַבְּתָה for יָסַבְּתָה. These forms do not usually take Dāghēsh in the final letter on receiving an accession, as בְּדִידָה they bow themselves (from בְּדִידָה), וַיְכִירָה and they smote (from כְּרָתָה), perhaps because the doubling makes the stem trilateral;

¹ No satisfactory explanation for these separating vowels has been given as yet. As in none of these forms it could be said that the original vowel had returned, there remains simply the supposition that a really new vowel has been inserted as an expedient for pronunciation. Rödiger refers to the analogy of the verbs חָלַל in forms like חָלַלְלָה, חָלַלְלָה, but this is not satisfactory because there the tone vowel has not arisen anew but existed already. But Rödiger was right in reminding us of the analogy of the vulgar Arabic which for the written Arabic *madadta*, *madadtī*, *madadtu* uses the forms *maddēt*, *maddētī*, *maddit* and even *maddāt*. The latter form also indicates that the ā in the *Perf.* of נְגַדְּלָה verbs has also been derived from an original ā.

but see also יִשְׁלַחֲנָה Judg. 18, 23, יִמְצַחֵּן Job. 4, 20. To the same category apparently belongs the stronger form תִּשְׁלַחֲנָה they will tinkle (from נֶלֶךְ) Jer. 19, 3. On the other hand חִמְנָה (for חִמְנוּ we perished) Jer. 44, 18 follows the analogy of verbs צָרָא (comp. קְמַנָּה from קָרָם). On Niph. see Rem. 5.

6. The restoration of original vowels mentioned in No. 5 occurs *a*) in the Preformatives of the *Imperf.* Qäl from יִסְבֶּב (comp. § 47, 2; 63, 2 and for verbs עַגְלָה § 72); *b*) in the *Perf.* Niph. יִסְבֶּב from הַסְבָּב (§ 51, 1) as well as in *Impf.* יִסְבֶּב from יִסְבְּבָה (comp. on ā in the final syllable of strong imperfектs Niphal § 51, Rem. 2); *c*) in the *Hoph.* הַסְבָּב from הַסְבָּב, *Impf.* יִסְבֶּב from יִסְבְּבָה etc.—On the contrary the attenuated vowel ī underlies the intransitive *Impf.* Qōl with ā in the second syllable e. g. יִמְרָא for יִמְרָא (see Rem. 3). The lengthening of the original ā (יִמְרָא) would lead to mistaking it for the 3d sing. perf.; also in the preformative of the *Hiph'îl* הַסְבָּב from הַסְבָּב (groundform § 53, 1). In the same way we have the underlying ī in the 2d syllable, which, attenuated from original ā, is in strong verbs abnormally lengthened into i (§ 53, 1). The ē, lengthened from ī is of course only tonelong, therefore הַסְבָּה outside of the tone before *Dāghēsh forte*.* (On the return of the original ā in the 2d syllable comp. Rem. 6.)

7. The *tone* has this peculiarity, that usually it is not thrown forward upon the afformatives beginning with a vowel (הַ—, אַ—, רַ—, § 40, 2), but remains before them on the stem-syllable, e. g. 3d sing. fem. *Impf.* הַחֲנָה, pause הַחֲנָה; with רַ and gutturals מְרֹהָה (for מְרֹהָה) Ps. 44, 26; with וַ consec. however הַרְחָא Is. 6, 12. In the 3d pl. *perf.* the accent varies; besides רַלְלָה, קַלְלָה is found also רַלְלָה, קַלְלָה, חַרְחָה (Hab. 3, 6) etc., but in *pause* הַרְחָא etc. and, vice versa in *perf. consec.* רַרְבָּה etc. (comp. however רַחֲנָה Jer. 44, 12 before the tone syllable). The tone remains likewise on the stem syllable in *Impf.* Qal in יִסְפְּרָה, יִסְפְּרָי (Perf. Hiph. הַסְפָּרָה, הַסְפָּרָי) etc. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is removed to these vowels e. g. סְבָבָה, סְבָבָתָה etc. (excepting before the always accented ending סְבָבָה and תְּבָבָה in the Perfect). This removal

of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels ē and ō into ī and ū (ð v. Rem. 2), therefore **הַסְבִּיןָה** from **הַסְבֵּבָה** from **יַסְבֵּב** (on the dropping of the vowel of the preformative v. above No. 5).¹

8. In numerous verbs of this class, instead of *Pt.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.* there is found with the same sense the less usual conjugation *Pō'ēl* (§ 55, 1), with its passive (*Pō'āl*) and reflexive (*Hithpō'ēl*), e. g. **עִזְלָל** to treat ill, pass. **עִזְלָל**, reflex. **חַטֹּעֲלָל** (from **עִזְלָל**); in some is found also *Pilpel* (§ 55, 4), as **עִלְלָל** to roll, **חַחְנֶלֶל** to roll one's self (from **עִלְלָל**), *Pilp.* **עַשְׂעַשׂ** to caress, with its *pass.* (*Pōlpāl*) **עַשְׂעַשָּׁה** to delight oneself Ps. 119, 16 (from **עַשְׂעַשׂ**). These forms do not suffer contraction any more than *Pt.*, *Pu* and *Hithpālēl*.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. In the Perf. are found some examples with *Chōlēm*, orig. **וּ** (comp. **כָּלְלָה**, § 43, 1), as **וְהַיְנִיןָ** they are high (from **בָּרְ�מָה**) Job 24, 24, **בְּגַיְנִיןָ** (from **בָּבָבָה**) Gen 49, 23, probably also **וְיַדְיִי** Is 1, 6 from **יְרַרְתִּי**.

2. The *Chōlēm* of the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (בְּסַבְבָּה) is a changeable vowel and written defectively, with a few exceptions, which are found especially in the later orthography, e. g. **לְבִיזָּה** for **לְבִזָּה** to plunder Est. 8, 13, 8, 11. It is shortened into *Qāmēṣ-chāṭāph* or *Qibbūṣ*, whenever it loses the tone, as *Inf.* **רֹנֵן** (*rōn*) to rejoice Job 38, 7, with suff. *Imp.* 2d sing. fem. **רֹנֵנָה**, **רֹנֵנָה** (comp. Rem. 12), **חִזְצִירָה** pity me, *Impf.* with *Wāw consec.* **וְחִזְצִירָה** Judg 9, 18, with suff. *יְשַׁרְתָּם* he lays them waste Prov. 11, 3 in *Q'rī*. In **קְרֻבָּה** Gen. 48, 29, Is. 30, 19 (for **קְרֻבָּה**) this *ō* is put back under the preformative. In **קְרֻבָּה** Num. 22, 11, 17 and **אֲגָדָה** 22, 6 23, 7 the suffix of the **—** paragogic takes place without any other change of the form, one would expect **קְרֻבָּה**, **קְרֻבָּה**. Still more striking is **קְרֻבָּנוּ** curse him Num. 23, 13 (for **קְרֻבָּנוּ** or **קְרֻבָּנוּ**). We have also **קְרֻבָּה** for **קְרֻבָּה** Num. 23, 25 and **בָּשָׁה** as *inf. abs.* instead of **לְבִזָּה** in Ruth 2, 16.

3. Examples with final *Pāthāch* in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (בְּלַעַת, בְּלַעַת), are the following *Inf.* **לָעַז** to stoop Jer. 5, 26, *Imp.* **לָעַז** roll thou Ps. 119, 22, *Impf.* **לָעַז** he is bitter Is. 24, 9, **יְלָעַז** he is soft Is. 7, 4; **וְלָעַז** וְלָעַז.

¹ The terminations for gender and number in the *Participles* take the tone, as these are not a part of the verbal inflection, as **מְלֹאתָה**, **מְלֹאתָה**.

she was despised Gen. 16, 4 (but also with the accent on the preceding syllable, e. g. נִירְעָה Gen. 21, 11). In regard to these intransitive imperfects comp. No. 6 above. Of imperfects with original *u* in the 2d syllable there are also found examples of lengthening the *ü* into *û* (instead of *ô*) e. g. יָרַק Prov. 29, 6; יָמַר Ps. 91, 6; יָרַץ (from צָרֵץ) Is. 42, 4 (even defectively יָרַץ Eccl. 12, 6). An analogy with the verbs יָצַא is also seen in the infinitive לְבֹור (for בְּרֹר) Eccl. 9, 1; לְחַקֵּר Prov. 8, 27 (comp. בְּרֹקֵר 8, 29) for בְּקַרְבָּן. Examples of the Aramaicising Impf. are בְּתַבָּה (though סְבָבָה is also in use), שָׁמַם *he is astonished* 1 K. 9, 8; יְרַכְּמָה *they are silent* Job 29, 21; with *a* e. g. רְגֻלָּה, רְשֻׁבָּה, etc.

4. In the Participle occurs the Aramaean form סְמָשׁ (for סְבָבָה) Jer. 30, 16 in K'thîbh (the Q'ri regards it as a Part. from סְבָבָה).

II. On Niph'âl.

5. Besides the usual form of the Perf. (בָּנָה) with Pâthâch and of the Part. (m. סְבָבָה, f. סְבָבָה) with Qâmeq in 2d syllable, there is still another with Sérê, and another with Chôlém (analogous to בָּנָה, בָּנָה, § 43, 1), extending through the whole conjugation; e. g. Perf. בָּנָה (also בָּנָה) *it is a light thing* Is. 49, 6; בָּנָה (for בָּנָה) Ez. 26, 2; Part. בָּנָה *wasted away* Nah. 2, 11; with Chôlém, בָּנָה *they are rolled together* Is. 34, 4, comp. 63, 19, 64, 2, Am. 3, 11, Nah. 1, 12; in Impf. בָּנָה *he is circumcised* Gen. 17, 12; בָּנָה *thou shalt be laid waste* Jer. 48, 2. Inf. forms with the Pâthâch do not even exist, but those with Sérê and Chôlém, as Inf. בָּנָה *to melt* Ps. 68, 3, Inf. absol. *to be plundered* Is. 24, 3; in the Imp. only בָּנָה *cleanse yourselves* Is. 52, 11 and בָּנָה *raise yourselves up* Num. 17, 10, בָּנָה *the shadow* Jer. 4, 4 follows the analogy of יָמַד verbs (as the imperf. יָמַד Gen. 34, 24).—Peculiar forms of Niph'âl (with a sharpening of the 1st syllable) occur in בָּנָה *it was profaned* Ez. 25, 3 (from בָּנָה), נְגַזָּה (from חַגָּז) Ps. 69, 4, 102, 4 (also נְגַזָּה Jer. 6, 29), נְגַזָּה *fractus est* (from חַגָּז) Mal. 2, 5.—In Micah 2, 4 the Perf. נְגַזָּה, *u* instead of *ô* as the separating vowel appears to be abnormal.

III. On Hiph'îl and Hôph'âl.

6. Besides Sérê the final syllable has also Pâthâch, especially with ה and the gutturals, as בְּנָה *he made bitter*; הֲמַתָּה *to depress*; Inf. הֲבָרֵךְ *to cleanse* Jer. 4, 11. But also without a guttural, as קְדַם *he pounded small* 2 K. 23, 15; plur. קְדַם הִי 1 Sam. 5, 10; Part. לְקַדֵּם *shadowing* Ez. 31, 3. The ē of the 2d syllable may become ē outside the tone e. g. בְּרַתְּנָה Gen. 31, 7. Instead of Châṭéph Pâthâch there appears before ה also Pâthâch (with the virtual doubling of the ה) in forms like נְפַתְּחָה Is. 9, 3.

7. In the imperf. the retraction of the tone and the consequent shortening of ē into ē occurs not only in the jussive and with Waw consecutive (e. g. בְּנָה Gen. 29, 10; with final guttural עֲמָדָה 1 K. 6, 11) but also elsewhere e. g. נְסָמָה *he protects* Ps. 91, 4. Quite peculiar is גְּנָבָה Judges 9, 53 with ְ for ē.

8. Aramaicising forms of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*: נִזְבֵּב Ex. 13, 18, וַיַּזְבֶּב and they smote Deut. 1, 44, נִזְבֵּב I will profane Ez. 39, 7, in *Perf.* תִּזְבְּבִתִּים they despised her Lam. 1, 8.—In *Hoph.* הַמְבִכִּי they perish Job 24, 24, תִּזְבַּח it is smitten Is. 24, 12 (plur. תִּזְבְּחִים Jer. 48, 5), תִּזְבַּח in pause (Job 19, 28) for תִּזְבַּח, also תִּזְבְּחָנִי Job 4, 20.

IV. In General.

9. Verbs עֲשָׂה are very nearly related to verbs יָעָשָׂה (§ 72), as the great similarity in their inflection throughout has already shown. In form the verbs עֲשָׂה are generally the shorter (comp. סָבַב and קָרַם, דָּבַב and קָרַט). In some cases they have precisely the same form, e. g. in the *Impf. consec.* of *Qäl* and *Hiph.*, in *Hoph.*, and in the rare conjugations. On account of this relation, they have sometimes borrowed forms from each other, e. g. יָרַר for רָרַר he rejoices Prov. 29, 6.

10. Along with the contracted forms there are found especially in certain conjugations and tenses, others which are wholly regular; e. g. *Perf.* קָדַב 1 Sam. 7, 16, סָבַב Josh. 6, 15, קָבַב גָּנָב Ps. 18, 6, תָּשַׁפֵּח and they bow down, תָּשַׁפֵּח to plunder Ez. 29, 19, plur. תָּשַׁפְּחוּ Josh. 8, 27, קָרַב Deut. 2, 35 (also בָּוֹנוּ in 3, 7); *Inf.* סָבַב and סָבַב; *Infin.* after בְּ: קָרַב Jer. 47, 4, קָרַב Gen. 31, 19 (also בָּאַת 38, 13); with suffix לְשָׁרוֹד Is. 80, 18 and of the same form תָּחַנֵּן with the vowel shifted back and at the same time inflected לְחַנְּנָה Ps. 102, 14, *Imper.* שָׁדַד Jer. 49, 28; *Impf.* יָדַד Nahum. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13, Gen. 31, 40) from נָדַד: the strong form was after the assimilation of the *Nün* quite necessary. On the other hand יָצַדְךָ Jer. 5, 6 for יָצַרְךָ is anomalous, the contracted consonants have been afterwards dissevered by the insertion of a vocal *Shewâ*. Compare also יָרַבְנָה he is gracious Amos 5, 15, else יָרַבָּה, in *Neph.* יָרַבְנָה Job 11, 12. *Hiph.* חָרַנְנָה יְרַנְנָה he will rejoice (which in *Hiph.* is never contracted); *Part.* שָׁמַרְתָּם astonished Ez. 3, 15. That the full form has a certain emphasis is seen from its frequent use in pause, as in סָבַרְתָּם in Ps. 118, 11) (compare תָּחַנְּנָה Is. 47, 14 (perh. for תָּחַנְּנָה) for their warning.)

11. We have seen above (No. 5 Rem.), that in the *Impf.* of forms resembling the Aramaic form, the Dâghésh of the third radical, together with the preceding vowel, is omitted before affirmatives, which however take the tone, as בָּרַךְ. The same omission occurs also in other forms at times, as in *Perf.* Qäl קָמַנְתִּי for קָמַנְתִּי Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18); *Impf.* תָּמַנְתִּי 1 Sam. 14, 36 (תָּמַנְתִּי—paragog. without influence on the form, comp. Rem. 2); sometimes even the strong vowel becomes *Shewâ*: תָּמַנְתִּי Gen. 11, 7 for תָּמַנְתִּי we will confound (Cohortative from בָּלַגְתִּי); יָזַרְתִּי for יָזַרְתִּי Gen. 11, 6 they will devise; *Perf.* Niph. נִסְתַּחַת for נִסְתַּחַת Ez. 41, 7, נִמְלַחַת for נִמְלַחַת Gen. 17, 11 (from מִלְאָתָה to circumcise); comp. Is. 19, 3, Jer. 8, 14. Without Dâghésh, but with the accented full vowel: תָּמַנְתִּי for תָּמַנְתִּי Judg. 16, 10, הָצַרְתִּי for הָצַרְתִּי Prov. 7, 13, תָּמַנְתִּי 1 Sam. 14, 36, comp. נִמְלַחַת Is. 57, 5 for נִמְלַחַת.

12. Though the tone is here less attracted to the endings (comp. No. 7 above, p. 163), yet this exceptionally happens at times—*a*) in the *Perf.*, specially if it stands in the sense of a present tense (§ 126, 3), as in **רַבָּי** (*they are many*) Ps. 3, 2, 104, 24, Jer. 5, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 10 (with **הַיּוּם** *to-day*), **מֻלָּא** (*they are soft*) Ps. 55, 22, **קָרְאָה** (*they are swift*) Jer. 4, 18, Hab. 1, 8, **תְּהִלָּה** (*they are pure*) Job 15, 15, 25, 5;—*b*) in the *Imper.* (demanding in excited tone), as in **רֹאֵשׁ** (*rejoice aloud!*) Is. 54, 1, Zeph. 3, 14, Zech. 2, 14, **מְלֹא** Is. 44, 23, 49, 13, Jer. 31, 7 (but **מַלְאֵךְ** *wail!* Lam. 2, 19), **מִלְחָמָה** *celebrate* (*thy festivals*) Nah. 2, 1, Jer. 7, 29,—*c*) in forms with pronominal suffix (this accords with the general law about the *tone*, § 29, 1, 2), as in **בְּנֵי**, **סְבִרֵי** Ps. 118, 11, and here the vowels before the *Dāghēsh* suffer the changes pointed out in § 27, 1, viz., *Chōlēm* in the *Impf.* becomes *Qibbūq*, more seldom *Qāmēṣ-chāṭāph* (so too **לְבִי** above under letter *b*), *Sērēh* in *Hiph.* becomes *Chīrēq* (after the analogy of **שְׁוָא**, e. g. **וְסֶבֶרְתָּ** Job 40, 22, **וְחִנְנָה** Ps. 67, 2; *Hiph.* **רְאִבְנָה** Ez. 47, 2).

C. WEAKEST VERBS (VERBA QUIESCENTIA).

§ 68.

VERBS N^o 8.

E. g. **אָכַל** *to eat.* *Paradigm I.*

So far as the **א** is treated as a consonant and a guttural, these verbs have all the properties of verbs *Pē Guttural*, exhibited in § 63. But here we regard them only in so far as the **א** *quiesces*, i. e. loses its consonant sound, and is blended with the foregoing originally short vowel, into a long one, which chiefly happens in the *Impf.* *Qāl* of only a few very common verbs and forms, much modified by constant use. The following are the particulars:—

1. In the *Impf.* *Qāl* of five verbs (viz. **אָבַד** *to perish*, **אָבַד** *to be willing*, **אָכַל** *to eat*, **אָמַר** *to say*, **אָפַח** *to bake*) the **א** always quiesces in a long *ô* (*Chōlēm*), as **רָאַבְדָּ**. In some others, the other form in which it retains its power as a consonant is also in use, as **יָאַחֲזָ** and **יָאַחֲזֵ** *he takes hold*; **יָסַח** (v. Rem. 2), also **סָאַחַ**. (So now in the vulgar Arabic of Palestine *yâkul* (*he eats*) becomes *yôkul*.) The *ô* in this case is but a corruption of the vowel *ă* (§ 9, 10, 2), which is itself derived

by contraction from —. The last syllable of these verbs receives an ē (or ā) instead of the stronger vowel ō (orig. ă) e. g. יָאֹחֶז Job 17, 9, mostly ē with distinctive accents and before the accented affirmative נִ; but with conjunctive accents, which mark continuous discourse, it takes ā (*Päthäch*), e. g. חָבַד לְגַדֵּר Ps. 9, 19, on the contrary חָבַד (compare a similar exchange of ē and ā in § 65, 1, c) in Ps. 1, 6. When the tone moves back, the last stem-syllable has sometimes *Päthäch*, as in יָאֹכֵל יוֹם perish the day Job 3, 3, וַיָּאֹכֵל and he ate, and sometimes *Sghôl*, as in וַיֹּאמֶר (*Mil'él*) with a conjunctive accent; but וַיֹּאמֶר וַיָּאֹכֵל (*Milrā'*) with a distinctive and in pause (only in Job mostly וַיֹּאמֶר *Mil'él*). Of אָחָז the weak *imperf.* is always יָאֹחֶז and וְיָאֹחֶז (however וְיָאֹחֶז Judges 20, 6; comp. Gen. 3, 12 in pause).—אָכֵל and אָפֵה are at the same time verbs לְהַבְּה; hence *Impf.* יָאֹבֵה (§ 75, 1).

It is but very seldom that סְרֵך stands before נ in *Impf.* Qăl, as תְּחִזֵּה it shall come (Mic. 4, 8) contracted from תְּחִזֵּה (from אָחָז), אָמַר (in 1st sing. only for בְּהָבָד) I love (Prov. 8, 17) as well as אָמַר (from אָחָז); but always in the *Inf.* with נ, as in לְאמֹר for to say (i. e. saying) for קְאֹמֹר.

2. In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* the second (the radical נ (to avoid the repetition of this feeble letter) is regularly dropped (§ 23, 3), as אָמַר for אָמַר I will say, יָאֹמֶר and I said. In the other cases, where the נ is generally conceived of as quiescent with ô or ē, it is retained merely orthographically and for the sake of etymology. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following examples:

Continually in the contracted forms of נְקַשֵּׁא, thus נְקַשֵּׁת thou takest away Ps. 104, 29, נְסַבֵּת and he gathered 2 Sam. 6, 1. Compare also in the 1st pers. Micah 4, 6 and נְקַרְתִּי 1 Sam. 15, 6 (with נ according to § 60, Rem. 4); further more נְחַמְּרִי 2 Sam. 19, 14, נְשַׁׁמְּרִי 2 Sam. 20, 9, נְנַחֲרִי Deut. 33, 21 (for נְחַזְּרִי), according to another reading נְנַחְרִי, or נְנַחְרִי, etc.; נְלַלֵּךְ thou goest away (from אָלֵךְ) Jer. 2, 36, v. Rem. 1.

The Parad. I shows the weak forms in which נ is treated as a quiescent (viz., *Impf.* Qăl), and merely indicates the more regular ones.

Rem. 1. In forms of the derived conjugations the נ but very seldom quiesces, as in *Perf.* Niph. נְמַנֵּן Josh. 22, 9, Hiph. נְגַנֵּל וְנְגַנֵּת and he took away Num. 11, 25, בְּנַרְבֵּב (for בְּנַרְבֵּב) and he set an ambush 1 Sam. 15, 5,

I hearken Job 32, 11, אָוַרֵּל (ô from â) *I cause to eat* Hos. 11, 4,
I will destroy Jer. 46, 8, בְּשִׁיבֵּת (ô from' â) *giving ear* Prov. 17, 4;
Imp. חֲבֹרֵי *bring ye* (from חֲבֹרָא) Is. 21, 14.

2. In *Pi.* the ה is sometimes dropped by contraction (like ה in בְּקַשְׁרֵל, בְּקַשְׁרֵי), e. g. פְּלַמְּגָל (as in Aram., and Samar.) for פְּלַמְּגָלָא *teaching* Job 35, 11, רְהַל for רְהַלְּל *he shall pitch tent* Is. 13, 20, וְצִרְנֵי *thou girdest me* 2 Sam. 22, 40 for וְצִרְנֵרִי (Ps. 18, 40).

§ 69.

VERBS יְהִי. FIRST CLASS, OR VERBS ORIGINALLY יְהִי.

E. g. יְשֻׁבָּה *to dwell.* *Paradigm K.*

Verbs יְהִי fall principally into *two classes*, which are different from each other in their origin and inflection. The *first* embraces those verbs which have properly a י for their first stem-letter. In Arabic and Ethiopic they are written with ي (e. g. يَلِدُ, Arab. and Ethiop. *wälädä*), but in Hebrew (and Aramaean) by a change of sound which shows itself also, with few exceptions in the noun, they take ה instead of it, wherever the first stem-letter begins the form, whereas after preformative the י either appears again, or is likewise changed into י, or finally is completely elided. The *second class* embraces those which are properly יְהִי, and which have *Kôdh* also in Arabic (the so-called *Verba cum Jod originario* § 70). A few of these verbs יְהִי, of both classes form, in some respects, a *third class* which is inflected like verbs יְהִי (§ 71).

In the verb יְצַר the forms are distinguished according to the signification, viz.,—1) יְצַר (1st class, for יְצַר) *to be in a strait, Impf.* יְצַר, יְצַרְתָּ;—2) יְצַר (2d class) *to form, Impf.* יְצַרְתָּ, יְצַרְתָּךְ.

The peculiar inflection of the *first class*, which is analogous to the Arabic יְהִי, consists in the following particulars:

1. In the *Impf.*, *Imp.* and *Inf. constr.* of *Qâl* there is a twofold inflection according as the *Wâw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Kôdh*. The entire rejection (elision) takes place regularly in eight verbs (v. Rem.) after the following analogy:

Impf. יִשְׁבֶּ, with tone-long ē in both syllables. The vowel of the preformative had ī (attenuated from ā); after the elision of *Wāw*, this ī standing in an open syllable had to be changed into a tone-long ē (the fully written form, as יִשְׁבֵּ is extremely rare and incorrect). In the second syllable, five of these forms have an original ī which in the tone-syllable becomes likewise ē; three verbs however (under the influence of a guttural), take ā: יִקָּעַ, יִדְעַ, יִתְהַדֵּד.

The tone-long ē of the 2d syllable may naturally become *Səghōl* or *Shēwā*, e. g. יִשְׁבֹּרְ, יִשְׁבֹּרְ etc.; in the same way the ā become *Shēwā* in cases like יִדְעֵי etc., but in *pause* it is retained and lengthened into *Qāmēṣ* (עִזְׁעִ) and before suffixes (עִזְׁגָם). As the last example shows the tone-long ē of the 1st syllable is retained, not only before the tone (בְּ יִשְׁבֵּ etc.) but also with the secondary tone.

Imp. בְּשָׁ, shortened from יִשְׁבֵּ by omission of the feeble נְ; and—

Inf. בְּשָׁ, shortened in like manner, but taking the feminine-ending נְ, which again lengthens and strengthens the form; comp. § 66, 1.

The greater part of these verbs are inflected with *stronger* forms, have the *Impf. A*, and retain the *Yôdh* at the beginning, viz. in—

Imp. יִרְשֶׁ and *Inf.* רִסְדֵּ, as a *consonant*, but in

Impf. יִרְשֵׁ, as a *quiescent*, resolved into the vowel ī (§ 24, 2).

In the 2d syllable the *Impf.* regularly has ā.

That the latter mode of inflection belongs to verbs actually יְנָ (which has often been overlooked and falsely denied), is shown, partly by the numerous verbs which take these forms in *Qāl*, and at the same time have נְ in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.*, partly by the Arabic, where the verbs يَنْ have likewise a double inflection, comp. *wālādā*, *Impf.* *jālidū* (with the elision of the *Wāw*) and *wāgīld*, *jaúgalu* (with the retention of the *Wāw* v. Rem. 3).

Even in the same verb are found both the weaker and the stronger forms, the latter with the *Yôdh*, the former without it, as פָּקֵד 2 K. 4, 41, and פָּקֵד *pour thou* Ez. 24, 3, (comp. *Inf.* פָּקֵד Exod. 38, 27); שָׁרֵךְ 1 K. 21, 15, שָׁרֵךְ Deut. 2, 24, also שָׁרֵךְ *possess thou*, lengthened שָׁרֵךְ Deut.

38, 28; *Impf.* יִרְקַד *he will kindle* Deut. 32, 22, and קָרֵד Is. 10, 16; קָרֵר *it became dear* 1 Sam. 18, 30 and יִקְרַר Ps. 49, 9 (comp. יִרְקַר Ps. 72, 14).

NB. To the first mode of inflection belong, e. g. בָּלֶד *to bear* (offspring), וָצָא *to go forth*, יִשְׁבַּן *to sit*, יִרְדֵּן *to descend*, יִדְעַן *to know* (*Impf.* with Päthäch in the last syllable so also, בָּלֶג, יִרְדֵּג, יִגְעַג); to the second belong יִקְמַט *to weary*, צִוְּיָה *to counsel*, יִשְׁלֹם *to sleep*.

2. The original *Wāw* appears always a consonant, wherever it must be doubled, as in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* *Niph.* וַיְשַׁב (just like חֲקַטְל הֲקַטְל); and also in the *Hithp.* of some verbs, e. g. יְחַזֵּק from חַזְקָע, יְדַע from חַדְעָה, יְכַח from חַחְקָע, and in some noun-forms, e. g. וְלָד offspring from יְלָד, and the original וְלָד *to bear*. The ו at the end of the syllable becomes ע (ג) as in all Höph'äl, e. g. חַוְשֵׁב for חַוְשָׁב; and in combination with a preceding a, as a diphthongal ô (י) in *Perf.* and *Part.* of *Niph'äl*, and in all Hiph'ül, e. g. נְשַׁבֵּב for נְשַׁבַּב for חַוְשִׁיב.—The *Kôdh* stands as a consonant in the *Perf.* and *Part.* Qäl (ישַׁב etc., יִשְׁבַּב) even when ו precedes, as יִשְׁבַּב (yet we have here according to § 24, 1, a), in all *Pi.* and *Pu.*, as יִתְהַלֵּל to wait for, יִלְדֵּד to be born, also in the *Impf.* and *Part.*, as יִתְהַלֵּל, יִתְהַלֵּעַ known (from יִדְעַ), also at times in *Hithp.*, as שְׁבַּבְתִּי, חַתְּבַּבְתִּי (as well as with *Wāw* as above).

NB. In those forms in which Yôdh does not appear, these verbs may be distinguished, in the *Impf.* of Qäl by the Sérê under the preformatives, in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.* by the *Wāw* (ו, ו, ו) before the second radical. (The defective orthography, as in חַלְיָד, is not frequent.) Forms like שְׁבַּבְתִּי, שְׁבַּבְתִּי are common to these and verbs יִצְפַּנְתִּי. Hoph'äl has the same form as in verbs יִצְפַּנְתִּי and יִצְפַּנְתִּי.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* Qäl of the weaker form (Gdf. שְׁבַּבְתִּי) takes suff. like שְׁבַּתְּרִי; and it very seldom has the masculine form like רַדְעַן to know Job 32, 6, 10, or the feminine ending מַתָּה, like רַדְעַת Ex. 2, 4. תַּרְחַה Is. 37, 3, רַדְתָּה to descend Gen. 46, 3. Instead of שְׁבַּתְּרִי stands בְּרַעַי under the influence of the guttural פְּרַעַי, with Suff. דְּבַרְתִּי etc. (on the other hand אַתְּרַעַי : אַתְּרַעַת). From יִרְדַּר is found, Ps. 80, 4, in Qeri quite notably the strong form מִירְדַּר (for מִירְדַּר) to bear in 1 Sam. 4, 19 is contracted to לְרַדְתִּי (§ 19, 2).—Examples of the regular or strong form are רַאַת to fear Josh. 22, 25, with prep. בְּלִיסְתִּר Is. 51, 16; with suff. בְּרַעַדְתִּי Job 38, 4, בְּרַסְתִּי Ezra 3, 12. The strong form seldom has the feminine-ending, as in בְּרַתְּהִת to be able, בְּשַׁבְּעַת to dry up Gen. 8, 7 (also בְּבַשְׁתִּי Is. 27, 11).

2. The *Imp.* *Qđl* often has the lengthening **תְּ**, as שָׁבַת *sit thou*, רְחַזֵּק *descend thou*. From יִתְּבֹּא to give, Arab. *wähbā*, there is found in Hebrew only the *Imper.* which is בְּבָא give, lengthened הֲבָא, mostly with the signification *L. age, go on!* (before e. g. Gen. 28, 21 חֲדַת, to avoid a hiatus); fem. הֲבִרְיָה Ruth 3, 15, probably *Mil'răd* after the analogy of the plur. הֲבָנִים (but Job 6, 22, before the tone syllable בְּבָנִים; comp. however Deut. 32, 3).

3. The *Impf.* with ¹ elided takes *ă* in 2d syll., besides cases in No. 1, also in יָרַד Jer. 13, 17 and in the pausal form יָרַד Job 27, 21 (from יָרַךְ v. Rem. 8). The *ă* returns regularly before the *aff.* יָרַע etc.). Forms with *ē* in 2d syll. are shortened to *ĕ* by the drawing back of the tone (before a tone syllable and after ¹ consec.); e.g. יָשַׁבְתָּא: Gen. 44, 33; יָשַׁבְתִּי but in pause יָשַׁבְתִּי and יָשַׁבְתִּי (but 1. p. s. יָשַׁבְתִּי). The *Impf.* יָרַע, when lengthened, can also lose its radical ¹, even when the preformative is ¹, whose vowel (a long *i*) has then *Méthegh* (see § 18, 2, b), as in יָרַע Is. 40, 30, יָרַע Is. 65, 23.—From בֶּכֶל (*to be able*) we get exceptionally יָרַכְלָה as the *Impf. Qăl*; comp. the Arab. form *yauru'u* (*yôru'u*) from *warua*, and *yau'alu* (*yô'âlu*) from *wa'ila*; or even the vulgar Arab. *yûsalu* from *wa'sala*. Others regard בֶּכֶל as *Impf. Hoph.* (of בֶּכֶל) *he is enabled=he can*, which may have got into use instead of the *Impf. Qăl*.

4. The section 44, Rem. 2 (comp. § 64, Rem. 1) refers to the attenuation of the *ă* into *î* in the *Perf.* (in a toneless closed syllable) which is found in some forms of בָּלֶד (Num 11, 12, Ps. 2, 7 etc. always after a preceding *וְ*) as well as of יְרֵשָׁה, e. g. יְרֵשָׁה etc. Deut. 4, 1, 8, 1, 19, 1, 26, 1 (however only after *וְ* for *וּ*). In both cases one can explain the attenuation by the tendency to the assimilation of the vowel, at least if we pronounce *וְ* as *i* (§ 47, 2). From the restoration of the *î* are explained also in the simplest manner the forms יְרֵשָׁה Ez. 36, 12 and Ps. 69, 36.

5. As an exception, the *Impf. Niph.* sometimes has ' instead of the ' ; e. g. בָּקַרְתָּ ' and he waited Gen. 8, 12; comp. Ex. 10, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 8 *Kethibh*.—The first pers. sing. has always the form בָּקַרְתָּ not בָּקַרְתָּ; comp. § 51, Rem. 4.

6. In *Piel*, the radical *Yôdh* is sometimes dropped after a pre-formative, which takes its pointing (like *N* in § 68, Rem. 2); e. g. לִנְחָת for לִנְחַת and he grieved Lam. 3, 33, נִירְדָּה for נִירְדֵּה and they cast, also in verse 53. And so also from a verb יָבַשׁ of the second class, יִבְשָׂה for יִבְשֵׁה and he dried it up Nah. 1, 4; comp. יִרְשֹׁם 2 Chr. 32, 30 *Qerî*.

7. In the *Imper. Hiph.*, instead of the usual form חָשַׁב, ī is also found in the 2d syllable: חָשִׁיבָא Is. 48, 8; חָפִיעָה Ps. 94, 1 (before מ, perhaps a mere misspelling for חָפִיעָה); חָבֵבָה Prov. 19, 25. With a closing guttural the 2d syllable has generally ḥ, e. g. חָרַע חָזַע, comp. also חָקָר Prov. 25, 17. On the other hand ī appears again everywhere in open syllables, thus חָשְׁבָר חָשְׁבָה and so always before suffixes (§ 61, 2).—The *Impf. Hiph.*, like *Impf. Qđl*, takes *S'għol* when the tone

is drawn back, as חָטָא וַיֹּאמֶר let him add Prov. 1, 5, חָטָא וְיִרְאֶה and he added (חָטָא Prov. 80, 6 is anomalous), in pause however also חָטָא וְיִרְאֶה as Jussive, Job 40, 92 (usually, Jussive in pause etc., the latter form also outside of the pause after Wāw consecutive Gen. 47, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 4). With final guttural יְהִי וְיִרְאֶה (Jussive) and יְהִי וְיִרְאֶה etc. On forms like יְהִי וְיִרְאֶה, see § 53, Rem. 7 — In Hoph. are some cases of י for י, as חָדָע for חָדָע Lev. 4, 23, 38, and יְרֵא for יְרֵא Prov. 11, 25. However comp. Delitzsch

8. The verb חָלַךְ to go is connected in part with verbs מְלַךְ of the first class, for it forms (as if from חָלַךְ) *Impf.* רָאַלְךְ, with Wāw cons. רָאַלְךְ, in pause רָאַלְךְ (§ 29, 4. Rem.), *Inf. constr.* בָּאַלְךְ, w. suf. לְכָהַר, לְכָהַר, לְכָהַר, *Imp.* רָאַלְךְ, w. m. cohort. לְכָהַר, and also לָקְהַר Num. 23, 13, and so *Hiph.* חָלַךְ. Rarely and almost exclusively in later books and in poetry, we find also the regular inflections from חָלַךְ, as *Impf.* רָאַלְךְ, *Inf.* חָלַךְ (Num. 22, 14, 16, Eccl. 8, 8, 9), *Imp.* pl. חָלְכָו (Jel. 51, 50), on the contrary *Perf. Qāl* is always חָלַךְ, *Part.* חָלַךְ, *Inf. abs.* חָלַךְ, *Niph.* נָחַלְךְ, *Piel.* חָלַךְ, *Hithp.* חָלַחְךְ, so that in this verb a י nowhere distinctly appears as first radical. An obsolete stem רָאַלְךְ may however be assumed, although in a word so much used as חָלַךְ, the feeble letter ה may itself be treated like י, and so the inflection resembles סְרִי. Comp. also the feeble נְאָלֶה, e. g. חָלְבָה from אֲנוֹל (§ 68 2), and חָלְבָה from תְּלַבְּה, *Impf. Hiph.* אֲכִירָה from תְּלַבְּה like אֲבָרָה 2 K. 8, 19 from תְּלַבְּה.

§ 70.

VERBS י"ב SECOND CLASS, OR VERBS PROPERLY י"ב.

E. g. יָתַב to be good. *Paradigm L.*

The most essential points of difference between verbs properly י"ב and verbs י"ב are the following:—

1. Qāl has only the stronger of the two forms described in § 69, 1, viz. that in which the radical י remains, *Inf.* יָתַב, with the *Impf. A.*, as יָתַב, יָתַב, יָתַב, also written יָתַב etc.; and so always with accented ā in the 2d syllable, even after Wāw consec. יָתַב, the *Păthāch* of which becomes *Seghōl* when the tone shifts back, as יָתַב and he awoke Gen. 9, 24, יָתַב (from יָתַב) and he formed Gen. 2, 7.

2. In Hiphil the י is regularly retained in writing, and is pronounced as a diphthongal e (*Sere*), e. g. חִיטִּיב (from חִיטִּיב), *Impf.* חִיטִּיב, חִיטִּיב; uncontracted with the diphthong ai, as in יָשַׁרְךָ they make straight Prov. 4, 25; חִיצֵּר (Imper.), Ps. 5, 9 in Q'ri, comp. Gen. 8, 17 in Q'ri.

NB. The following are the only verbs of this kind: יְבַשׁ *to be good*, יְגַזֵּעַ *to suck*, יְקַרֵּא *to awake*, יְצַרֵּה *to form*, יְלַלֵּל (only in Hiph.) *to bewail*, יְשַׁרֵּעַ *to be straight*, יְבַשָּׁה (Arab. *yâbišâ*) *to be dry* (yet like the יְהִי, *Hiph.* יְמַרֵּב) and the *Hiph.* יְמַרְּמִין (denom. of יְמַרֵּן) *to go to the right*.

Rem. Of the *Impf. Hiph.* there is an anomalous form with preformatives put before the already contracted form: יְיִמְבַּרְבֵּב Job. 24, 21; יְיִלְלֵל he wails, אֲלַלְלֵל I wail, יְיִלְלֵל ye wail, Is. 15, 2, 65, 14, Jer. 48, 31, Hos. 7, 14; also יְשַׁרְבֵּב Job 24, 21; and once even in *Impf. Qäl* in יְרַעַם Ps. 138, 6, from בְּרַעַם. *Kimchi* and others explain the above forms from an exchange of sound between *Yôdh* and *Hê*, assuming as a base the non-syncopated form יְלַלְלֵל (comp. Is. 52, 5) etc. But then also יְיִמְבַּרְבֵּב should be explained, with *Kimchi* as *Hiphil*. It might be more correct to suppose that originally the regular forms (בְּבַרְבָּר, יְלַלְלֵל) were intended, but were separated in the later pronunciation in order to reestablish artificially the preformative which had been blended with the 1st stem consonant. Other anomalies also are: *Perf. Hiph.* יְרַבְּבֵב Ez. 36, 11 (with separating vowel for דִּירְבָּרְדִּי) after the analogy of יְמַרְבֵּב (*Impf. Qäl* for Nah. 3, 8; וְתִנְקַרְתָּה *Impf. Hiph.*, after the analogy of יְמַרְבֵּב, Exod. 2, 9). In the same way יְקַרְבֵּן the *Hiphil* from יְקַרְבָּנְהָי is always used instead of the *Hiph.* γַּרְכִּים (from קַרְבָּנָה). On יְגַזְּנָה Nah. 1, 4, see § 69, Rem. 6.

§ 71.

VERBS יְהִי. THIRD CLASS, OR CONTRACTED VERBS יְהִי.

This class embraces those verbs יְהִי, of the first and second class, whose ה does not quiesce in long i or é, but is assimilated like א. Some verbs are exclusively of this class, e.g. יְצַעַ to spread under, *Hiph.* חַצְעָן, *Hoph.* חַצְעָתָה; יְצַהֵּר to burn up, *Impf.* יְצַהֵּת, *Niph.* נַצְחָתָה, *Hiph.* הַצְחָתָה; others have two forms, the one sharp with the ה assimilated, the other weaker with the ה quiescent, as יְצַקֵּנָה to pour, *Impf.* יְצַקֵּנָה and יְצַקֵּנָה (1 K. 22, 35); יְצַרֵּנָה to form, *Impf.* יְצַרֵּנָה and יְצַרֵּנָה (Is. 44, 12, Jer. 1, 5); יְשַׁרֵּנָה to be straight, *Impf.* יְשַׁרֵּנָה and יְשַׁרְנָה (for יְשַׁרְנָה acc. to § 47, Rem. 3) comp. מְאַשְׁרָם Hos. 10, 10 (1 Sam. 6, 12).—It is worthy of notice that the verbs which are thus inflected have an e-sound as the second radical, with the exception of יְקַרְבֵּנָה (1 K. 3, 15) and הַלְּדָתָה (Gen. 40, 20, Ez. 16, 5) *Inf. Hoph.* from לְדָתָה.

NB. Verbs of this class (which seldom occur) are inflected like verbs יְהִי, for which they may easily be mistaken by the learner. When, therefore, a form has not a root יְהִי in the lexicon, he should look for one of this class under *Yôdh*.

The first two classes are exhibited in their distinctive forms in Paradigms K and L, § 69. The third follows exactly verbs יְהִי, and is besides very rare.

§ 72.

VERBS י"ג.

E. g. קָם to rise up. *Paradigm M.*

1. In these verbs (with a few exceptions, Rem. 10 below) the middle stem-letter י always gives up its consonant sound and quiesces; not merely in the usual cases (according to § 24, 1) when a Sh^wâ precedes or follows, as שׁוֹב bôsh for בּוֹשׁ b'wôsh, but also when it is both preceded and followed by a full vowel, as קָם Part. Pass. for קָרְוִים Inf. absol. for קָרוֹם. Hence the stem or root appears always as a mono-syllable.

2. The vowel in which the י quiesces is essentially the vowel of the second syllable, which, in the verb, almost universally characterises the form (§ 43, Rem. 1, § 67, 2). However we must here remark *a)* that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in an accented closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph.*, v. No. 3) e. g. 3d pers. *Perf.* סָקַם from קָם, *sem.* קָמָה, *Pl.* קָמָר, but in the closed penult קָמָת etc.;¹ *b)* that in the present forms the lengthening of the original short vowel is sometimes performed anomalously, e. g. *Impf. Qäl* יִקְרֵם from יִקְרֹם (the normal lengthening of ü appears again in the *jussive* יִקְרֶם, *Impf. constr.* סָקְרָה); *Imper.* קָרֵם (from original קָרֹם lengthened normally in 2. *sem. pl.* into

¹ In the Aramean, and also in Heb. Grammars before Kimchi, the long ä is found, as קָמָה, יִקְרָה etc., but in our editions of the Bible, it is so only in pause, e. g. קָרְבָּנִי Mic. 7, 8, קָרְבָּנִי 2 K. 7, 3, 4. If we explained (with Olsh. et al.) the ä of the *Perf. Qäl* סָקַם as a combination of two ää which have remained after the elision of the י in סָקַם, then we ought to suppose that the language (or the Massôrâ) was mistaken later in respect to the origin of this ä; for an ä contracted from ää could hardly be shortened, as it is in סָקָה etc. Nor could ö in יִקְרָה etc. (v. Rem. 1) be kept in a closed penult, if it had arisen by contraction from băüschtî and not rather by lengthening from băüschtî.

חָצֵבְנִי because long *u* could not be retained in a closed penult. Comp. with this No. 4.

The intransitive verbs *middle E* take in *Perf.* (and *Part.*) *Qäl* the form of מַתָּה (from מַתָּה) *he is dead*; the verbs *middle O* take the form of אָזַר (from אָזַר) *it shone*, בָּשַׂר (from בָּשַׂר) *he was ashamed*. Comp. Rem. 1, below.

3. The preformatives in the *Impf.* *Qäl* and *Perf.* *Niph.*, and throughout *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which before the mono-syllabic stem form a simple syllable, take instead of the short vowel of the regular form the corresponding long one. In *Qäl* and *Niph.* the original *u* is the vowel which is lengthened and not *i*, attenuated from *ä* (§ 67, 6), e. g. יְקִים for חֲקִים, יְקִים for חֲקִים, חֲקִים for חֲקִם.

This vowel is changeable, and becomes *Shwā* when the tone is thrown forward, e. g. before suff. בְּתִירְנָה he will kill him, and in the full plural form of the *Impf.* יְמָתְנָן they will die.

The *i* in *Hoph.* forms an exception; for it has become a quite firm and unchangeable vowel, as if it had been transposed, and so חֲקִים had become חֲקִם, hence חֲקִם.

4. The above (No. 2) mentioned cases of unusual vowel lengthening are: *Impf.* *Qäl* יְקִים (also Arab. *jäqūmu*); on the other hand *Jussive* יְקִם with retraction of tone קָם (*jäqōm*), וְקִם (in pause נִיקִם); *Imper.* קִם (in the 2d fem. pl. v. No. 2 above, *u* is normally lengthened); *Infin. constr.* קִים. In *Hiph.* the lengthening of the original *i* into *i* (*Impf.* חֲקִים, Jussive יְקִם with retraction of tone קָם, וְקִם) corresponds entirely with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53, 1). The following forms require a particular explanation: the *Part.* *Qäl* סָמֵךְ may be traced to the groundform with *a* uninflated (Arab. *qātil*, § 9, 10, 2, § 50, 2); after the rejection of the *r* there was *qālm*¹ and this became סָמֵךְ,—the *i* being absorbed by the predominating *a*. The immutability of the *a* (pl. קָמִים, constr. קָמִר etc.) favors this explanation.—In the *Impf.* *Qäl* again there are found, besides the forms with original *u* (now *u*), forms with original *ä*. This *ä* became *ä* after the elision of *r* and was again inflected into *o*; so especially

¹ Arab. *qāim* (really *qā'īm* in which the two vowels are united by the insertion of *h*, comp. Aram. حَاقِمٌ) rarely contracted, as *sās* for *sāīs*, *hār* for *hāīr*. Others think that סָמֵךְ is for סָמֵקְ, like the verbal adjective לְאַמֵּךְ, comp. § 84, 1.

אָמַר etc. from the *Perf.* אָמַר (he has come). In the *Impf.* יִבְאַשׁ from בָּאַשׁ to be ashamed, the ē of the preformative has been lengthened from i (attenuation of original ā) and thus *yī-bāsch* became *yē-bāsch* and finally *yē-bōsch*. The *Niph.* נִקְוֹם (נִקְוֹם) *Impf.* יִקְוֹם (יִקְוֹם) have arisen in the same way (*yiq-q[aw]ām* = *yiqqām*) by the obscuration of ā which was lengthened from ā.

5. In the *Perf.* *Niph.* and *Hiph.* (in order to keep the long vowel of the stem), an i is regularly inserted before the afformatives (1st and 2nd person) that begin with a consonant, and — is inserted in *Impf.* *Qāl* before the afformative קָה (comp. § 67, 4) As in verbs ע"צ, these separating vowels are an artificial opening of the preceding syllable in order that the latter may retain its long vowel; however there is also frequently found in the *Perf.* *Hiph.* before i the reduction of i into ē (as a normal lengthening of the original i) especially after the *Wān. consec.* as well as before the afformatives חָמֵךְ and חָמֵךְ or before suffixes. For in all these cases the accent is removed from the i to the following syllable, and this removal of tone produces, at the same time, a great weakening of the i; thus חִימָתָה, חִיקָםָה (or חִקָםָה) but חִקְמָתָה etc. (however comp. Micah 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *Perf.* *Niph.*, the ô before the separating vowel is always modified into u (קִינְמָה). In the *Impf.* *Qāl* the separating — is always accented (תִּקְוִמְתָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with tone-long ô and ē instead of u and i are found in *Impf.* *Qāl*, בְּשָׁבֵן Ez. 16, 55 (also בְּשָׁבֵית in the same verse), in *Hiph.* as בְּזָבֵךְ Ex. 20, 25, but also בְּזָבֵית in Job 81, 21, בְּזָבֵךְ Job 20, 10. Wholly abnormal is בְּזָבֵךְ Jer. 44, 25 probably a transposition of יְמָה (for בְּזָבֵית) or an incorrect vowel writing (for בְּזָבֵית).

6. The *tone*, as in verbs ע"צ, is not thrown forward upon the afformatives חָמֵךְ, חָמֵךְ, e. g. קָמָה (however after *Wān consec.* also רָקָמָה), קָמָו (however also רָקָמָו), תִּקְמָרִי, קָמָרִי, רָקָמָרִי; on the other hand before suffixes and with *Nūn paragogic* נִיסְכָּת 2 Chr. 28, 15; יִקְוֹמָת Deut. 33, 11. For the accent on the i and —, see No. 5. In those forms which do not take either of these endings, the accentuation is quite regular, e. g. מָתָקְתָּ; so always in *Hoph.*, e. g. חִיקְמָתָה.

7. The conjugations *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Huthp.*, are very seldom found in the *weak* verbs עָזַב (comp. Rem. 10). The only instance of *Pi.* with the נ as a doubled consonant is עָזַב to surround from עָזַב. In a few others נ has taken the place of נ, as in קִים Inf. קִים Esth. 9, 31, 32 from קִם; וְחִיבָּתִים Dan. 1, 10 from חִיבָּה to be guilty, which forms belong to the later Hebrew, and were borrowed from the Aramaean. On the contrary, the elsewhere rarer conjugation *Pi'lēl* (§ 55, 2), with its passive and reflexive, is the common form employed in the sense of *Piel*, and as its substitute; e. g. קָרַב from קָרַם or (after the elision of נ) from qāmēm with obscuring of א to ô (comp. § 67, 8) to set up (from קִים), רָומֵם to raise, pass. רָומֵם (from רָם), reflex. to reuse one's self (from עִיר). More rare is the conjugation *Pilpēl* (see § 55, 4), e. g. בְּלִבְלֵל to sustain, to nourish; pass. בְּלִבְלֵל (from כִּיל).

REMARKS.

I. On Qđl.

1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O*, which in the strong verb also have their *Perf.* and *Part.* the same (§ 50, 2), the following are examples; viz. *Perf.* מֻמָּת (for מֻמָּתָּה) he is dead, fem. מֻמָּתָּה 2. *masc.* מֻמָּתָּה, 1 *sing.* מֻמָּתָּה even in *Pause* Gen. 10, 19, 1 *pl.* מֻמָּתָּה, 3 *pl.* מֻמָּתָּה; מַשְׁמֵן (for מַשְׁמֵן) he is ashamed, מַשְׁמֵן, מַשְׁמֵן, מַשְׁמֵן; אֲשַׁם it has shined, Plur. אֲשַׁם, אֲשַׁם, אֲשַׁם. *Part.* מֻמָּת dead; מַשְׁמֵן ashamed ones Ez. 32, 30. See the Paradigm M.

Isolated anomalies are also in the *Perf.* מַשְׁמֵן (with the original ending of the fem. for מַשְׁמֵן) Ez. 46, 17 (v. § 44, Rem. 4); מַקְנֵה Is. 26, 16. (*Nun. parag.* with *Perf.* only Deut. 8, 3, 16).—In מַנְנֵה 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for מַנְנֵה from בְּנֵה) the נ has been dropped contrary to custom. In מַמְמֵה Jer. 27, 18 (instead of מַמְמֵה) the Massora seems to point towards the *Imperf.* מַמְמֵה, which might be expected there; as Yôdh precedes we may suppose that it is simply a mistake in writing. In the *Perf.* and *Part.*, the usual form מַעַת is only very seldom written with מ (after the Arab. mode, § 9, 1), as in מַעַת he rises Hos. 10, 14, מַעַת being secret Judg. 4, 21, מַעַת despisers Ez. 28, 24, 26, fem. 16, 57. The *Part.* in verbs med. מ takes at times also the form of קְמַת for מַעַת 2 K. 16, 7; even with a transitive sense, as לִמְתַח covering Is. 25, 7, for בְּסִירִים Zech. 10, 5.

2. Verbs whose imperfects have מ take also מ in the *Imper.* and *Inf. constr.*, thus מַתְאַגֵּן, Imper. and Inf. מַתְאַגֵּן; however for שְׁמַרְתָּךְ he thrashes (*Impf.* שְׁמַרְתָּךְ) the *Imper.* has הַשְׁמַרְתָּךְ (fem.) Micah 4, 18; for שְׁמַרְתָּךְ he staggers the *Inf.* is שְׁמַרְתָּךְ; comp. שְׁמַרְתָּךְ (also שְׁמַרְתָּךְ) and שְׁמַרְתָּךְ Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere שְׁמַרְתָּךְ) with

the *Impf.* וְיָבֹאֵת and וְיָבֹאֵ. The *Inf. absol.* has always י in the final syllable (like קְרַבְתִּי), as קְרַבְתִּי *surgendo surgent* Jer. 44, 29 — Those verbs which have י in the *Inf. constr.* mostly retain it in the *Impf.*, וְיָבֹאֵ he will come = בְּוֹשֵׁת, בְּעֹז etc.

3 In the *Imp.* with affirmatives (קְרַבְתִּי, קְרַבְתִּים) the tone is on the stem syllable, with a few exceptions, as שָׁרֵר in Judg. 5, 12, an intended variation with שָׁרֵר and צָרֵר Is. 21, 2 likewise for liturgical reasons. So too the lengthened form, as שָׁרֵךְ Jer. 3, 12, Ps. 7, 8, שָׁרֵה Ps. 7, 7; but often also with the tone at the end, specially if an נ begins the next word, Ps. 82, 8, Judg. 4, 18, and so too before יְהִיה, because this was read as אָרְנִי (§ 17), see Ps. 3, 8, 7, 7, even without נ following 74, 22 (רְבָחָ).

4. The shortened *Impf.* as *Jussive* (§ 48, 4), has the form יְרַכֵּב (see above No. 4) also incorrectly written fully and even יְרַכְּבֵ which however differs only orthographically from יְרַכֵּ. In the form with *Wāw consec.* (וְיִרְכֶּב, in pause וְיִרְכֶּבּ) with a guttural or a *Resh*, the final syllable usually takes *Päthach*, e. g. סְרַכְּבֵ and he turned aside Ruth 4, 1 (but also וְיִרְכֶּבּ from כָּרַכְּ), וְנִכְּבֶּבּ and he rested Gen. 20, 11, וְיִרְכֶּבּ and he uearied Judg. 4, 21, 1 Sam. 14, 28, 31 (on the other hand in open syll. always יְרַכְּבֵ etc.).

The full plural-ending וּn has the tone (according to No. 6 on p. 177), e. g. וְיִרְכְּבּ Gen. 3, 3, 4, וְיִנְכְּבּ Ps. 104, 7, וְיִרְכְּבּ Joel 2, 4, 7, 9.

II On *Niph'el*

5. In the Paradigm M. the form of the 1 pers. sing. *Perf.* נִקְרַבְתִּי, which occurs repeatedly, as in נִסְתַּרְתִּי, נִסְתַּרְתִּי, is taken as the model also for the 2 pers. sing. נִקְרַמְתִּי and for the 1 pers. plur. נִקְרַמְתִּים, although no examples of them occur, so too the 2 pers. plur., of which we find only forms with ô (not û), viz. פְּסַצְׁרוּתָם; ye have been scattered Ez. 11, 17, 20, 34, 41, and נִקְרַבְתִּם נִקְרַבְתִּים ye loathe yourselves Ez. 20, 4; — To the i (instead of ä) of the *Piel*formative may be traced the *Perf.* נִיעַר Zech. 2, 17 (*Impf.* יִזְעַר for יִזְעַר). The *Inf. constr.* occurs once in the anomalous form Is. 25, 10, in לְאֹרֶר Job 38, 30 the Massora supposes the syncope of ה (for לְאֹרֶה), but perhaps אֹרֶל (Qđl) is meant. Comp. also Rem. 9.

III On *Hiph'el*.

6 Examples of the *Perf.* without the inserted י are הִנְפַּתְתָּ thou liftest Ex. 20, 25, הִנְפַּתְתָּ thou killest (from מִתְתַּר, comp. § 20, 1, a), הִנְפַּתְתָּה thou fem. *Perf.* *Hiph.* of סָרַת or סָרַת 1 K. 21, 25, הִנְפַּתְתָּ 1 plur. *Perf.* *Hiph.* of מִתְתַּר 2 Chron. 29, 19, and even הִנְפַּתְתָּה (§ 27, Rem. 3) Num. 17, 6, with *Wāw consec.* הִנְפַּתְתָּה Is. 14, 30, comp. דְּלִבְתָּה, Jer. 16, 18 and הִנְפַּתְתָּה Ex. 29, 24. — In these cases the ē in the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the antepenult it becomes —; more fre-

quently however —, and in the syllable before the antepenult it is necessarily — (e.g. יְהִיּוּת Gen 6, 18, and so always before the suffix).— As in verbs עָפָר (§ 67, Rem. 6) these verbs take before gutturals also Pā'thāch instead of —, thus in all the forms of צַדֵּק Ex 19, 23 and צַדְקָה Is. 41, 25 45, 18.

7 In the *Impf.*, besides the shortened form בָּרְךָם, the lengthened בָּרְכָּת also occurs. With suff. דָּבְרָיָה, דָּבְרָנָה Jer 17, 18 is anomalous (for בָּבָא Gen 43, 16), perhaps was meant (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40) or it was originally בָּבָרָתָה. In the *Inf.* the מ is syncopated in בָּבָרָת Jer 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for בָּבָרָיָה). The participles have ē as vowel of the preformative like the עָמָל, for בָּבָרָיָה (1 K. 21, 21 in *Kethibh*) the Qər̄i is everywhere בָּבָרָיָה.

The shortened *Impf.* has the form יָמַם, (יָמַמָּה, but always יָמַמָּה comp No 4 above) The final syllable, when it has a guttural or *Resh*, takes Pā'thāch, as in Qāl, e.g. יָמַח 1 Sam 26, 19, יָמַח Gen 8, 21; יָמַס Neh. 2, 20, more rarely יָמַשׁ Josh 14, 7.

IV. In General.

8. On account of the intimate relation between verbs עָמָל and עָמַד (§ 67), it is necessary, in analysing forms, to note particularly the points in which these classes differ. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e.g. *Impf. Qāl* with Wāw consecutive, *Pi'lēl* of עָמָל and *Pi'ēl* of עָמַד. Hence it is that verbs עָמָל borrow forms from verbs עָמַד, as in *Perf. Qāl* בָּזַה he despised (from בָּזַה, as if from עָמַד) Zech 4, 10, שָׂמַח (from שָׂמַח) he besmeared Is 44, 18. *Perf. Niph.* בָּשַׂר Jel. 48, 11 (for בָּשַׂר from בָּשַׂר, as if from עָמַד).

9. In common with verbs עָמָל (§ 67, 5), these verbs have also in *Niph.* and *Hiph.* the Aramaic and Rabbinic formation, which substitutes, for the long vowel under the preformatives, a short one followed by *Daghēsh forte*. This form and the common one are often both in use, e.g. הַמִּתְּרָה to incite, *Impf. Yit'hār* (also יִתְּהַרְּה, הַמִּתְּרָה, יִתְּהַרְּה and he shows the way 2 Sam 22, 33^a (also יִתְּהַרְּה Piov 12, 26), הַמִּסְגֵּב to remove, *Impf. Yim'sagib* (from סְגִיב), also *Hoph.* הַסְּבָב Is 59, 14, sometimes with a difference of meaning, as חַמְרָה to cause to rest, וְהַזְּרָה to set down, *Impf. Yim'zār*, *Impf. Hazzār*, plur. חַמְרָה, וְהַזְּרָה to spend the night, to abide, מְלָא, מְלָא to be headstrong or rebellious Other examples *Niph.* נִמְצָא (from מָלַא, not מָלַל) to be circumcised Gen 17, 26, 27, *Part. 34*, 22, with a guttural Zech 8, 17; *Hiph.* הַחִיל to despise Lam 1, 8, יָלֹא they depart Piov 4, 21.

To this class are perhaps to be referred some forms of verbs *Pē Guttural* with *Daghēsh forte implicitum*, which others derive from another root, or wish to amend, viz. צְרָרָה for צְרָרָה and she hastens (from צְרָרָה) Job. 31, 5, עֲזָרָה (others read עֲזָרָה) 1 Sam. 15, 19, 25, 14 from עֲזָרָה, עֲזָרָה

to rush upon. Both forms would be correct *imperf.* apoc. of חַפֵּשׂ and חַפֵּשֶׁת (לִמְדָה), both are found however with quite a different signification from that required in this case.

10. Verbs, in which the middle stem-letter *Wāw* is sounded as a consonant, are, in respect to this letter, perfectly regular; e. g. חָרֵב, *Impf.* חָרַבְנָה; חָרוּשׁ, *Impf.* חָרוּשׁ; רָוַח, *Impf.* רָוַחֲנָה; רָוַחַת, *Hithp.* רָוַחֲנָה to be wide; Pi. חָצַל, *Impf.* חָצַלְנָה to act wickedly; צִיר, *Impf.* צִירָה to bend, *Hithp.* צִירָה to bend one's self, especially in those which are also at the same time verbs חָזַק, *Impf.* חָזַקְנָה to command, קָנַח, *Impf.* קָנַחְנָה to wait, רָיַח, *Impf.* רָיַחְנָה to drink, Pi. and *Hiph.* רָיַחַת to cause to drink.

§ 73.

VERBS וְזָ.

E. g. בִּין to discern. Paradigm N.

1. These verbs have the same inflection as verbs וְעָ, and the ר is here treated in the same manner as the ר of that class; e. g. *Perf.* Qāl שָׁתַּה (for שִׁתָּה) he has set, *Inf.* שִׁתָּה, *Inf. absol.* שְׁתָותָה (for שִׁתָּה), *Imp.* שִׁתָּה, *Impf.* שִׁתְּהָ, *Jussive* שִׁתְּהָ, with *Wāw consec.* שְׁתָתָה.—But the *Perf.* Qāl has, in several verbs, still a second set of forms, which resemble a *Hiph'il* with the characteristic ה elided, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; (similar to בִּינְתָּה) בִּינְתָּה (for בִּינָה) Dan. 9, 2, also בִּנְתָּה Ps. 139, 2; thou contendest Job. 33, 13, also בִּנְתָּה Lam. 3, 58. The above perfects (בִּין, בִּיבָּה and the like) might be taken as forms *med. e* (really א) whose i has been lengthened into ī (as ū into ū instead of ö in the *Impf.* Qāl of כוֹם). It is more probable however that they actually are a shortened *Hiphil* form; especially as often complete *Hiph.* forms occur, e. g. *Perf.* הַבִּין, *Inf.* הַבִּין (also בִּין), *Imp.* הַבִּין (also בִּין), *Part.* מַבִּין. Elsewhere *Hiphil* forms are in use along with actual *Qāl*-forms with the same signification, so too מַרְיבָּה (also רַב), מַשְׁטָּם putting (also שְׁטָמָה), מַכְרִיחָה glittering (also in *Perf.* צָמָה). Moreover, as *passive*, we find a few times *Hoph. Impf.* יְוִישָׁר from יִוְשַׁת to sing, from יִוְשַׁת to set.

2. The above *Hiph.* forms may easily be traced to verbs וְעָ, and possibly they in part belong to that class. The same may be said of *Niph.* בְּנָה, Pi. לְלָה, בְּנָה, and *Hithpəlēl* (as הַתְּבִלֵּן

if from בִּין). These verbs are in every respect closely related to verbs עָשָׂה. Hence it is that we find several verbs used in the *Qăl*, as עָשָׂה and עָשָׂה, and with the same meaning in both forms, as לְיַנֵּחַ (*denom.* from לִילָּה *night* but see Davies' Heb. Lex. under v. לִינָה, I.) *to spend the night*, Inf. לִינָה oftener than שִׁמְעָה; שִׁמְעָה to put, Inf. שָׁמָעָה (rarely Job 20, 4), Impf. שָׁמְעוּם once יִשְׁמְעָם (Ex. 4, 11), Part. pass. שָׁמְעָם and שָׁמְעָם. In other verbs, one of the two is the predominant form, as נִגְלַל to exult (גָּלַל only in Prov. 23, 24 *K'thîbh*). The following are mostly found as verbs רָבָּה—שְׁרִיתָה—רָבָּה—רָבָּה to contend, to set, to judge, שְׁרִיתָה to rejoice; so too Perf. בָּלָה (for in Arab. it is a verb *mid.* Yôdh) to comprehend, to measure Is. 40, 12, שְׁרִיתָה (as in Arab. and Syr.) to rush upon; and the Perf. קָרַץ (*denom.* from קָרַץ) to pass the summer Is. 18, 6, and דָרַג (from דָרַג) to fish Jer. 16, 16.

The older grammarians did not recognise such verbs, but referred all the forms to verbs עָשָׂה. Indeed in many cases a decision is impossible, as imperfects like שְׁמִירָה may be just as well referred to the *Hiph.* of שָׁמַת and as participles, like שְׁמֹרָה and other forms, agree already with the form of the עָשָׂה. In modern Arabic we find an exactly corresponding abbreviation (comp. בִּין above No. 1) of the *Hiph'il* (Conj. IV.) of verbs עָשָׂה. However forms still remain which can only be traced to verbs עָשָׂה comp. Rem. 3. The Arabic, as also Ethiopic, has actual verbs עָשָׂה, and עָשָׂה, and the Hebrew has some with a *Yôdh* as a consonant, like אָרַב to hate, and חָזַק to tire, תְּחִיַּה to be, תְּחִיָּה to live.

The paradigm N is placed in connection with that of verbs עָשָׂה (Parad. M), in order to exhibit the parallel between the two classes. The conjugations which Parad. N omits have the same form as in Parad. M.

Rem. 1. In the *Perf.* *Qăl*, 3d fem. sing. there is found once בְּנָה Zech. 5, 4 instead of בְּנָה, with the weakening of the toneless ā into ē (like fem. participles בְּרִירָה Is. 50, 5); 1st pers. plur. בְּנָה Judges 19, 13 for *lan-nū*. The lengthened imperative has before נ the tone on the ultima (as by the verbs עָשָׂה § 72, Rem. 3); רְקַדֵּה Ps. 85, 1, the same also elsewhere (Ps. 43, 1, 74, 22, 119, 154) for rhythmical reasons. Examples of the *Inf. absol.* are רָב litigando Judg. 11, 25, מְפַנֵּשׁ ponendo Is. 22, 7, but also בִּין קְבִרִין Jer. 50, 34, רִירַב Prov. 28, 1.

2. The *Impf. apoc.* is בְּנָה; with shifted tone it takes the form with S'ghôl, as בְּנָה Judg. 6, 31. So with Wâw consec. שְׁמַעַנָּה and he placed, בְּנָה and he perceived; with guttural בְּנָה וְעַלְתָּה and he flew at them 1 Sam. 25, 14 (vide § 72, Rem. 9). As Jussive of בִּין stands בְּנָה Judges 19, 20 (in pause) and Job. 17, 2 for בְּנָה.

3. As Part. act. *Qāl* we find once נַעֲמָד spending the night Neh. 13, 21; Part. pass. נִעֲמָד or נִעֲמָת (according to a different reading) 2 Sam. 13, 32.

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4. Verbs נְבָאֵל scarcely ever suffer their נ to quiesce, and hence are to be regarded as verbs 'Ayin Guttural, as in § 64. An exception where the נ has lost its force as a consonant is: נְאָמֵן they are fair (from נִאָמֵן *Pi'lēl* to נִאָמֵן really נִאָמֵן) Is. 52, 7, Cant. 1, 10. Very doubtful on the other hand is נְאָמֵן it blooms (Ec. 12, 5) Impf. Hiph. of נִאָמֵן, for נְאָמֵן; if the form has been correctly preserved, it could better be traced back to נִאָמֵן (with incorrect writing for נִיָּמֵן) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

§ 74.

VERBS נְבָאֵל.

E. g. נְבָאֵל to find. *Paradigm O.*

The נ is here, as in verbs נְבָאֵל, treated partly as a consonant with a soft guttural sound (scarcely audible at the end of a syllable), partly as a quite inaudible (quiescent) letter, according to the following rules:—

1. In those forms which end with the third radical, the final syllable has always the regular vowels, e.g. נְאָמֵן, נְאָמֵת, נְאָמֵר, נְאָמֵרָה. In all these cases the נ is simply absorbed into the long vowel without the latter being subject to any variations; at the utmost there might have been preserved originally a certain sound of the נ after the quite heterogeneous א. Therefore in the *Perf.*, *Impf.* and *Imp.* *Qāl*, in the *Perf.* *Niph.*, and *Pū'āl* and *Hoph.*, the *Pā'thāch* is lengthened before the feeble נ into *Qā'meṣ* (§ 23, 1), as נְאָמֵת, נְאָמֵר, etc., which (—) however is movable (§ 25, 2), hence we have in the plural נְאָמְרוּ.

The *Impf.* and *Imp.* *Qāl* have א after the analogy of verbs *Lā'međh Guttural.*

2. Also before afformatives beginning with a consonant (נ, נ) the נ is not heard, but is quiescent in the *Perf.* *Qāl*, in *Qā'meṣ*, as נְאָמֵן מְנֻחָה (for נְאָמֵן מְנֻחָה); in the *Perf.* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, in *Sē'rē*, as נְאָמֵן מְנֻחָה; in the *Imp.* and *Impf.* of all the conjugations, in *S'ghōl*, as נְאָמֵן מְנֻחָה.

The *S'ghôl* of these forms of the *Impf.* and *Imp.* may be considered throughout as an inflection and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (v. § 8, 1). In the same way the *ē* of the *Perf.* forms in *Piel*, *Hiphil*, *Hithpael* may be traced to an original *i* (as the usual 3d pers. sing. of this conjugation) although this *i* may have been attenuated from an original *ā*. Regarding the *Niphal*, we might refer to traces of a weakening of the *ā* to *i* with the verbs *עָשָׂה* (§ 67, Rem. 5); the supposition however lies nearer that the *Niphal* has yielded to the pervading analogy of the other conjugations. The use of *S'érê* and *S'ghôl* is otherwise explained from the great resemblance between verbs *נְבָדַל* and *נְבָדֵל* (comp. § 75, 2), and an approximation of the former to the latter. No form of this kind in *Pū'al*; in *Perf.* *Hoph.* only 2d *masc.* *נִמְצָאַת* Ez. 40, 4, lengthened in accordance with the rule.

Before the suffixes *נָ*, *מָ*, *כָּ*, *בָּ*, the *N* retains its character as a guttural, and takes (—); as *נִמְצָאַת* Cant. 8, 1, *נִמְצָאַת* Ez. 28, 13; comp. § 65, 2, Rem. The reason (as in verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*) is, that those suffixes require before them a *Sh'vâ mobile*.

3. At the beginning of a syllable or before affirmatives beginning with a vowel, as well as before suffixes; the *N* is a consonant, and the form regular, as *מִצְאָה* *mā-s'ē'u'*, *מִצְאָה* etc. (in *pause* *מִצְאָה*, *מִצְאָה*).

R E M A R K S.

1. Verbs *middle E*, like *אָלֶף* *to be full*, retain *S'érê* in the other persons of the *Perf.* as in *רָאָה*; yet 2 pl. *רָאָרְוּ* in Josh. 4, 24, *מָאָרְאָה* Esth. 7, 5. Instead of *רָאָה* is sometimes found the form *רָאָה* for *רָאָה* (after the form *רָאָה*, § 44, Rem. 4) *she names* Is. 7, 14, *it happens to* Jer. 44, 23, Deut. 31, 29, in *Niph.* *רָאָה*; Ps. 118, 23, in *Hoph.* *תְּבָאָה* Gen. 33, 11.

2. In the *Inf.* *Qâl* occurs the *fem.* form *רָאָה* *to fill* Lev. 12, 4 (comp. *רָאָה* from *רָאָה*); also *מְלָאָה* Job 20, 22 and Esth. 1, 5 written *מְלָאָה*. Compare similar forms Judges 8, 1, Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes Ez. 38, 12 and likewise in *Niph.* Zech. 18, 4.

3. The *Part. fem.* is commonly (by contraction) *רָאָה*, seldom *רָאָה* Cant. 8, 10, and without the *N* (see Rem. 4) *רָאָה* (from *רָאָה*) Deut. 28, 57. So too in *Niph.* *רָאָה* Zech. 5, 7 (cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 43, where it stands as a substantive, like L. *oblatum=oblatio, donum*) and 1 Ch. 14, 2; *רָאָה* Deut. 30, 11.—The Plur. of Part. *Niph.* makes *רָאָה* dropping the *Qameṣ* (1 Sam. 13, 15, 2 K. 14, 14), which however remains in *pause* (Ezr. 8, 25); so from *רָאָה* the plur. *רָאָהִים* (*but in p. בְּגָדָרִים* Ez. 18, 2); the *Qameṣ* remains also before suff. as *רָאָהִי* Is. 22, 3, and before fem. ending *רָאָהִית* 2 K. 19, 4, plur. *רָאָהִים* Gen. 19, 15. In the forms *רָאָהִים* *sinning* 1 Sam. 14, 38, and *רָאָהִים* *feigning them* Neh.

6, 8, the vowel *i* is drawn back (§ 23, 2) and the *n* orthographically retained.

4. The *n* is sometimes dropped: a) in the middle of the word as in מְרַבֵּחַ Num. 11, 11, מְרַבֵּחַ Job 32, 18, comp. 1, 21, מְמַרֵּחַ Judges 4, 19. In *impf.* מְרַבֵּחַ Jer. 9, 17, Zech. 5, 9, Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand the same form with pleonastic *Yôdh* analogous with מְרַבֵּחַ Ez. 23, 49 comp. Jer. 50, 20); *Niph.* מְמַרְבֵּתְּ ye are defiled Lev 11, 43; b) at the end of the word: מְרַבֵּה 1 K. 12, 12 קְרַבְּתִּיבְּ; *Hiph.* מְמַרְבֵּתְּ 2 K. 13, 6. *Hiph.* מְמַרְבֵּתְּ to cause to sin Jer. 32, 35.

Upon the transformation of verbs מְנֻבָּה into forms מְנֻבָּה v. § 75. Rem. VI.

§ 75.

VERBS מְנֻבָּה.

E. g. מְלֹאָה to reveal. Paradigm P.

These verbs, like the verbs יְהִי (§§ 69, 70), embrace two different classes of the irregular verb, viz. יְלִבָּה and יְלִבָּה, which in Arabic, and especially in Ethiopic, are still more clearly distinguished. But in Hebrew the original י and ל have passed over into a feeble ה, as a substitute for a final vowel (§ 23, 4), in all those forms which end with the third radical, and hence these verbs are called verbs הְלִבָּה; e. g. הְלִבָּה for יְלִבָּה he has revealed, הְלִבָּה for לִבָּה he has rested. By far the greater number, however, of these verbs are treated as originally יְלִבָּה; and only a few forms occur of verbs יְלִבָּה. The separation of these classes is therefore not so distinct as in verbs יְהִי and יְהִי.

A true verb יְלִבָּה is מְלֹאָה to be at rest, whence (with a י conson.) 1 pers. sing. *Perf.* Qđl מְלֹאָה Job. 3, 26, *Part.* מְלֹאָה, and the derivative מְלֹאָה rest; yet in the *Impf.* it has יְלִבָּה (with *Yôdh*). In מְלֹאָה I (Arab. يَلْبَسُ) to answer, and מְלֹאָה II (Arab. يَلْبَسُ) to suffer, to be oppressed, are two verbs originally distinct, but with the same form in Hebrew (see Davies' Heb. Lex.).—In Syriac the intermingling of these forms is carried still farther, verbs מְנֻבָּה being confounded with verbs מְנֻבָּה, i. e. with the two classes יְלִבָּה and יְלִבָּה of the Arabic.

Of quite another class are those verbs whose third stem-letter is a consonantal מ (distinguished by *Mappiq*, § 14, 1), e. g. מְלֹאָה to be high. They are inflected throughout like verbs *Lamedh Guttural*.

The grammatical structure of these verbs (which Paradigm P exhibits) is as follows:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wâw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped and **נ** is placed in its stead, as an orthographical compensation, indicating that a long vowel precedes. Such an indication was necessary already for practical reasons in the still unvocalized consonant text. But even after the addition of vowel signs, the orthographic rule still remained with very insignificant exceptions (v. § 8, No. 4 and *ā* in **תְּקַלֵּת** etc.), that a final vowel must be pointed out by a so-called vowel-letter.—In the verb **נָלַח**, the **נ** which here is employed as a vowel letter, is preceded in each particular form by the same vowel through all the conjugations. Thus appears the ending:

נ—in all the Perfects, **נִלְחָה**, **נִלְחָת**, **נִלְחָתָה**, etc.

נ—in all the Imperfects and Participles active, **נִלְחָה**, **נִלְחָת**, etc.

נ—in all the Imperatives, **נִלְחָה**, **נִלְחָת**, etc.

נ—in the Inf. absol. (except in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, also *Pi.*, see Rem. 10 and 15 below), **נִלְחָת**, etc.

The *Part. pass. Qâl* forms an exception, in which the original **נ** appears, at the end, **נִלְחָתָה**, as also in some derivatives (§ 85, V).

The *Inf. constr.* has, as a rule, the feminine form in **נ**; thus in *Qâl* **נִלְחָת** (from **נִלְחָה**), in *Pi. el* **נִלְחָתָה**, etc.

In explanation of these forms we observe:—

That in the *Perf. Qâl* **נִלְחָת** stands for **נִלְחָתָה** (according to § 24, 2, c), so too in *Niph.*, *Pi. el* and *Hiph. el*. The *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are based on the forms **נִלְחָת**, **נִלְחָתָה** (§ 52, Rem. 1). *Hiph.* on the form **נִלְחָתָה**, after the manner of the Arabic *‘aqtâlâ* (§ 53, 1).

The final accented **נ**— of the imperfect is variously explained. The least plausible is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (or rather the *i* into which it is dissolved) with preceding *ā*. For the language generally only has *ē* as contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which at the most may be weakened into *î* (v. No. 2). According to *Rödiger* the obscure **נ**— is in place of the distincter characteristic vowels of the corresponding forms of the strong verb, which have maintained themselves in Arab. and Ethiop. with greater purity also in these verbs, e. g. *Impf. Qâl* **נִלְחָתָה**, (Arab. *yaqâlah*) (*vulgar yaqâlî*), Eth. *yéglâ*; **וַיְבַקֵּשׁ** (from **בַּקֵּשׁ** to weep), Arab. *yâbkî*, Eth. *yébkî*; **וַיִּחְיֶה** (r. **חַיָּה** to live), Arab. *yâchydâ*, Eth. *yechyâw*; **וַיִּגְזַּר** (r. **גַּזֵּר** to feed), Arab. *yar’â*, Eth. *yer’ay*. So too in the other conjugations, e. g. *Pi. el* **נִלְחָתָה**, cf. Arab. *yugâlli*; Eth. *yéglâlli* (he

prays); Hiph. חָזַק (r. רָאַת to see), Arab. *yur'i*, Eth. *yâr'i*, etc. According to these examples in Arab. and Ethiop. the characteristic vowel has maintained itself everywhere, and from thus we might conclude that also in Hebrew in the imperfects of the different conjugations of the מְנֻבָּד different vowels were originally employed, but in an endeavour after a complete analogy they all have become equally —. That such an effort has taken place, remains without doubt, if we also consider the uniformity of the forms, in *perf.*, *impf.* and *participle*. The only question now is, whether in regard to the imperfects, the uniformity of formation did not originally exist in an ā as a vowel to the final syllable. By the *Pual* and *Hophal* this would be a matter of course; but also elsewhere (especially in the *Qăl*, v. Rem. 4) the ā shows itself occasionally as the original vowel. Accordingly the accented — would be an inflection and lengthening of ā in an open syllable (as מְלָךְ for מְלָאֵךְ) instead of the full lengthening into ē. In the same way may be also explained the — of the participles, whilst the *constr. state* of the same (מְנֻבָּד) is based upon a contraction of the original ay; comp. also the noun שָׂדֶה and שְׂרָה (from שָׂדֵה) field; construct שְׂרָהִים. The same as in these constr. forms, also in the *Imper.* (ending מְ—, contraction of ay) *Yôdh* must everywhere be supposed to be the final letter, the original וְ having also followed the analogy of מְ.

2. Before the afformatives beginning with a consonant (ח, כ), the original וְ remains, and there arises *a*) in the *Perf.* the diphthong ay (—); this diphthong should be contracted into ē (—), but this ē is constantly found only in passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qăl* and other active and reflexive conjugations it appears to be further attenuated into i (comp. Rem. 7, 9, 14 and § 27, Rem. 1); but in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* before חָנָה it is changed into the obtuse and accented ē (—). Here again we have the disputed question (v. above) whether this — must be considered the equivalent of — (i. e. ē as contraction from ay) or whether after the dropping of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3d sing.) ā was inflected into *S'ghôl*. In the latter case the *Yôdh* which is still written everywhere in these forms, must be simply considered an orthographical remainder of the original form. Accordingly before afformatives beginning with a consonant, there appears as chief vowel —

Perfect *Qăl* i, as חָנֵה;

Perfects of the other active conjugations, and also in the reflexive, partly ē, partly i, as in נָגֵן and נָגֵנִים, גָּזֵב and גָּזֵבִים;

Perfects of the passives only *e*, as *נִרְאָת*;

Imperfects and Imperatives always *וְ*, as *וְנִרְאֶה*, *וְנִרְאַת*.

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic, and the diphthong is contracted only by way of exception and in the popular idiom. In Aram. and Syriac, the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syr. also has in *Qäl* 1 p. sing. *נוֹלַח* (but 1 p. sing. *נוֹלַחּוּ*), and so too the West. Aram. has *נוֹלַחַת* along with *נוֹלַחַתּוּ*.

3. Before the vowel afformatives (*וְ*, *וְיְ*, *וְהַ*), the *Yôdh* with the vowel before it is usually dropped, e. g. *נוֹלַחַת* (for *נוֹלַחַתּוּ*), *תְּנוֹלַחַת* (for *תְּנוֹלַחַתּוּ*), *Part. fem. נִלְחָתָה*, *plur. mas. נִלְחָתָם*; yet it is retained in ancient full forms, particularly in *pause*, as *נוֹלַחַתּוּ* (see Rem. 4 and 13). Before *suffixes* also it is dropped, as in *נוֹלַחַתּוּ* (Rem. 19).

4. In 3 *Perf. sing. fem.*, the old *fem.* ending *תּוֹ* returns, and, with the elision of the *Yôdh* arises the form *נוֹלַחַת* (before suffixes) and tone-lengthened *נוֹלַחַתּוּ*. But this ancient form is become very rare (see Rems. 1 and 19); and, as if this mark of the gender were not sufficiently distinct, a second feminine-ending *תּוֹ* is appended, before which the *Päthach* of the ending *תּוֹ* becomes *Shevâ* so as to form *נוֹלַחַתּוֹתּוֹ* (*pause* *נוֹלַחַתּוֹתּוֹ*). See similar cases in § 70, Rem. and in § 91, 3.

5. The formation of the *shortened Imperfect* both as *jussive* and w. *וְ* consec. § 48 and 49), which occurs in this class of verbs in all the conjugations, is strongly marked, consisting in the rejection of the *תּוֹ*, by which some other changes are occasioned in the form (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). The *shortened Imperative* is also formed by *apocopé* of the *תּוֹ* (Rems. 12, 16).

6. Of the *Imperfect lengthened* by *תּוֹ* (§ 48, 3), only the following examples are found in verbs *תּוֹנֵד*:—in *Qäl*, *עֲמַדְתּוֹ* Ps. 119, 117, *אָמַרְתּוֹ* (retaining *וְ*, see Rem. 4) Ps. 77, 4, and in *Hithp.* *תְּמַנְתּוֹשׁ*: Is. 41, 23 (toneless *תּוֹ* after long vowel).

R E M A R K S.

I. On *Qäl*.

- For the 3 *Pers. fem.*, the older and simpler form *נוֹלַחַתּוּ*, from *נוֹלַחַתּוּ* (comp. the verb *נוֹלַחַתּוּ*, § 74, Rem. 1), is almost entirely banished from common use (see No. 4 above). One instance is *נוֹלַחַתּוּ* it *yields* Lev. 25,

21 (comp. 2 K. 9, 37 *Keth.*). So in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, e. g. מִשְׁׂרַח it enjoys Lev. 26, 34, נִגְנַתְהָר it is taken captive Jer. 13, 19. But with suffixes this form is always used; see Rem. 19 below. In the 3d pers. plur. is found instead of the usual accent (תִּלְבַּד etc.) Ps. 37, 20, תִּלְבַּד in pause and also in rhythmical antithesis to the preceding תִּלְבַּד. Regarding the accent of the consec. perf. v. § 49, 3 Rem.

2. The *Inf. absol.* has also the form רֹאֵר videndo Gen. 26, 28. The form מְרֹאֵשׁ Is. 22, 13 (also מְרֹאֵשׁ in the same verse) has been chosen, because it represents a similarity of sounds with מְרֹאֵשׁ; the same in 42, 20 in *Qeri* and Hos. 10, 4. As *Inf. constr.* גָּלוֹתָה (once גָּלוֹת or גָּלוֹת) comp. אֲרָאֵר Gen. 48, 11, מְשֻׁצָּע 50, 20, or מְשֻׁצָּע 31, 28, and the feminine form מְרֹאֵר to see Ez. 28, 17, like חֲלַבְתָּה קָטָן (§ 45, 1, b).

3. The shortening of the *Impf.* (see above in No. 5) occasions in *Qal* the following changes.—

- a) The first stem-letter most commonly receives a helping *S'ghôl*, or, when the middle radical is a guttural, a helping *Pâthâch* (§ 28, 4), e. g. נָגַל for נָבַל and he built; צָשַׁי let him look (for צָשֵׁי).
- b) The *Chirèq* of the preformative is also sometimes lengthened into *S'érê* (because it now stands in an open syllable), as אָרַי let him see (from אָרַאֵר). This however occurs mostly only after the preformative נ, whilst after the י the י being homogeneous remains, e. g. נָכַרְתָּ (also נָכַרְתְּ), נָתַןְתָּ (also נָתַןְתְּ); and by verbs middle guttural עָמַדְתָּ, עָמַדְתְּ (from עָמַדְתְּ). The strange accentuation אָרַח Zech. 9, 5, אָרַחְ Micah. 7, 10 and אָרַי (mid. ē) Gen. 41, 33 can be explained only to some degree from rhythmical reasons.
- c) The helping vowel is not used elsewhere, and especially not in the cases mentioned in § 28, 4; e. g. וָשַׁבְתָּ and he took captive Num. 21, 1; and with י lengthened to ē, וָשַׁבְתָּ and he drank, וָרַבְתָּ and he wept. The verb רָאֵחַ has the forms אָרַח let him see, and וָרַאַח and he saw, the latter with *Pâthâch* on account of the following נ.
- d) Examples of verbs which are *Pē Guttural* (§ 63) as well as *Lā'médh Hē*:—וָעַזְתָּ and he made (from עָזַב), וָעַזְנָתָּ and he answered (from עָזַב), וָעַלְתָּ and we ascended (from עָלַב). On a few forms of אָפָּה v. § 76, 2, c. Sometimes the pointing of the first syllable is not affected by the guttural, as in וָיַּרְחָ and he was wroth, וָיַּחַדְתָּ and he encamped, וָיַּרְקָבָ (with *Dag. lenè*, according to § 28, 4) let it rejoice Job. 3, 6. On וָיַּהְיָה, וָיַּהְיָה (both לְמַה and יְמַה) v. § 76, 2, b.
- e) The verbs רָחַח to be and רָחַח to live, where analogy would require the *Impf. apoc.* to be רָחַח, רָחַח, change these forms to רָחַח and רָחַח, because the second *Yôdh* draws to itself the vowel i, and makes with it a long ī; in pause: רָחַח, רָחַח, the original ā having been modified into *S'ghôl*. (Comp. the derivatives בָּרַח for בָּרַח, etc., § 85, No. V).—From רָחַח to be occurs once the form רָחַח, for רָחַח he will be Ec. 11, 3, (on the נ v. § 23, 3, Rem. 3).

The full forms, without the *apocope* of הָ—, occur sometimes even after *Waw consec.*, especially in the 1st person and in the later books, e. g. יָאַרְתָּ and *I saw* (20 times) and Josh. 7, 21 in *Kethib* but never in the Pentateuch (אָרַת, 15 times, 3 times in *Pent.*); וְעִשֵּׂה and *he made* 4 times (but שָׁבַע over 200 times). At times also for the *jussive*, as in וְיַשְׁתַּחֲוו Gen. 41, 34, Jer. 28, 6.

4. The original הָ is sometimes retained before the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (comp. Nos. 3 and 6 above), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending הֶ—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests upon the word. *Perf.* חָנַכְתָּ she trusts Ps. 57, 2, בָּקַר they trust Deut. 32, 37 (comp. Ps. 73, 2 Q^{er}i). *Imp.* בְּזַעֲקֵלְךָ ask ye Is. 21, 12, *Impf.* בְּשַׁלְמֵיכָה they are quiet Ps. 122, 6, בְּרַבְרַתְךָ they increase Deut. 8, 13, Ps. 36, 9, more frequently like בְּשַׁרְתְּךָ they drink Ps. 78, 44, Is. 21, 12; 26, 11, Ps. 36, 8 (comp. Rems. 5, 7, 13 and 16).

5. The *Part. act.* has also a fem. retaining the 3d radical הָ, as in בִּכְרִית (= בְּכִירָה) fruitful Lam. 1, 16, צִוְפִירָה spying Prov. 31, 27, פִּידְחִית fruitful Ps. 128, 3; in the plur. like אֹורְרוֹת coming Is. 41, 23. The *Part. pass.* is still sometimes found with the הָ as 3d radical, as בְּשַׁבְתָּ made Job. 41, 25, בְּשַׁבְתָּה Job 15, 22, contracted from בְּשַׁבְעָה, בְּשַׁבְתָּה, and the הָ has still its consonant sound before a formative ending, as in עַשְׂוָה (read it as "asuwōth") 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethibh*, נַעֲשָׂוָה (read n^eqūwōth) Is. 3, 16 *Kethibh*.

6. The forms are at times written defectively, as in חָרְבָּה 2 Sam. 15, 33, חָצְבָּה Job. 5, 12, and (according to the Massora) אָנְתָּה Mic. 7, 10, comp. חָצְבָּנָה Judges 5, 29 (according to others in sing. with suff. of the 3d fem. sing.). Both cases must probably be considered in the sense of § 20, 2, c.

II. On *Niph'el*.

7. Here the forms with הָ— in 1 and 2 p. sing. of the *Perf.* are the usual, the הָ— being found only in תְּרֵפָה Gen. 24, 8; but in 1 p. pl. the הָ— is always used, as in תְּמִלְכָה 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2 p. pl. occur in *Niph.* of these verbs.—The הָ is retained in pause, as in תְּרֵבָה Num. 24, 6.

8. The *apocope* of the *Impf.* occasions here simply the rejection of הָ—, בָּלָה from בְּלִבְנָה; yet in one verb אָיַן *Guttural*, we find a form with (הָ—) shortened to (הָ—), viz. יְמִינָה (for חָמֵד) Ps. 109, 14 (but in pause חָמֵד Ps. 109, 13). Similar also in *Pi.* is עֲמָדָה (from חָמֵד) Ps. 141, 8, and in *Hithp.* תְּמִימָה (from תְּמִימָה) Prov. 29, 24.

III. On *Pi'el*, *Pu'el*, and *Hithpael*.

9. In the *Perf.* *Pi.*, the second syllable has ī (*Chireq*) instead of the diphthongal הָ— in the greater number of examples, as in תְּמִימָה, תְּמִימָה, always in 1 p. pl. and before *suffixes*, e. g. קָשְׁרָה Gen. 37, 26, קָשְׁרָה Ps. 44, 20. But in the *Paradigm* the form with הָ— stands first,

as being older, though examples occur in the O. Test. only in 1st sing. as Joel 4, 21. In *Hithp.* not only "— (Jer. 17, 16), but also "— is sometimes found (Prov. 24, 10, 1 K. 2, 28, Jer. 50, 24). Yet *Pū'āl* has always *Sē'rē* ("—), as in פָּשַׁר Ps. 139, 15.

10. The usual form of the *Inf. absol. Pi.* is like קָרַב כָּלֹה (according to בָּאֵב, the more frequent form also in the strong verb, see § 52, Rem. 3), rarely like קָרַב Ps. 40, 2.

11. The *Impf.* loses, after the *apocopè*, the *Dāghēsh forte* of the second stem-letter (comp. § 20, 3, a); hence *Pi.* וַיַּצִּיר and he commanded, *Hithp.* וַיַּתְּרוּנָה and he uncovered himself, Gen. 8, 21. Less frequently is *Pā'thāch*, in this case, lengthened into *Qā'meq*, as וַיַּתְּמִיר and he marked 1 Sam. 21, 14, וַיַּתְּמִיר he craves, *Hithp.* וַיַּתְּמִיר Is. 41, 10. Ps. 45, 12; according to the best texts however this should read וַיַּתְּמִיר.

12. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are found also *apocopated* forms of the *Imp.*, as יִצְרָא for צְרָא command thou, נִסְתַּחֲמָה for סְתַחֲמָה prove thou Dan. 1, 12; תִּתְהַלֵּל feign thyself sick 2 Sam. 13, 5, Deut. 2, 24. Anomalous is Judges 9, 29 בְּרַבָּה for בְּרַבָּה increase; on דְּלִיטְזָךְ Prov. 28, 7 (according to some *Imper. Pi.* for דְּלִיטְזָה) comp. Delitzsch *in loc.* In Ps. 137, 7 is found twice רָאשָׁה naked instead of קָרְבָּה (for קָרְבָּה), but comp. 2 Chr. 24, 11.

13. The *Yōdh* is retained in some cases where it is more commonly omitted, e. g. *Impf.* חִרְשְׂמִין will ye liken Is. 40, 18, comp. vs. 25; יְכִבְשּׁוּם they cover them Ex. 15, 5.

IV. On *Hiph'īl* and *Hōph'īl*.

14. In the *Perf. Hiph.* 3 sing. הַגְּדָלָה, as also found besides הַגְּדָלָה, especially הַגְּדָלָה, הַגְּדָלָה. The forms with ē are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Prov. 5, 18), rarely in the 2d sing. masc. never in 1. pl. In the other pers. they are about equally common with ī; before suffixes the latter is used as somewhat shorter than the other. The Paradigm P puts first the older form with "—". In *Hoph.* only "—" occurs.

15. The *Sē'rē* of the *Inf. absol. Hiph.* is the regular vowel (as in בָּקָרֶה); *Hoph.* conforms to this *Inf. absol.*, as in בָּקָרֶה Lev. 19, 20. The verb בָּרַבָּה to be much has three forms of the *Inf.*; viz. בָּרַבָּה used as adverb (§ 131, 2) much, בָּרַבָּה as *Inf. absol.* with a finite verb (§ 131, 3), בָּרַבָּות as *Inf. constr.* Comp. Gen. 41, 49, 22, 17, Deut. 28, 63. On בָּרַבָּות Job. 17, 2 (with *Dag. f. dirimens*) v. § 20, 2, b.

16. The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* is found either without a helpingvowel, as בָּרַבָּה let him subdue Is. 41, 2, בָּרַבָּה let him spread Gen. 9, 27, בָּרַבָּה and he watered (see § 28, 4); or, with it, as בָּרַבָּה (for בָּרַבָּה, see § 27, Rem. 2, c), as בָּרַבָּה and he led captive 2 K. 18, 11, בָּרַבָּה and he made fruitful Ps. 105, 24. Examples with gutturals: בָּשָׁר Num. 28, 2, בָּשָׁר וְבָשָׁר etc., which can be distinguished from the like forms in *Qāl* only by the sense (comp. 28, 4).— The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* has always the helping-vowel *Sēghōl* or *Pā'thāch*, as בָּרַבָּה increase thou (for בָּרַבָּה, בָּרַבָּה) Ps. 51, 4, Qər̄i; בָּרַבָּה let alone (for

(תְּמִימָה) Deut. 9, 14, תְּמִימָה (for תְּמִימָה) Ex. 83, 12.—The *Impf. Hiph.* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in תְּמִימָה Job 19, 2, from תְּמִימָה. Comp. Rem. 4 on p. 190.

V. In General.

17. In the Aramaean, where as before remarked, the verbs נַבֵּה and נַבֵּה run into one another, both classes terminate in the *Impf.* and *Part.* of all the conjugations, without distinction, in נַ— or נַ—. As imitations of this mode of formation, we are to regard those forms of the *Inf.*, *Imp.*, and *Impf.* in נַ—, more seldom נַ— or נַ—, which are found in Hebrew also, especially in the later writers and the poets. *Inf. Pi.* חָבֵר Hos. 6, 9. *Imp.* Qāl נַיְיָ be thou Job. 37, 6, *Impf.* נַרְאֶה let him see Gen. 41, 33, תַּעֲשֵׂה he will do Is. 84, 3; אַל־תַּחֲתֵרָה Jer. 17, 17, תַּבְּנֵה תַּבְּנֵה consent thou not Prov. 1, 10, תַּעֲשֵׂה־אַל־ do thou not I Sam. 13, 12 (the same for Gen. 28, 29, Josh. 7, 9, Jer. 40, 16, *Qeri*); תַּעֲשֵׂה Josh. 9, 24; תַּרְאֵה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph.* Lev. 5, 9; in *Pi.* Lev. 18, 7, 8, 12—17, 20, 19 (everywhere תַּחֲנֵה and also תַּחֲנֵה with small distinctives); תַּזְעֵף Nah. 1, 3; תַּרְאֵה Ez. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*). The circumstance that many of these forms stand in *pause* and that at the same time they represent a *Jussive* or *Voluntative* (Josh. 7, 9), leads us to suppose that the long vowel has been chosen principally in order to heighten the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to distinguish, by sound, the *Jussive* from the usual *Impf.* Elsewhere (Gen. 28, 29, Lev. 5, 9, Jer. 40, 16, Dan. 1, 13) the long vowel serves probably to avoid the hiatus which is produced by a following נ or נ. We are not sure whether in the choice of the — we may not have a return to the original diphthongal final sound (in a manner that תַּעֲשֵׂה be directly contracted from תַּעֲשֵׂר).

The ending — is found for נַ— in the *Impf.* Qđl וְתַּחֲזִיןְ and she committed fornication Jer. 3, 6 (before *Mäggēph*) instead of נַ— in the *Perf. Hiph.* הָרַאֲלֵלְ he made sick Is. 53, 10 (perhaps for נַ— from הָרַאֲלֵל as secondary form to הָרַל v. Rem. 21). Wholly Aramaic is the plur. יְהִיּוּ they intimidated (Josh. 14, 8).

18. In three verbs is found the rare conjugation *Pi'el*, or its reflexive (§ 55, 2), where the third radical, which that conjugation requires to be doubled, appears repeated under the form נַנְנָה (see § 24, 2, c), viz. in נַנְנָה (contracted נַנְנָה) to be beautiful, from נָנָה; קַנְנִים archers Gen. 21, 16; but especially in נַנְנָה to bow, *Pi'el* נַנְנָה, hence *Hithpd'lēl* נַנְנָה to bow one's self, to prostrate one's self, 2d pers. in נַנְנָה and 1st pers. נַנְנָה, *Impf.* נַנְנָה, apoc. נַנְנָה for נַנְנָה (analogous to segholate forms like נַנְנָה for נַנְנָה).

19. Before *suffixes*, the נ final and the preceding vowel, are displaced by the so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), as נַנְנָה (in pause נַנְנָה) he answered me, נַנְנָה in pause נַנְנָה Is. 30, 19 (and even outside of pause Jer. 23, 37) or like נַנְנָה Deut. 32, 6, נַנְנָה, נַנְנָה, Impf. נַנְנָה, *Hiph.* נַנְנָה. Very seldom נַ— takes the place of the

final מְ— or מֵ—, as in אָמַתְּךָ Deut. 32, 26, *he will cover them* Ps. 140, 10 *Qərî*, וְנִקְרֵי *smite me* 1 K. 20, 35. By these examples we might suppose a return to the original ending *ay*; but perhaps they are based on a less correct full writing. The 3. *Perf. fem.* always takes before suff. the older form בָּלְתָּה (see No. 4), e. g. בָּלְתָּה שָׁבָתָה Zech. 5, 4, in *pause* שָׁבָתָה Job 33, 4.

VI. Affinity of Verbs לְנָבָד and נָבָד.

20. The verbs of each of these classes, in consequence of their intimate relation (being quite confounded in Aramean), often borrow forms from one another, especially in the later writers and the poets.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs נָבָד—

- a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs נָבָד, e. g. *Perf.* קָנְאָתָר I restrain Ps. 110, 101; *Part.* נָתַתָּה sinning Ec. 8, 12, 9, 18; *Pi. Perf.* נָתַתָּה he has filled Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 K. 9, 11, Am. 4, 2, Ps. 143, 3; *Rā'at̄ar* I heal 2 K. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *Niph. Perf.* נָתַתָּה (like נָתַתָּה) it was wonderful 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph. Perf.* נָתַתָּה Deut. 28, 59, הָתַתָּה she hid Josh. 6, 17. On the other hand forms like נָתַתָּה יְתַשֵּׂר Jer. 10, 5, תְּקַבֹּוּנָה (correct reading) Job 19, 2, are based upon syncope of נ, v. § 74, Rem. 3.
- b) Which retain their own pointing, but have adopted the נ, e. g. *Imp.* רְפַח heal thou Ps. 60, 4; *Niph.* נְחַבָּה Jer. 40, 10 and תְּחַבָּה to hide one's self 1 K. 22, 25; comp. Jer. 10, 11; *Pi. Impf.* יְצַלֵּה he will fill Job 8, 21.
- c) Which in all respects have the appearance of verbs נָבָד, e. g. *Perf.* Qđl תְּמַצֵּע thou thirstest Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 8, 8; בָּלְכָה they kept back 1 Sam. 6, 10; בָּלְכָה they are full Ez. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *Inf.* בָּלְכָה (v. Rem. 2) to sin Gen 20, 6; *Impf.* יְכַלֵּה (for נְכַלֵּה) he will keep back, Gen. 28, 6; בָּלְכָה they heal Job 5, 18; *Part. fem.* נָבָד Ec. 10, 5; *Part. pass.* Ps. 32, 1; *Niph.* נְרַפְּקָה Jer. 51, 9; יְרַבָּבָה Jer. 28, 9, *Impf.* יְרַבָּבָה 2 K. 2, 22; *Pi. Impf.* יְרַבָּבָה Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hiph.* תְּרַבֵּבָה thou prophesiest 1 Sam. 10, 6, *Inf.* תְּרַבֵּבָה 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the Kethibh תְּשַׁוְּבָה 2 K. 10, 25 the Qərî gives the usual form תְּשַׁבְּבָה; the Kethibh would read תְּשַׁבְּבָה (with syn. of נ).

22. On the contrary, there are forms of verbs נָבָד which, wholly or in part, follow the analogy of verbs נָבָד; e. g. in their consonants נָבָד he comes Is. 21, 12; וְרָאָתָר Ez. 48, 27, נָבָד it is changed Lam. 4, 1, נָבָד Jer. 88, 4, נָבָד Eccl. 8, 1, נָבָד it is changed Lam. 4, 1, נָבָד 2 K. 25, 29, נָבָד and he became sick 2 Ch. 16, 12; in their vowels, נָבָד Jer. 8, 22, נָבָד Dan. 10, 14, תְּבַלֵּחַ 1 K. 17, 14; in both, תְּבַלֵּחַ 2 Sam. 21, 12 Qərî.

§ 76.

VERBS DOUBLY WEAK OR ANOMALOUS.

1. There are a number of verbs that have two stem-consonants which as weak letters are affected by the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether the verb is actually subject to both, or but one of them, or, as sometimes happens, to neither.

Thus e. g. from נִדְדָה *to flee* are formed *Impf.* נִידַּד Nah. 3, 7, and נִידֵּד Gen. 61, 40 (after the analogy of verbs נִזְבָּה), *Hiph.* נִנְדַּד (as a verb נִזְבָּה), but in *Impf.* נִינְדַּד (as נִזְבָּה).

2. The following are examples of doubly anomalous verbs, and of difficult forms derived from them:—

- a) Verbs נִזְבָּה and נִזְבָּה (comp. §§ 66 and 74), e. g. נִזְבָּה *to bear*, *Imp.* נִזְבָּה, *Inf. constr.* נִזְבָּה (for נִזְבָּה), also נִזְבָּה; after the prefix בְ always נִזְבָּה (but once מִשְׁׁרִי Job 41, 17 with *Syn.* of נ); *Impf.* נִשְׁׁנָה for נִשְׁׁנָה Ruth 1, 14.
- b) Verbs נִזְבָּה and נִזְבָּה (comp. §§ 66 and 75), as נִזְבָּה *to bend* to smite. Hence *Impf.* Qāl, נִזְבָּה, apoc. נִזְבָּה and he bowed, נִזְבָּה and he sprinkled (from נִזְבָּה); *Perf. Hiph.* נִזְבָּה *he smote*, *Impf.* נִזְבָּה, apoc. נִזְבָּה, so also נִזְבָּה; *Impf.* נִזְבָּה, apoc. נִזְבָּה; *Inf.* נִזְבָּה; *Part.* נִזְבָּה.
- c) Verbs נִזְבָּה and נִזְבָּה (comp. §§ 68 and 75), as נִזְבָּה *to be willing*, נִזְבָּה to come, נִזְבָּה to bake. So *Impf.* Qāl, נִזְבָּה, apoc. נִזְבָּה, plur. נִזְבָּה Dent 38, 21 (for נִזְבָּה), *Impf. apoc.* נִזְבָּה Is. 41, 25 (for נִזְבָּה), *Imp.* נִזְבָּה Is. 21, 12, 56, 9, 12 (comp. נִזְבָּה Exod. 16, 23) for אָרוֹן, נִזְבָּה (§ 23, 3, Rem. 2, § 75, Rem. 4), *Hiph.* *Imp.* נִזְבָּה for חֲאַתְּרִי (חֲאַתְּרִי), Is. 21, 14, *Impf. apoc.* נִזְבָּה and he swore 1 Sam. 14, 24 (from נִזְבָּה), really נִזְבָּה, hence נִזְבָּה and, with the obscuring to ô, נִזְבָּה; instead of the simple *apocope*, which would give נִזְבָּה, the נ which had already disappeared, becomes again audible by the auxiliary *S'ghôl*.
- d) Verbs נִזְבָּה and נִזְבָּה (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 74), as נִזְבָּה *to go forth*, *Imp.* נִזְבָּה, *Inf.* נִזְבָּה, *Hiph.* נִזְבָּה *to bring out*.
- e) Verbs נִזְבָּה and נִזְבָּה (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 75), e. g. נִזְבָּה *to throw*, in *Hiph.* to confess, to praise, and נִזְבָּה to cast which are properly verbs נִזְבָּה, also נִזְבָּה *to be beautiful* (which is really נִזְבָּה). *Inf.* נִזְבָּה; *Imp.* נִזְבָּה (cf. *Impf.* נִזְבָּה Ez. 31, 7), with suff. וְנִזְבָּה we shot them (from נִזְבָּה Num. 21, 30; *Pi.* נִזְבָּה for נִזְבָּה (§ 69, Rem. 6); *Hiph.* תִּזְבָּה, *Thid.* תִּזְבָּה, *Inf.* הִזְבָּה *Impf. apoc.* נִזְבָּה 2 K. 18, 17.
- f) Verbs נִזְבָּה and נִזְבָּה, particularly נִזְבָּה to come, *Perf.* נִזְבָּה, נִזְבָּה, once נִזְבָּה for בָּאָתִי 1 Sam. 25, 8; *Hiph.* נִזְבָּה חַבְאָתִי, חַבְרָתִי and נִזְבָּה. *Impf.* נִזְבָּה, for אָבִיא מִic. 1, 15. So נִזְבָּה *he refuses* (*Impf. Hiph.*, from נִזְבָּה) Ps. 141, 5.

g) Moreover the verb **לִבְרֵר** to live deserves to be noticed, which, besides its usual form **לִבְרָה** *fem.*, is also treated as a verb **לִבְרַה**, and hence has **לִבְרָה** (pause **לִבְרָה**, w. 1 cons. **לִבְרָה**) in the 3 *Perf. Qal* in Gen. 8, 22 and other cases; In Lev. 8, 22 is found even the contraction to **לִבְרָה**. The form **לִבְרָה** stands Ex. 1, 16 in pause for **לִבְרָה** (3. *fem.*) with *Dāgh.* omitted on acc. of the pausal lengthening of *ā* to *ā̄*.

§ 77.

RELATION OF THE WEAK VERBS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Several classes of weak verbs, e. g. those **לִפְנֵי** and **לִפְנֵי**, **לִבְנֵי** and **לִבְנֵי**, **לִפְנֵי** and **לִפְנֵי**, stand in a very close relationship, as appears from the similarity in their meaning and inflection, from their mutual interchange of forms and especially from the fact that often the same biteral root occurs in several weak verbs having the same meaning. These two root-consonants, to which the common signification attaches (*bilateral root*, § 30, 2), are constant, and the third feeble radical is not taken into account. Thus, **דָּקַק**, **דָּקַק**, **דָּקַק** and **דָּקַק**¹ are all developments of the crude-form (or ultimate root) **קַח**, and mean *to strike, to beat in pieces*; **נִידַּח**, **נִידַּח**, **נִידַּח** and **נִידַּח** (from the root **נַד**) *to flee*.

In this manner are related in form and signification—

1. Verbs **לִפְנֵי** and **לִפְנֵי** (in which the essential stem-letters are the first and last), e. g. **מִנְקָד** and **מִקְדָּשׁ** to become poor, **מִשְׁפָּט** and **שִׁפְעָל** to feel or touch, **נִידַּח** and **נִידַּח** to flee.

2. Verbs **לִפְנֵי** and **לִפְנֵי** (in which the two last are the essential stem-letters), are related both to each other and to the former class. They are related to each other in the verbs **יִצְבֶּחָ** and **נִצְבֶּחָ** to place, **שִׁבְעָה** and **רִקְבָּה** (*yāqōsh*) to fowl; to the former class, especially to verbs **לִפְנֵי**, in **אָגָר** and **אָגָר** to fear, **טוֹב** and **טָבַב** to be good, **נִפְעָל** and **פִּעָּל** [= E. puff] to blow; **לִפְנֵי** and **לִפְנֵי** to smash. Verbs **לִפְנֵי** are only seldom found connected with these classes, as **שִׁמְשָׁה**, **שִׁמְשָׁה** and **לִשְׁמָה** to be destroyed, **לִשְׁמָה** and **שִׁמְשָׁה** to thresh, etc.

3. Verbs **לִפְנֵי** and **לִפְנֵי** (in which the first two consonants properly form the stem) are related both to each other and to the former classes; to each other in **רִקְבָּה** and **לִבְרָה** to break in pieces, **אָקָרֶה** and **קָרָה** to meet (comp. § 75, Rem. 20 ff.); to verbs of the former classes, in **לִזְחָה** and **לִזְחָה** to suck, **רִקְבָּה** and **רִקְבָּה** to thrust, etc.

¹ These verbs are mimetic or onomatopoetic, mimicking the sound intended, and so are akin to our dash and thwack (see § 30, 3).—Tr.

§ 78.
DEFECTIVE VERBS.

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use in the same signification, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. As, however, the missing forms or tenses are not generally the same in both, the two are combined to make out a complete verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, 2 aor. ἤλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero*, *tuli*, *latum*, *ferre*; but with this difference, that in Hebrew these verbs are almost universally related in root as well as signification, like the Greek βαίνω, 2 aor. ἔβην, from the stem βά-ω.

A list of the most common verbs of this class:—

בִּזְבַּח to be ashamed, *Hiph.* חֲבֹרֵשׁ, but also חֲבֹרֵשׁ (from בִּזְבַּח).

טוֹב to be good, *Perf.*, *Impf.* טָוֶב (from טָבָב); *Hiph.* חֲטֹבֵר (from טָבָב).

נִירְאָה to fear, *Impf.* נִירְאָה (from נִירָא).

גַּעֲמָה to awake only in *Impf.* גַּעֲמָה; for *Perf.* the *Hiph.* גַּעֲמֵי is used (fr. גַּעֲמָה).

שִׁפְעָה to break in pieces, *Impf.* שִׁפְעָה (from שִׁפְעָה), *Imp.* שִׁפְעָה; *Niph.* שִׁפְעָה; *Pi.* שִׁפְעָה (from שִׁפְעָה); *Pi'lēl* שִׁפְעָה (from שִׁפְעָה); *Reflex.* גַּחֲפִיצָה; *Hiph.* גַּחֲפִיץ. Also *Pi'lēl* גַּעֲמָה Job 16, 12.

תְּקַשֵּׁר to drink, used in *Qāl*; but in *Hiph.* תְּקַשֵּׁר to give to drink, from קְשָׁר, which is not used in Hebrew.

On נָהָר (נָהָר) to go, see above in § 89, Rem. 8.

Rem. 1. The case is similar when different conjugations of the same verb, having the same signification, borrow tenses from each other;—

בָּנָה (to add) borrows its missing *Inf.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* from *Hiph.* חֲסֹרֵה, חֲסֹרֵה.

שָׁגַג (to approach) takes *Perf.* *Niph.* שָׁגַג for the *Perf.* *Qāl*, which is not in use; only the *Impf.* שָׁגַג, *Imp.* שָׁגַג, and *Inf.* שָׁגַג of *Qāl* are in use.

נָהָר (to lead) has *Perf.* usually in *Qāl*, also the *Imp.* נָהָר; but the *Impf.* always in *Hiph.* תְּנַהֲרָה.

שָׁפַךְ (to pour out) has *Perf.* *Niph.* שָׁפַךְ, along with *Impf.* *Qāl* שָׁפַךְ, but the *Impf.* *Niph.* and *Perf.* *Qāl* are not in use.

Rem. 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formæ mixtæ*) in which, as they maintain, are united the character and signification of two different tenses, moods or conjugations. On correct grammatical principles most of the examples they adduce are

set aside; in others, the form seems to have originated in misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially through misunderstanding of an unusual full writing. Others again are nothing but false readings, or the erroneous combination of two originally different readings.

CHAPTER III.

O F T H E N O U N.

(Substantive and Adjective.)

§ 79.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. As according to § 30, 1 most word stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun stems; it has become customary, especially lexically, to trace back also the noun to the most simple ground form of the verbal formation viz: the 3d sing. perf. Qāl, and, as it were, to derive it thence. This is done not only with those noun stems which may be classified directly with the corresponding verbal stem (the so-called verbal nouns § 83) but also with the so-called primitive nouns i. e.: those whose verbal stem can no more be found in Hebrew (§ 82), as well as finally with Denominatives which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

NB. The *adjective* quite coincides with the *substantive* in form. On the process by which words with an abstract sense come to be treated as concretes or adjectives, see § 83, Rem. 1.

2. A regular *inflection* of the noun by *cases* does not exist in Hebrew, although some ancient and almost wholly extinct traces of case-endings perhaps remain (§ 90). The relation of case in a noun is, therefore, either learned simply from its position in the clause, or indicated by prepositions. In either case the *form* of the noun undergoes no change (except for the construct state); and hence the matter belongs not to this division of grammar, but to the Syntax (§ 117). On the contrary, the connection of the noun with the feminine,

with the dual and the plural terminations, with suffixes, and with another noun following in the genitive, produces numerous changes in its form (see §§ 80, 87—89, 91—96), which is all that is meant by the *inflection*¹ of nouns in Hebrew. Even for the *comparative* and *superlative*, the Hebrew has no appropriate forms, and these relations must be expressed by circumlocution, as taught in the Syntax (§ 119).

§ 80.

FORMS WHICH MARK THE GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew, like all the Semitic languages, has but two genders, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Even inanimate objects or things and abstract ideas, which other languages generally express by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew as either masculine or feminine, chiefly the latter (see the Syntax, § 107, 3).

2. The *masculine*, as being the prevalent and more important gender, has no peculiar indication.

The *feminine* had originally the ending **תִּ**, as in the 3 sing. Perf. of verbs (§ 44, 1). The original **תִּ** however has been retained (provided the principal form was not already created by the annexation of a simple **ת**, v. below lit. b) only in close connection with a following genitive or suffix (comp. § 89, 2, b and § 91, 4). Apart from these cases the feminine ending of the independent form (the so-called absolute state) is:

- a) Most commonly an accented **תִּ**, as **סֹסֶה**, *horse*, **סֹסֶה** *mare*; as in the 3d sing. fem. perf. (**קָטְלִתָּה** etc.) this **תִּ** has been produced by rejecting the closing **ת** and lengthening the *ă* in an open syllable; whereupon the **תִּ** has been added as an orthographical compensation for **תִּ**, as well as to point out the final long vowel (comp. the quite analogous creation in forms like **גַּלְתִּה** for **גַּלְתָּה** § 75, 1).
- b) Simple **תִּ** to nouns terminating with a vowel e. g. **יְהִקְרֵבִי**, *Jewess*. The same termination **תִּ** is added very frequently to stems terminating with a consonant,

¹ This has been inexactly called the *declension* of the Hebrew noun.

however only (except before suffixes) with the aid of an auxiliary vowel, which as a rule is *Sghôl* but after gutturals *Püthäch*, e. g. לְטַלָּה, *fem.* killing (ground-form *תַּלָּה*, therefore before suffixes קָטָלָה etc.); מִזְעָה, *fem.* acquaintance. The forms created in that way follow in every regard the analogy of the so-called Segholate forms (§ 94). The forms which have been developed by the aid of an auxiliary vowel maintain themselves also in the *status constructus*; except for the elsewhere used יָלָדָה Gen. 16, 11, Judges 13, 5, 7 and so regularly before suffixes e. g. יָלָדָה Prov. 17, 25.

Rem. 1. The feminine form חֵן — is, in general, less frequent than the other, and occurs almost exclusively when the other in חֵן is also in use. It is only in Particles and Infinitives that it is found more frequently than the other (e. g. קָשָׁה oftener than לְקָשָׁה, רָחָה than לְרָחָה).

2. Rarer feminine endings are:—

- חֵן accented, as בְּרֵית emerald Ez. 28, 13, (also קְרֵב Ez. 28, 17); נֶגֶת Ps. 61, 1; חֵית 74, 19; חֵן שְׁמָךְ crowd 2 K. 9, 17 (if not a false reading); more often in *proper names* especially of places, among the Canaanites, the Phoenicians (in whose speech חֵן was the usual f. ending, § 2, 2) and other neighbouring tribes, as חֵרֶף Sarepta, חֵת Gibeah, אַלְאָה Aelana in Idumea, קְרֵיה Kirjath, גְּלִיל Goliath (Philistine).
- חֵן, also in *names* of places, as חֵלֶב, חֵלֶק, else mostly poetical, e. g. וְרֵה Ex. 15, 2, Is. 12, 2, Ps. 118, 14 (probably instead of וְרֵה my song with suppressed termination before the following ר), חֵלֶת heritage Ps. 18, 6, either for חֵלֶת my heritage or for חֵן חֵן comp. let. f., as probably also צִוְתָה help Ps. 60, 13, 108, 13, סְרִת prolific Gen. 49, 22; חֵן sleep (for שֵׁה) Ps. 132, 4 and in prose אַנְסָה pelican (which reading is also preferable in Is. 34, 11 to the form אַנְסָה); in prose also we find מְרֵה tomorrow Gen. 19, 34.
- חֵן, Aramaean orthography for חֵן, found chiefly in the later writers, e. g. אֲנֵה fright Is. 19, 17, אֲנֵה sleep Ps. 127, 2, אֲנֵה baldness Ex. 27, 31, אֲנֵה mark Lam. 3, 12.
- חֵן, a weakened form of חֵן (§ 27, Rem. 4), only in זְרֵה for זְרֵה Is. 59, 5 and חֵן for חֵן Zech. 5, 4.
- חֵן, without accent, as בְּעֵרָה Deut. 14, 17, בְּעֵרָה בְּעֵרָה burning furnace Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ez. 40, 19, 2 K. 15, 29, 16, 18. In all these examples there should be the usual accented חֵן, but the Punctists, not comprehending the feminine here, marked the חֵן (by depriving it of the tone) as not feminine, but a kind of locative

form (v. § 90, 2). Also לְלִכָּה *night* (really *noctu* comp. new Greek ή νύκτα) appears by the tone to be such a form, particularly as it is always construed as *masc.*, and we find לֵיל also occurring. Also מַעֲרֵךְ *something*, might be considered as an old accusative (from מַעֲרֵךְ, מַעֲרֵךְ, *spot, point*). In the same way could be explained as accusatives אַרְצָה Is. 8, 23 and (in pause) Job 34, 18; but there are also found forms in which the unaccented הַ— may be considered as a meaningless appendix, serving, at the most, as poetical emphasis, thus: אַרְצָה (in P.) Job 87, 12; תָּנַךְ סֶמֶת the sun Judg. 14, 18 (else סֶמֶת), בָּקָר brook Ps. 124, 4, תְּמוּתָה death Ps. 118, 15, and some other words. Much of this however is doubtful.

f) הַ— only in poetry, e. g. תְּבוּחָה אַרְטָה *terror* (= אַרְטָה), צוֹרָה help (= צוֹרָה), יְשִׁלְמָה salvation (= ישְׁלָמָה), בַּעֲדָה wickedness (= בעֲדָה), see Ps. 3, 3, 63, 8, 92, 16, 94, 17, 120, 1, 125, 3, Job 5, 16, Ex. 15, 16, and other places. Those cases can hardly be taken for double fem. endings, for if they were, we could not explain why the final syllable has lost the tone; they are rather cases of an old accusative of direction (intention). In examples like צוֹרָה help! (Ps. 44, 27 etc.) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and stands only for poetical emphasis; comp. § 90, 2.

3. It is wholly unsuitable to consider the *vowel*-ending הַ—¹ as the original termination of the feminine, and the *consonant*-ending הַ— as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the הַ constantly, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*), and in the Phœnician also the feminines end only rarely in הַ, but mostly in הַ, which is sounded *ath* in the words found in Greek and Roman authors (see *Gesenii Monuments Phoenicia*, pp. 439, 440; *Schröder's Phon. Sprache*, pp. 169—74). The ancient Arabic has the weakened vowel-ending scarcely anywhere but in the pause; the modern Arabic is, in this respect, much like the Hebrew.

§ 81.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

Nouns are either *primitive*, i. e. those whose kindred relation to a verb-stem does not so easily appear (§ 82), as בָּבָא *father*, בָּבָה *mother* (see Davies' Hebr. Lex.); or *derivative*,

¹ In this ending the הַ can be considered consonantal (*h*) only in the sense, that the original הַ as aspirated mute was at first changed into a guttural (according to Socin, among a part of the modern Bedouins there is still heard an *h* as fem. ending); at any rate in Hebrew this final consonant sounding has been later entirely abandoned.

as being derived either from the verb (*Verbals*, §§ 83—85) in the sense given above in § 30, 1 and § 79, 1, as צְדִיקָה *just*, צְדִקָה *righteousness*, from צְדַקָה *to be just*; רֶם *high*, רֶמֶת *high place*, מֵרוֹת *height*, from רָמָה *to be high*; or (as in very few cases) from another noun (*Denominatives*, § 86), as מַרְגְּלֹת *place at the feet*, from רַגֵּל *foot*.

Rem. 1. Many of the early grammarians, who admitted none but verbs as *stem-words*, classed *all* nouns among the verbals, and divided them into,—*a*) *Formæ nudaæ*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) stem-letters, and—*b*) *Formæ auctæ*, such as have received formative letters or syllables at the beginning or end, as בְּמַקְדֵּשׁ, בְּמַלְכָה. These formative letters are.

וּ, וְ, מְ, נְ, אְ, חְ (חָאצְנִחְיִי).¹

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* given in § 30, 1, Rem. 2, the relation of the noun to the verb is, strictly speaking, somewhat different, since, according to it, many nouns are formed immediately from the (ideal) root. But we here retain the common view, as being easier for beginners. Comp. § 79, 1.

2. Of *compound* nouns, as *appellatives*, the number in Hebrew is very small, e. g. בְּלַעַלְמָן properly *worthlessness, baseness*. As *proper names*, they occur frequently, e. g. גְּבָרִיאָל (*man of God*), יְהִוָּקְרָבָה (*whom she raises up*), יְחִזְקָלָה (*whom she strengthens*), etc.

§ 82.

PRIMITIVE NOUNS.

1. The number of *primitives*, as explained in § 81, is very small, the nouns which are in most languages primitive being here usually derived from verbal ideas; e. g. most of the names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׂעִיר *barley* (prop. *bearded*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זהב *gold* (from אֶחָד—זָהָב *to be yellow*). There remain a few nouns, e. g. the names of members of the body in men and beasts, for which a suitable stem-verb can hardly be found, or at most only indirect ones (derived from the kindred Semitic dialects), as קרן *horn*, עין *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are called also, by the old grammarians, *nomina heemantica*. Comp. § 5, Note ⁵, § 30 Rem. 1.

2. The *form* of the primitives is that of the simple verbals, as **לְבָדַק**, **לְבָרַךְ**, etc.; and it makes no difference, in the grammatical treatment, to which class the nouns are referred.

E. g. **מִנְדָּא** *man*, follows the analogy of the verbals No. 1 (§ 84), whether it comes from **מִנְדָּא** (*to be ruddy*) or not: **אֵבֶן** *father*, **מִתְהָרֵךְ** *mother*, have the same form as if derived from **מִנְדָּא**, **מִפְנָס**, and undoubtedly they may be traced back to these stems, although their corresponding signification (**לְבָרַךְ** *to procreate*, **לְפָנָס** *to precede*) has not been preserved in the language.

§ 83.

VERBAL NOUNS IN GENERAL.

1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in *form* and *signification* with certain forms of the verb, viz. the Participles and Infinitives, which, even without any change, are often employed as nouns; e. g. **תֵּדַע** (*to know*) = *knowledge*, **אִירֵב** (*hating*) = *enemy*. Still oftener, however, we find that certain forms of the Infinitive and Participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb itself, though in use in the weak verb and in other dialects, are the prevalent forms employed for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form **לְבָדַק**, the Infinitives after the (Aram.) form **לְבָדַקָּה** (as a noun also **לְבָדָקָה**), farther **לְבָדַקָּה**, **לְבָדַקָּה**, **לְבָדַקָּה** (§ 45, b) etc. Some (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the Participle.

2. As to *signification*, it follows from the nature of the case, that nouns which have the form of Infinitives regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely-related ideas (e. g. the *place* of the action), and are therefore mostly *abstract*; that participial nouns, on the contrary, denote, for the most part, the *subject* of the action, or of the state, and hence are *concrete*. It is to be noticed, however, that a particular sense is found in many isolated examples of derivative nouns, which does not hold good alike in all.

Rem. It must not, therefore, appear strange (for it is found in all languages), that a noun which in form is properly *abstract*, should be employed afterwards as a *concrete*, and *vice versa*. So, in English,

we say *his acquaintance* for one with whom he is acquainted; the *God-head* for God himself; in Heb. מִזְמָרָה *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*; פָּתַח *simplicity* and *a simple one*; on the contrary, מִשְׁפָּט *that which sinneth* for *sin*, which use is frequent in the *fem.* of *concretes* (§ 84, 5, 6, 11).

For the sake of clearness, we treat first of the *derivatives* from the strong or regular verb (§ 84), and then of those from the different classes of the weak or irregular verb (§ 85).

The general view given in § 84 first classifies the Noun forms, after their significance, into *concretes* (as related to the participle), and *abstracts* (as connected with the infinitive); but next advances under each of these divisions from the simpler and easier forms to the harder and more enlarged. But the whole series of forms may be enumerated also simply with respect to the difference of form, without regard to the difference of meaning, since the forms do not always differ strictly according to the sense. In that case the forms would stand nearly in this order: 1) from simple stems: Nos. 1—5, 10—13; 2) from strengthened stems either by doubling the middle stem consonant (e. g. Nos. 6—9) or by repetition of one or several consonants of the stem (e. g. Nos. 20—21), 3) nouns with other additional letters whether *preformatives* (e. g. all forms derived from Niph. Hiph and Hitlpael, as well as the numerous forms with **וֹ** preformative) or *afformatives* (e. g. Nos. 15, 16). It is of the greatest importance to distinguish everywhere whether the vowels employed by the formation of nouns were originally long and therefore unchangeable, or originally short, but have been lengthened in or before the tone. In the latter case the tone lengthened vowel becomes short by the removal of the accent or *Shevâ* (with the pretonic vowels, but also elsewhere). In what follows, the groundforms have everywhere been added where such changes are liable to occur.

§ 84.

• NOUNS DERIVED FROM STRONG STEMS.¹

We distinguish here—

I. *Participial Nouns from Qâl.*

1. **בָּעֵד**, *fem.* **מִבָּעֵד**, (Groundform *qăṭāl*, *qăṭālāt*), one of the most simple forms of this class and analogous to the two following (Nos. 2 and 3), but not in use as a Participle. It is most frequently employed as

¹ Under the strong verb we here include the verb with gutturals (§§ 63—65), and also those forms of weak stems whose weakness does not appear (comp. § 41).

an adjective expressing *quality*, as קָנַת *wise*, קְרֵשׁ *new*, יְשָׁרֶת *upright*. It occurs, however, also with an abstract sense (No. 12).

2. בְּקָרִי, *fem.* בְּקָרָה, (Grdf *qāṭil*, *gāṭilāt*), Part of verbs *middle E* (§ 50, 2), mostly with intransitive meaning (§ 43) and therefore frequently as adjectives, e.g. בְּבָשׂ *old*, בְּבָשׂ *dry*, דְּשָׁן *fat*.

3. a) בְּלָקָר and בְּטָוָל, *fem.* בְּלָקָרָה, (Grdf *qāṭol*, *gāṭolāt*), with unchangeable ô, which, however, can be shown to have partly arisen from an obscured ā. Here belong numerous adjectives, as בְּדָרִיךְ *great*, בְּרָחִים *far*, בְּרוּךְ *holy*. As abstr substantives, בְּכָבוֹד *honour*, בְּשָׁלִים *peace*. From this is to be distinguished b) nouns of the form *qatōl* from original *qāṭil* e.g. אֲדָם *red*, אֲגָז *round*, קָמָס *deep*, etc (not seldom written fully thus אֲדָרָם, אֲגָזָל etc). The original ū of the 2d syllable appears again before affirmatives, because then the following consonant is artificially doubled (as the ū can stand only in a closed syllable), thus the plurals עֲגָלִים, עֲמָקִים etc.

4. בְּלָטָה, בְּלָטָל, *fem.* בְּלָטָה (sometimes like בְּלָדָה with the ſe, ē retained) or בְּלָטָה, the usual active participle of *transitive* verbs, e.g. בְּבָנָא *enemy*, יְנִינָק *suckling*, hence of the instrument by which the action is performed, as בְּשָׁדָה *a cutting instrument* (also with a personal signification, *plowman*). A feminine with a collective signification is sometimes found, as in אֲנָדָרָה *caravan*, properly *a wandering, a wandering crowd*. The groundform of these participles is *qāṭil* (modified from *qāṭil*) *qāṭilāt*, but בְּלָטָה has for groundform *qāṭāl*, comp. § 80 2, b.

5. בְּטָוָל and בְּטָרֵל, (*qāṭul* and *qāṭil*) passive Participles of Qāl, the latter (the usual Aramaean participle form) employed rather as a substantive, e.g. אֲסָרָה *imprisoned*, אֲשָׁרָה *anointed*, אֲסָרָה *prisoner*, אֲשָׁרָה *anointed one*. Both forms occur also with intrans and even active signification, as עֲזָזִים *strong* and the examples in § 50, Rem. 2, in the form בְּטָרֵל (as secondary form to בְּטָוָל No 2), בְּגָדָר *small*, and act נְבָבָה *prophet*, קְרִיד *overseer*, etc. Some words of the form בְּטָרֵל express the time of the action, as צָרֵר *time of cutting, harvest*, רְשֵׁר *time of ploughing*, like the Greek verbáls in τοις, e.g. ἀμητος, ὄροτος, τρύγητος, (acc. to the Greek Grammarians, the cutting, plowing, etc is in opposition to ἀμητός etc harvest gathered in —ν Liddell and Scott אֲצָרָה in δμητος—, corresponding to this also the forms in the Heb. like צָרֵר are used *actively*, comp. צָרֵר in Jer. 50, 16, 51, 33, Cant. 2, 12). The feminines e.g. בְּתִוְילָה *virgin (the secluded)*

6. בְּלָקָר (Arabic لَبَّقَ), with unchangeable vowels (see however below). In Arab. it is the usual intensive form of the participle, and hence in Heb. expresses what is *habitual*, e.g. בְּלָקָר *apt to butt*, נְקָר (also נְקָרָה) *zealous*, נְקָרָה *sinner* (diff. from נְבָרָה *sinning*), בְּנָקָר *thief*, so of occupations and trades (the so-called *nomina opificum*), e.g. בְּנָקָר *cook*, בְּנָקָר (for בְּנָקָר) *artificer*. It is curious that the unchangeable ô of the 2d syllable should be dropped in the *constr state sing*, as if the groundform were not *qattāl* but *qāṭāl* e.g. קְרָאֵשׁ *carpenter* Is. 44,

13.—To the same category belongs the form **לְקָרֶב** (with the attenuation of *ā* of the 1st syll. to *i*) e. g. **אֲקָרֵב** (arab. *'akkâr*) *husbandman* (*prop. digger*) Here again the feminine (**לְקָרָה** or **לְקָרָה**) often takes the abstract signification, as **קָרָה** (also **קָרָה**) *female sinner* and **סִינָה**, **לְקָרָה** *burning fever*, with a guttural **קָרָה** *signet*

7. **לְשִׁיטָל** and **לְטַבֵּק**, intensive forms applied to persons as adjectives of quality, as **צָדִיק** *righteous*, **אָבִיר** *strong*, **חַנְיךָן** *compassionate*. Seldom passive, as **אָסִיר** *fettered*

8. **לְצֹולָה**, as **רִסּוֹר** *corrector*, **שְׁבִידָה** *drunkard*, **גָּבוֹרָה** *strong one*, **הֵרוֹן** *hero*. Seldom passive, as **יָלֹודָה** *born*. As, for instance the Arab *gubbâr* (for **גָּבוֹר**) shows, all these forms are but modifications of the form **לְקָרֶב**, produced by the attenuation of *ā* into *i* in the first syllable, and by inflecting *ā* into *ô* in the second.

9. **לְקָטָל** (Grdf. *qittil*) indicates everywhere abnormal qualities, especially a bodily fault or a defect, e. g. **גָּבֵן** *hunch-backed*, **קָרְבָּן** *bald-headed*, **אָלְמָן** *dumb*, **כִּירָן** *blind*, **חִרְשָׁן** *deaf*, **קָרָעָן** *perverse*, **פָּרְשָׁן** *clear-sighted* follows the same analogy. The *abstr.* signification is found in the *fem.*, **רָבִיאָה** *folly*, (although, before suff. **אִילָה**)

II Nouns after the manner of Infinitives in Qâl¹

10. **לְלָבָן**, **לְלָבָן**, **לְלָבָן** (really *q'ṭâl*, *q'ṭîl*, *q'ṭûl*), are with No. 11 the simplest forms of this class, of which the latter is the predominant, and the first a rare form in the verb as Infinitive (§ 45, a). As nounforms they are rare, e. g. **גָּבָר** *man*, **סָאָר** *ornament*, **פָּרָץ** *laughter*. Instead of these, we much oftener find—

11. **לְקָטָל**, **לְקָטָל**, **לְקָטָל**, then three kindred so-called *s'gholate* forms (sprung from the grnd.-forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, as preserved in Arabic), e. g. **מַלְךָ** (for **מַלְךָ** *malk*, § 27, Rem. 2, c) *king*, **סַפְרָה** (orig. form **סְפָרָה**) *book*, **שָׁדָה** (orig. form *qudsh*) *sanctuary*, these have the characteristic vowel with the accent in the first syllable, and the unaccented helping-vowel *S'ghôl* (§ 28, 4) in the second. Instead of the *S'ghôl*, a *Päthäch* is used with gutturals in the second or third place as **זִיכָּר** *seed*, **נִצָּחָה** *eternity*, **מִלְּאָה** *work*.²—Examples of feminines, **מִלְּקָה** *queen*, **כִּרְחָה** *help* (also **כִּרְחָה**), **כִּתְבָּה** *wisdom*.

In masculines as well as feminines the *abstract* is the proper and prevailing signification, as **רִזְעָה** *slaughter*, **סְמִידָה** *pity*, **זִיכָּר** *memory*, **אַסְכָּה** *gathering*, yet the *concrete* often occurs, especially in the form **לְקָטָל**, e. g. **מֶלֶךְ** *king*, **בָּנָה** *a youth*, **בָּרָה** *brutish*, **עַבְדָּה** *servant*, **בָּזָלָם** *lord*, **בָּנָה** *man*. In such forms the concrete sense is secondary and derived from

¹ All these forms are found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Arabic as Infinitives, or as so-called *nomina verbi*.

² Only very few remain without a helping-vowel, as **אַיִלָּה** *valley*, **אַתְּמָה** *sin*, **אַתְּמָה** *truth*, the first two of which may be explained by the circumstance that **ת** final has there lost its value as a consonant.

the abstract, as in **בָּנָה** prop. *brutishness*, **בָּנָה** prop. *season of youth* (cemp. Eng. *youth* and *a youth*), or the form of the word is shortened from another with a concrete sense, as **שָׁבֵר מַלְךָ** from participial forms (*mâlik*, *'âbd*), meaning *ruling, serving*.¹ But altogether the meaning of these forms is very various, e. g. even for the instrument, as **כֶּבֶשׂ** *sword*, **מִרְמָה** *graving-tool*, and passively **אֲלֹג** *web* (really *weaving*, hence instrumentally *weaver's shuttle*). In the latter sense the form **לְטָהָר** is more common, as **לְטָהָר** *food*; this form **לְטָהָר** is also more used in the abstract meaning, hence **נְעָרָה** *a youth*, **נְעָרָה** *youth*.

12. **לְפָתָח** (*qâṭâl*, like No. 1), fem. **קָתָלָה** (*qâṭâlât*), both very often with the abstr. sense; e. g. **רִצְבָּה** *hunger*, **סְתָמָה** *guill*, **שְׁבָטָה** *satiety* (their concretes being **רִצְבָּה** *hungry*, **סְתָמָה** *stomach*, **שְׁבָטָה** *satisfied*); fem. **צְדָקָה** *righteousness*, **נְקָדָה** *vengeance*. Less frequent is the form **לְפָתָח** (*Grdf. qâṭâl*), as **שָׁכָר** *strong drink*, **פָּנָבָה** *grape*, **כֶּבֶשׂ** *heart*. It would perhaps be more correct to count these forms among the participials in No. 1.

13. **לְאָתָה**, **קְנוּלָה**, **קְנוּלָה** (*where ô is orig. â*), **קְנוּלָה**, all with an immovable vowel (§ 25) between the second and third radicals, and a Sh'wâ (instead of orig short vowel) under the first, as **בְּרִבָּה** *book* (Arab. *kitâb*), **חַמּוֹר** *ass* (Arab. *himâr*), **חַלְבָּה** *dream*, **כִּסְרֵלָה** *fool*, **גַּבּוֹלָה** *border*; sometimes with Aleph prosthetic, as **אַזְוֹרָה**=**וּזְוֹרָה** *arm*, **אַסְרָה** *brood*. The corresponding feminines are like **בְּשִׁירָה** (Arab. *bîshâra*), *good news*, **בְּתִיבָּה** (Arab. *kitâbât*) *writing*, **בְּבִירָה** *might*; the last form coincides with the fem. of the form **לְפָתָח** in No. 5.

14. **מְקֻדָּשָׁה** (the Aram. has **מְקֻדָּשָׁה** as the form of the infinitive), e. g. **מְשֻׁקָּט** *judgment*. This form belongs to the category of the very numerous nominal formations with preformative **מְ** which (without doubt connected with **מְיָ** *who* and **מְהָ** *what* v. § 37) is employed to express the most varied relations. In all cases where the **מְ** stands before a consonant with a toneless firm vowel it receives vocal *Shewâ* (derived from an original short vowel); in those forms however in which the **מְ**, with the first stem consonant makes a closed syllable, it receives at first everywhere the vowel *â* which however is frequently weakened into *i* or *e*. Corresponding to this, there is found before the accented stem syllable the pretonic lengthening, partly into *â* and partly into *e*. In reference to the signification we must distinguish *a)* the **מְ** *subjective*; thus the preformative **מְ** of the participles of Piel, Hiph. and Hithp. and other active conjugations; *b)* **מְ** *objective*; such as the preformative **מְ** of the passive (Pual, Hoph. etc.) as well as that of

¹ In Arabic the form *qâṭâl* always expresses an action or a quality inherent in the subject, as a secondary form to the usual participle *qâṭil*, which indicates the casual or passing action or quality; thus, *mâlikâ* to rule, Part. *mâlik* ruling, *mâlik* rarely *mâlk*, ruler, king. Such an origin of **לְלִיכָּה** may be shown also from other examples. Comp. **גָּדִיר**, as the name of a town, with **גָּדִיר** (*Grdf. gâdîr*) *wall*; and **קָטִיפָה** shortened (in the constr. state) from **קָטִיף** (*kâtip*) *shoulder*.

numerous nouns; comp. מִזְמָרָה *a desired object*, מִלְכָוֶת *prey*, שֵׁבֶת *dress*, מִזְמָרָה *Psalm*; fem. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מִשְׁכָנָה *reward*, מִבְּרָכָה *war*, מִרְכָּבָה *chariot*; c) מ instrumental, e. g. פִּילָּגָח *fork*, מִפְּקָדָה *key*, כּוֹמְרָה *pruning knife*, מִאֲבָלָתָה *knife*; d) מ local, e. g. קְרָם *(from קִרְמָה)* place, מִרְקָבָה *pasture*, מִזְבֵּחָה *altar*, מִרְחָבָה *large space*, בְּסָתָרָה *and pasture* and מִשְׁתָּוֹרָה *hiding-place*. The vowels of the 2d syllable are with the exception of ī and ū as well as of ô (which has been mostly inflected from ā; v. the last example) originally short vowels and therefore subject to attenuation into a short vowel or *Shewā*; thus בְּשִׁבְרָה (with ô not ô) is reduced to the original בְּשִׁירָה.

15. Also קִטְלָן (Grdf. *qitlān*), קִטְלָן *qitlān*, and other similar forms, with the terminations נִ— and נֵ—, as פִּרְרוֹן *interpretation*, שְׁלָמָן *table*, קִרְבָּנוֹ *offering*; but also זִיכָּרָן *remembrance*, חִזְיָּונָן *prophetic vision*. In a few old words instead of נִ— and נֵ— we find סִ— and סֵ—, as אַיְלָסִים *porch*, סְרִירָן *ransom*.

In some examples the affirmative Nūn has been appended without the aid of an accented vowel, as in כִּנְעָן *Canaan* and צִנְרָן *finger-nail* (in both cases only with an auxiliary vowel before the ending). In בִּירָן *axe* original ā has been modified into *S'ghol* instead of being lengthened into ā (to the same category belong examples with affirmative ל as בִּרְזָל *iron*, בִּרְמָל etc. (v. No. 35). For נִ there is a modified form נֵ, written also הֵ, which occurs especially in proper names, as מִנְדָּן and מִנְדָּן שְׁלֹמָן שְׁלֹמָה for שְׁלֹמֹן (comp. Πλάτων, *Plato*). In the *patronymic* and *gentilic* forms (§ 86, 5) the Nūn still appears, e. g. שְׁרָלָנִי from שִׁילָה the city *Shiloh* (called even now *Seilān*).

16. Also with the feminine-ending תָּה, e. g. סְכָלוֹת *folly*, רְפָאָות *healing*. In the Aramaean, this (or הֵ without תָ) is a usual termination of the Infinitive in the derived conjugations (comp. No. 28). Its frequent use appears only in the later O. Test. books. As a synonymous ending we find at times יְהֵ— in earlier use, as שְׁאָרִיהֵ *remnant*. Comp. the denominative nouns, § 86, 6.

III. Participials of the derived Conjugations.

17. From *Niph.* נִכְלָלָה, as נִכְּאָרָה plur. fem. *wonders*.

18. 19. From *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph.*, e. g. מִכְתָּה *a covering*, מִכְתָּה *snuffers*, מִשְׁבָּרָה *destruction*.

20. From *Po'ēl*, as צִילָּל (probably shortened from מִצְוִילָּל Is. 8, 12) and צִילָּל *child*, צִילָּל *war-prisoner*, אַצְּרָר *store*, חֹזֶק *seal*, שֹׁוֹקָר *trumpet*; all with original ā in the 2d syllable.

21. 22. From *Pi'ēl* and *Po'lal*, as לְלֻכָּה *(groundform qă'lăl)*, and לְלֻכָּה (qă'lăl), לְלֻכָּה *green*, לְלֻכָּה *quiet*; לְלֻכָּה *faint*.

23. לְלֻכָּה, לְלֻכָּה have an intensive and iterative sense, as לְפָכָסָה *full of turns* (L. *flexuosus*), לְלֻכָּה *full of twists* (L. *perversus*), and form adjectives with a diminutive signification (§ 55, 3), as אַלְלָכָרָם

reddish, שְׁחִרְחוֹר blackish; hence in a contemptuous sense (like Latin *miser*, *misellus*, Germ. *Gesinde*, *Gesindel*), as שְׁחַרְמָאָן (with the passive form as enlargement of שְׁחַרְמָאָן) *a rabble*.

IV. Nouns in the form of infinitives of the derived Conjugations.

24. From *Niph.*, as נְבֻנָּה (plur.) *struggles*.
25. From *Pi'el*, like נְפָרֵת *dispersion*, more frequently in the *fem.*, as נְשָׁמָה *request*, with Qā'mēš unchangeable in the second syllable.
26. כְּטָל, as שְׁבָד *requital*, חְבוּק *folding* (of the hands); also with concrete sense (comp. No. 7), as לְמֹדר *learner*, מְזָרָע *strong*.
27. נְטָרָה, תְּקִמָּה (*Infin.* of *Pi'el* very common in Arabic), e. g. נְכָרָה *benefit*, חְמָרָה *(covering) mantle*.
28. From *Hiph.*, like אֲזִיכָּה *remembrance-offering*, an-nūnūt *announcing* (with firm Qā'mēš), like Aramaean Infinitives.
29. From *Hithp.* חְזִירָה *register* (prop. to register oneself in a genealogical table).
30. From *Po'el*, like חְזִילָה (plur.) and חְזִילָה *folly*; in 31 the forms are kindred, having a long vowel in both syllables, as קְרִישׁ *smoke*, קְרִיךְ *prison*, קְרִימָה *nettle*. Perhaps the ī of the 1st syllable serves as a compensation for the omission of the Dagesh.
32. From *Pi'lēl*, as סְגִירָה *heavy rain*, נְאָסִיפָה (*only plur.*) *adultery*.
33. סְקִיחָה *opening*, Inf. to No. 23.
34. נְשָׁבָה, as שְׁלָבָה *flame* (comp. § 55, 6).
35. Quadrilaterals of various forms e. g. *a*) with afformative ה (v. No. 15) בְּרִזֶּל *iron*, בְּרִמֶּל *orchard* (comp. בְּרִם *vineyard*) צְרִפֶּל *dark clouds*, חְרִבֶּל *locust*, צְלִשֶּׁל *bright metal*; *b*) with the insertion of ה, so probably גְּלִמְדָה *barren*, חְלִמְדָה *flint*, the fem. חְלִמְדָה *glowing heat* etc. *c*) other forms: שְׁרִשָּׁה *sickle*, חְרִקָּה *scorpion*, סְבִירָה *vine blossom* etc.—Quinquilaterals (probably compounded) צְפִידָה *frog*.—See Davies' Heb. Lex. on גְּרִיבָה *hare*, and on the other words mentioned above.

§ 85.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM WEAK STEMS.

These are formed after the analogy of the strong stem. Accordingly, following the same arrangement, we shall refer these forms to the corresponding ones already described, marking them with the same number (§ 84), but mentioning only such as exhibit some notable effect of the feebleness of the stem.

I. From Stems יְנָה.

Connected with the *Inf.* of *Qäl*, 14. נַחַל gift, מִתְחַל sickle, מִתְעַרְבָּה overthrow; with *Inf.* of *Hiph.* 28. תִּצְלַח deliverance.—

II. From Stems יְנָה.

From the *Part.* *Qäl* (after the form לְמַקֵּן) we get:—1. מָמָם upright; commonly with *Pä'thäch* (to indicate the *Däg. f. implic.* of the final syllable), לְמָמָם abject, רַבָּה much, fem. רַבָּה דֶּלֶת booty, מִתְחַנָּה favour, מִתְחַדָּה law, fem. מִתְחַדָּה word, מִתְחַדָּה law; 14. מִתְמַכְּבָה that which surrounds anything, מִתְמַכְּבָה covering, מִתְמַכְּבָה shield, מִתְמַכְּבָה fastness, fem. מִתְמַכְּבָה roll. Through the removal of the pretonic vowel have arisen forms after the analogy of No. 10 (לְמַקֵּן), which are further developed into proper segholate forms (No. 11); as מִמְרָר (from מִמְרָר, r. מְרָר) bitterness, מִמְרָר timidly (from מִמְרָר, r. מְרָר). 27. מִתְהַדֵּת praise, מִתְהַדֵּת prayer; also in the segholate form, as מִתְמַסֵּב a melting away (from מִתְמַס, r. מְסֻבָּה), perh. also mast (from מִתְמַס to make a tremulous sound). From *Pilpél* (§ 55, 4), לְמַלְאָה wheel and whirlwind (from לְמַלְאָה to roll), קִרְקָע contemned, קִרְקָע crown (of the head), קִרְקָע flash, etc.

III. From Stems יְנָה and יְנָה.

The participial forms are regular. To the Infinitive belong: 10. יְנָה, fem. יְנָה knowledge, יְנָה counsel. 13. סְדָד, for סְדָד לְעֵת knowledge, יְנָה seat, שְׁמָשׁ snare, מְוַלְּדָה birth, מְוַסֵּר punishment; from verbs יְנָה of the 2d class (§ 70), יְנָה the best and acc. to § 71: מִתְמַכְּבָה, מִתְמַכְּבָה, מִתְמַכְּבָה, מִתְמַכְּבָה (comp. Aram. בְּנִיתָה) knowledge from יְנָה. 27. תְּוֹשֵׁב inhabitant, תְּוֹשֵׁב south (only pl. constr. תְּוֹשֵׁב), תְּוֹשֵׁב generation (only pl. constr. תְּוֹשֵׁב), תְּוֹשֵׁב the south.

IV. From Stems יְנָה and יְנָה.

Participles: 1. זָר foreign. 2. גָּר stranger, a female witness, testimony. 3. טָוב good, טָוב what is good. Infinitives: 11. various segholate forms, as מִתְהַרְתָּה death (Arab. *maut*) and בִּירָה house (Arab. *bait*); שְׁוֵת (Arab. *saut*) whip, שְׁוֵק leg (Arab. *sâq*) spirit; in feminine מִתְיַלְתָּה and צִוְלָה evil, צִוְלָה shame. 14. אֲנָוֹת, fem. אֲנָוֹת rest, אֲנָוֹת place, also מִתְמַכְּבָה oar (from שָׁוֹת), and מִתְמַכְּבָה cave (from צִוְלָה). 27. תְּהִרְוָת the deep, תְּהִרְוָת intelligence, תְּהִרְוָת testimony. 28. תְּהִרְוָת rest. 31. נִתְהִרְוָת satisfaction.

V. From Stems יְנָה.

Participles: 1. יְמִינָה fair, יְמִינָה hard, fem. יְמִינָה. Some lose the ה, as יְמִין hand, יְמִין sign (for יְמִינָה). 4. רְאִיה seer, fem. צְוָלָה burnt-offering. 5. גְּנִיבָה pure, גְּנִיבָה poor.—Infinitives: 11. The segholates in various forms; at times like בְּכָה a weeping, קְפָה end; sometimes also curtailed, as יְמִינָה duration, eternity (from יְמִינָה). Sometimes the original י appears, but then merely as a toneless helping vowel, as in יְמִינָה a swimming,

אֶתְּנָהָרָה *waste*; but on the other hand with יְ, as in קְרִיָּה fruit (Grd. *pārj* and farther attenuated to *pirj*), חַלְבִּי (chūl̫j) sickness, אֲצִירָה (Grd. *chisj*)—half; the fem. form always with consonant יְ or יֵ, as in שְׁלֹמָה rest, לְבִרְכָה garland. 12. (really belonging to 1.): בְּרַחַת friend: with rejection of the ending: עֵץ tree. 13. סְפִירָה winter. 14. pos-
session, קְרָאָה appearance, מְעֻמָּד deed, קְרָחָה camp; fem. קְרָאָה command. Apocopated form, מְעֻלָּה height (for מְעֻלָּה). 15. wealth, קְרָבָה destruction. 16. דְּמָרָה resemblance, דְּרוּתָה deliverance etc. 27. תְּבִלָּה annihilation, תְּבִיבָה structure, תְּרִבָּה brood. 28. אַשְׁכָּח testicle for אַשְׁכָּח (from קְשָׁחָה 'askōj).

VI. From doubly weak Stems.

We present only some cases of especial difficulty for the beginner to find the triliteral stem:

1. From a verb יְנַחֵם and אָלֵם, שָׁאָתֵם and שָׁרֵם elevation (Job 41, 17) for תְּהִלָּה from אַשְׁנָה.
2. From a verb יְתִירֵה and לְתִירֵה (pl. תְּוִרְתָּה) instruction, law, תְּהִלָּה thanksgiving.
3. From a verb אָלֵם and לְתִירֵה שָׁוֵם tumult Num. 24, 17 (for אַתְּמָשֵׁם—אַתְּמָשֵׁת) from אַתְּמָשֵׁם.
4. From a verb יְנַחֵם and אָרֵם (for יְנַחֵם) island, from אַיָּה to dwell; תְּנִיחָה sign derived from תְּנִיחָה which again comes from 'āvājāt (with הָ fem., comp. Arab. 'ājāt, Aram. ḥāṣ), from קְוִחָה; כְּרִיב cord, from אַרְבָּה chamber (for יְנַחֵם), from תְּנִיחָה to dwell (secondary form of אַגְּנָה v. s.); גְּדִירָה people (from יְנַחֵם, Arab. *confuxit*); רִיר irrigation (for רְוִיר, from לְנִיר).

To the learner the stem is often obscured also though the loss of נָ, יְ or חְ by contraction, e. g. בְּמִן wine-press for בְּמִינָה, בְּמִינָה and this for בְּמִינָה (from בְּמִנָּה to press); אַנְגָּר anger for אַנְגָּר ('anp); אַמְּתָה faithfulness for אַמְּתָה (from אַמְּתָה), שְׁתִּים time for שְׁתִּים ('idt with fem. חָ); וְרִיאָה brightness (from לְנִיר).

§ 86.

DENOMINATIVE NOUNS.

1. Such are all nouns which are formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive, or derived from a verb, e. g. קְדָמָן eastern, immediately from קְדָם the east, which is itself derived from the verb קְדַם.

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given among the verbal nouns, the denominatives as secondary (though partly very old) forms, being entirely analogous to nouns derived from the verb.

The verbal with **מִ** prefixed, e. g. was employed to express the *place of an action* (§ 84, No. 14); accordingly this **מִlocal** was prefixed to a noun in order to make it a *designation of place* (see No. 3 below).

The principal forms are the following:—

- Like the *Part. Qđl* (No. 4 of the Verbals), as שְׂצָרֵר porter, from שַׁצָּר gate; בְּקָר herdsman, from בָּקָר herd; כָּרָם vine dresser, from כָּרֶם vineyard.

2. Like the verbals of No. 6, קָשֵׁר archer, from מִלְחָמָה bow; מִלְחָמָה seaman, from מִלְחָם salt, sea. Both these forms (Nos. 1 and 2) indicate occupations inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in της, τεύς, e. g. πολίτης, γραμματεύς.

3. Nouns with **מִ** prefixed, expressing the place in or near which a thing is found (comp. No. 14 of the Verbals), e. g. מִזְרָחָה place of fountains, from מִזְרָח fountain; מִפְּרָגָלִית place about the feet, מִרְאָתָה place about the head, from מִגְּרָב, אַשְׁרָה; מִקְשָׁה cucumber field, from אַשְׁדָּק cucumber. Comp. ἀμπελών, from ἀμπελός.

4. Adjectival designations, with add. of מִן, מִן־, as קְרֵמָנִין eastern, from מִן; אֲחִירָה hinder, from תְּרוֹצָן exterior, from תְּרוֹצָן coiled, hence coiled animal, serpent, from לְרָה winding, מִתְּשִׁחָן copper image, from מִתְּשִׁחָה copper. Also abstracts, as צְעִירָה blindness, from צְעִיר. Comp. § 84, No. 15.

נִ forms a *diminutive* (like the Syriac **ןִ**), in little man (in the eye), apple of the eye from אַיִלָּה; on the contrary שְׂפִינִית little snake, is really an adjective form, from שְׂפָעַ to rub (perhaps=rubber-like). In the same way מִשְׁרָבִין is really a denominative from מִשְׁרָב (= שְׁרָב) and not a diminutive (pious little people and the like), but rather upright (righteous people); finally שְׂמָהִין is not little moon, but artificial moon (jewelry), and שְׂמָנִים not little neck, but necklace (from צְבָא neck). Comp. Delitzsch on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination **מִן**, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals*, *gentilics*, and *patronymics*; e. g. בְּקָר strange, from בָּקָר what is foreign; שְׁשָׁה sixth, from שָׁשָׁה six; מוֹאָבִי Moabite, from מוֹאָב Moab; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי Israelite, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the substantive is a compound, it is commonly resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵי-בְּנִימִין Benjaminite, from בְּנֵי-בְּנִימִין (for the use of the article with such forms, see § 111, 1, Rem.). Rarely instead of **מִן** we have a) the ending **מִן** (as in Aramaean), as בְּכָלִי deceitful and in proper names, as בָּרְזִילִי (ferreus, from בָּרִזְלִי iron) Barzillai; and b) its parallel **מִן**, as אֲשָׁר belonging to fire (אַשָּׁה) fire-food, sacrifice; בְּקָנִית (prop. milky) white poplar, arab. lubnaj.

6. Abstract nouns formed from concretes by the addition of מִן and מִן־ (comp. the Eng. terminations -dom, -hood, -ness, etc.); e. g. נִלְבָחוֹת

kingdom, from אֶלְקָנָה; אֲלֹנָהָה widow-hood, from אַלְפָנָה widower, אַלְפָנָה widow; *principium*, from אַנְשָׁה = רַאֲשִׁיר princeps. (See the Verbs No. 16.)

§ 87.

OF THE PLURAL.

1. The plural termination for the *masculine gender* is יְ—, e. g. סֵבֶת horse, plur. סִבְרִים horses, often also written defectively ס—, especially when in the same word a ו or י has already gone before as a so-called *fulcrum*, as in Gen. 1, 21 עַבְרִים תְּפִירִים. Nouns in י— end with יְרִים— in the plural, as עֲבָרִים Hebrews (Ex. 3, 18), from עַבְרִי, but usually a contraction takes place, as עֲבָרִים עֲשָׂנִים crimson garments, from עֲשָׂרָה.—Nouns in ה— lose this termination when they take the plural-ending, e. g. תְּזֵה seer, plur. תְּזֵוִים (comp. § 75, 3).—In regard to the removal of the accent from the ס— in the two old plurals מְרֻם water and שְׁמָרֻם heaven, comp. § 96. The termination יְ— is found sometimes also with feminines (comp. קְשָׂרִים women, § 96, under רְחִילִים; שְׁנָה years from רְחִילִים; אֲשָׂנִים ewes, from רְחִילִים) and is employed elsewhere to represent intensive ideas (§ 108, 2), so that the designation of gender is not necessarily attached to it (comp. also No. 3).

This ending יְ is also prevalent in Phoenician, e. g. צִדְנִים Sidonians; in Aramaean it is īn, in Arabic īn (nominative) and īn (the other cases), in Ethiopic īn. Compare also the ending נִ in 3d pers. pl. mas. of verbs.¹

Less frequent terminations of the plur. masc. are:

- ג—, as in Aramaic (aside from the poetical use in some older and even the oldest portions), almost exclusively in the later books of the O. Test., e. g. צַדְרִין kings Prov. 31, 3; 1 K. 11, 33, רְצִין a guard 2 K. 11, 18, דְשִׁין wheat Ez. 4, 9; defectively אַיִן islands Ez. 28, 18, בְּרִין days Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מְדִין carpets Judges 5, 10 (in the north Palestinian song of Deborah which shows also other linguistic peculiarities); עַיִן ruins Micah 3, 12 (apparently caused by the following נ); מְלִין words (from the Aram. מְלִין) Job 4, 2 and in 12 other places (also מְלִין, 10 times); further Job 24, 22, 31, 10, Lam. 1, 4.—Doubtful is however:

¹ On the connection between all these endings, see Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur Heb. Grammatik, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo., p. 51 etc.

b) וְ— (with וְ cast off, as according to some in *dual* וְנִידְבַּר for Ez. 18, 18, comp the *constr st* § 89, 2), e.g. מִנְיָה chords Ps 45, 9, for מִינְיָם (if it is not to be written so), וְעֵמֶק peoples Ps 144, 2 and prob. also Lam 3, 14, (2 Sam 22, 44 satisfies the rendering *my people*, comp in paral ex Ps 18, 44 וְעֵמֶק, also in Cant 8, 2 would the הַ of רַמְבָּדִי better be taken as a suff.) If according to this nearly all cases of this sort are more or less doubtful (comp also 2 Sam 23, 8, 1 Ch. 11, 11, 1 Sam 20, 38 Kethibh and *Gesenius's Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache*, § 524 ff) for the whole question, it has at least its analogy in the other Semitic languages. On the Assyrian plural ending וְ compare, Schrader in the *Zeitsch. der DMG XXVI*, p 218 ff. (e.g. *malki* princes). In Syr we have the corresp plur *malke* (מלכָּה), likewise in the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud גְּבָרִי men, finally the apocope of the וְ or וְ is very common in the pronunciation of the West Aram e.g. חֲלֵיִם for *the Psalms* — More doubtful still is—

c) וְ— (like the *constr state* in Syriac), and here are reckoned, e.g. חֲרֹרִי white cloths Is 19, 9, שְׁרִי princes Judg 5, 15, חֲלֹוִנִי windows Jer 22, 14. This last is also taken for dual (§ 88, Rem 1) two windows but it is probably a corrupt reading for dual, חֲלֹבִינִים, שְׁרִי may be my princes (with suff), and וְ— in חֲרֹרִי is a formative syllable (white cloth). Further חֲשֹׂלָה in Is 20, 4 is either *constr st*, comp § 89, Rem., or likewise coll sing with the ending וְ—, שְׁרִי the Almighty, from the stem שְׁרִיךְ, is formed with the adjective ending וְ—, while in the collectively used singular יְבוּמִי locust-swarm Am. 7, 1, Nah 3, 17 (from יְבוּמָה) the וְ— belongs to the stem (cf. פְּשִׁירִי 8, f. פְּשִׁירָה), finally, in אֲדוֹנִי the Lord (prop. my lord, from the so called plural of Majesty, אֲדוֹנִים lord) the ay is originally a suffix, see § 121, Rem. 4

d) סְ—, as supposed plural ending in סְנִים = סְנִים midges, which however is rather a collective singular (of the stem בְּקַן) with the formative syllable סְ— (comp. § 84, No. 15), likewise סְלָטִים ladder, prop. steps (from סְלָטָה I), comp our stairs

2 The plural termination for the feminine gender is וְתִּ (often written defectively וְתִּ), which takes the place of the singular feminine-ending וְתִּ, וְתִּ, וְתִּ, when the noun in the singular ends with one of these, otherwise it is merely appended to the form of the singular, as תְּהִלָּה song of praise, plur תְּהִלָּות letter, plur. בְּאַרְתִּה a well, plur בְּאַרְתִּות Feminines in וְתִּ form their plural in וְתִּ, and those in וְתִּ, in וְתִּ, e.g. מִצְרִית an Egyptian woman, plur מִצְרִיות kingdom, plur מִלְכִירִות These last plurals have, however, for their basis, the singular endings וְתִּ and וְתִּ before which *Yodh* to be retained as a consonant must be doubled.

Rem. It is only from mistake or disregard of these feminine-endings מִתְ וּמִתְ—that some words ending with them, form their plural by the addition of מִתְ, e. g. חַכְמָה spear, plur. חַכְמֹות; מִשְׁנָה whoredom, plur. מִשְׁנֹות; אֲלֵלֶתֶת widowhood, and many other instances. After the manner of the Syrac is the formation of the plural (before suffixes) קְדֻשָּׁה (קְדֻשֶּׁ-וֹת) laws, with *Waw* as a consonant, from the singular קְדֻשָּׁה.

This ending מִתְ (-əth) stands for -əth (as it sounds in Ahab, Ethiop in the construct state of the West Aram. in Eastern Syrac also in Assyrian, Schrader I. 1 p. 222, see on the change of ə to ə, in § 9, 10, 2), and -əth is properly only a longer and stronger form of the singular-ending əth (§ 80, 2). The strengthening is intended partly to denote the plural and partly as intensive, and this ending is thus by a further application appended even to such nouns as have not -əth in the singular.

How the changeable vowels of the noun are modified by the addition of the plural endings, is explained in §§ 92—95.

3. Words which are of two genders (§ 107, 3) have often, in the plural, both the masculine and the feminine termination, e. g. צָבָא cloud, pl. צָבִים and צָבָה; both forms may be employed as masculine and feminine, but their gender must be determined by observing the usage of the language in respect to each word. But a number also of other words of one invariable gender have both (*masc.* and *sem.*) plural-endings, e. g. דָּרָא m. an age, plur. דָּרוּתָם and דָּרוּתָה; שָׁנָה f. a year, plur. שָׁנִים and שָׁנָה. The gender of the singular is in such cases retained with both the plural forms, e. g. אָרָם m. a lion, plur. אָרְיוֹת m. (Zeph 3, 3), דָּרוּתָה m. (Job 42, 16).

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יְמִינָם days and שָׁנִינָם years are the usual, but רְמוּת (only *constr.* Deut 32, 7, Ps 90, 15) and שְׁנוּת are rare poetic forms.

A difference of sense appears in the use of several words for members of the body, the dual (see § 88) being used for the living members themselves, while the plural in מִתְ denotes something like them but without life, e. g. יָדִים hands, רְדוּתָה artificial hands, tenons Ex. 26, 51, כְּפִים hands, בְּטוּתָה handles (L manubria), קְרֻנוֹת horns, קְרֻנוֹת horns (of the altar), עֵינִים eyes, עֵינֹת fountains.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in מִתְ—, while many feminines have a plural in מִתְ—. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains in the plural; e. g. אָב father, plur. אָבוֹת; שֵׁם m. name, plur. שֵׁמוֹת;

on the contrary, מֶלֶךְ f. *word, plur.* צָלִים plur.; שָׁבֵת f. *concubine, plur.* קְטַלְוִים.

5. It is only in adjectives and participles that we find the two plural-endings strictly and constantly distinguished according to the gender, e. g. טֹבֶת boni, טֹבָות bonæ; קְטַלְוִם m., קְטַלְוָת f. So also in substantives of the same stem, when the difference depends on sex, as בָּנִים fili, בָּנָה filæ; מֶלֶכִים, מֶלֶכה regi, reginæ.

Rem. 1. In some few words, there is added to the plural form in וּ the other termination of the plural — (— in construct state, comp. § 89, 2) or that of the dual —, e. g. בָּמָה height, pl. בָּמָות, construct state בָּמָה from places at the head of Saul 1 Sam. 28, 12, חָמָן wall, plur. חָמָנות (maenia), whence *dual double wall*. This double designation of the plural appears also in the manner of connecting suffixes with the plural forms in וּ (§ 91, 3).

2. Some nouns are used only in the sing. (e. g. אָדָם man, collectively men) a series of other nouns are used only in the plural, e. g. מְנֻרִים men (in Eth the sing. is mēt man), and some of these have a singular sense (§ 108, 2), as פְּנִים face. Also when the actual plural of the latter is required, there is but the same way of expressing it, hence, פְּנִים means also faces in Gen. 40, 7, Ez 1, 6, אֱלֹהִים God and also gods.

§ 88. OF THE DUAL

1. As a most ancient modification of the plural, we have the *dual*, which however in Hebrew is used only in substantives (v. No. 2) not in adjectives, verbs, and pronouns. It is indicated in both genders by the ending יְ־, appended to the singular, as יְדֵיכֶם both hands, יְמֵינוּם two days; but instead of the feminine-ending חְ־, the dual-form always takes the old ending *ath*, with a long ā (on account of the open syllable), thus חְרִיבִים, as חְרִיבָה lip, שְׁפָתִים both lips; the ה of the termination חְ־ remains, as חְשִׁבְתִּים, in *dual double fetters*.

With nouns which stand in sing. without the fem. ending the dual ending is added to the ground form; which however generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the removal of the tone, e. g. בְּנָת wing (ground form *kānāph*), *Dual* כְּנָתִים (the first ā becoming *Sh'wā*, since it is no longer

pretonic, and the second *ă* being lengthened before the new tone syllable). But in most cases the original form remains before the dual ending, in the segholate forms (§ 84, 11), as רָגֵל *foot* (Grdf. *rägl*), *dual* רְגִלִּים; yet קְרֵבִים is used as well as קְרֵבִיִּם (from קֶרֶב *horn*), from לְחִיִּם *cheek* (as from the plurals לְחִיּוֹת, קְרֵבָה, קְרֵבָה).

Rem. 1. Unusual forms of the dual, mostly occurring only in proper names, are,—*a*) יַנְׁן (as in West. Aram.,—comp. *aini* of the Accusative in Arab.) and יַנְׁן (—*âni* of the nom. in Arab.), as יַנְׁן Gen. 37, 17, and יַנְׁן 2 K. 6, 13 (*pr. name of a city, prop. two wells*); קְרִיחָן (dual of קְרִיחָה) name of a town, called also קְרִיחָרִים in 1 Ch. 6, 61, Josh. 21, 32 (so too the Moabite cities in Mêsha's Inscription in line 10 קִירְיָתָהָן or קִירְיָתָהָן—*in O. Test.; in line 30 בְּתֵי בְּבָלְדִּים=בְּתֵי חֲרִירִים*—*two hundred*);—*b*—, prob. in the *pr. n.* הַצְּבִיעָם *the double spring*, and יְמִים—*in شְׁנִים two in the combination* شְׁנִים *twelve* (besides the usual form שְׁנִים);—*c*— (with ס cast off), יְרִיעָם Ez. 13, 18 (if we do not read יְרִיעָה here), perhaps also אַלְזָעָר (*double windows*) Jer. 22, 14 (but see § 87, 1, c).

2. Only seemingly dual are the words מְיֻמָּה *water*, שְׁמָמָה *heaven*, מְרוּשָׁלָם *Jerusalem*. The former two are plurals from the lost singulars מְיֻמָּה (comp. § 87, 1), the latter is probably a distended form for the older מְרוּשָׁלָם¹ and the Massora, with its *Qeret perpet.*, did not mean a dual; comp. the shorter form פְּשָׁלָם Ps. 78, 3, and the Aramaic פְּרָשָׁלָם.

2. The use of the *dual* in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, etc. (§ 97), chiefly to such objects as are by nature or art in *pairs*, as יְדִים *both hands*, חָפְרִים *both fists*, אַזְנוֹת *both ears*, שְׁלֹמָם *set of teeth* (used of the *two rows*); further סְבִילָתָם *pair of shoes*, מְאַזְבָּנִים *pair of scales* (Lat. *bilanx*), or at least are thought of as forming a *pair*, as יוֹמִים *two (successive) days*, Lat. *biduum*, שְׁנָנָהִים *two years* (in *succession*), Lat. *biennium*, אַפְלוֹרִים *two cubits*.

Rem. In the former case the dual is used also for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, as קְנַפְתִּים שְׁשָׁה *six wings* (i. e.: three pairs) Is. 6, 2, Ez. 1, 6; שְׁבַבָּה שְׁבַבָּה *seven eyes* Zech. 8, 9; סְכִינָתָךְ² *all hands* Ez. 21, 12; קְלִיבְרָתִים קְלִיבְרָתִים *all knees* Ezek. 7, 17; קְצִלְקָתִים קְצִלְקָתִים *cymbals* Ezr. 8, 10; שְׁפָטִים שְׁפָטִים *double-hooks* Ez. 40, 43.—With some emphasis the dual takes also the numeral *two*, as in Amos 3, 12, Judg. 16, 28.

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus Ling. Hebræa, p. 629.

² With this use of the *dual* may be compared the Welsh *dwy-law* (*two-hands*) used for the only *plur.* of *llaw* (*hand*), and *dwy-fron* (*two-breasts*) for the *chest*, but *bronau* (*the reg. pl. of bron*) for the *breasts*.—Tr.

See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87, Nos. 3 and 5, Rem. 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Hebrew, at an earlier period, made a more extensive and free use of the dual, and that the restrictions and defects above specified belong to a later phase of its development. The ancient Arabic forms the dual in the noun, pronoun and verb, almost co-extensively with the Sanskrit or Greek; but the modern Arabic omits it almost entirely in verbs, pronouns and adjectives. The Syriac has it without living force, only in a couple of words, and that somewhat as in the Latin forms *ambo*, *duo*, *octo*. In like manner, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the more modern East-Indian tongues; and its full use in the Old-Slavic has been later, e. g. in the Bohemian, confined as in Heb. to *pairs*, as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see Grimm's Gramm. I. p. 814, 2d ed.

§ 89.

THE GENITIVE AND THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. The Hebrew has no longer the living use of *case-endings*,¹ but indicates the *relations of case*, either not at all, which is true of the *nominative* and generally also of the *accusative*, or by prepositions (§ 117); but the *genitive* relation is indicated by a close connection between two nouns. The noun, which serves in Latin or Greek as genitive to limit another (*nomen rectum*), in Hebrew remains unchanged, and is only uttered in more close connection with the preceding (*nomen regens*), and the two nouns are sometimes said to be in *regimen*. In consequence of this connection, the tone hastens on the second (the genitive) of the two nouns² and the first (or governing noun) suffers a shortening by changes chiefly in the vowels (when changeable), e. g. קְבָר word, קְבָר אֱלֹהִים word of God, literally word-God (where we reverse the order, as *God's-word*, like *fruit-tree*); יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ hand, יַד הַמֶּלֶךְ hand of the king; and partly in both consonants and vowels, e. g. הַבְּרִים.

¹ On some traces of obsolete case-endings, see § 90.

² In accordance with the universal tendency of the tone, in the Hebrew, as well as other languages, to hasten towards the end of words (§ 29, 1); observe, for instance, in German the natural accentuation of the last word in "der Thron des Königs".

words, דְבָרִי חָעֵם words of the people. Thus in Hebrew,¹ the noun which stands before a genitive suffers a change (when there is any), by which this relation is indicated, and in grammatical language it is said to be in the *construct state*, while a noun which is not thus followed by a genitive is said to be in the *absolute state*. This goes to show that the *construct state* is not strictly the result of the syntactical relation, but merely an effect of the relations of tone.

Whether such words are (as often happens) connected by *Mäqqēph* (§ 16, 1) or not, does not affect the sense, but depends on the accentuation. On the further use of the *construct state*, see the Syntax, §§ 114, 116.

2. The *vowel-change* which many nouns exhibit in the *construct state* are fully taught in the Paradigms, §§ 92—95. This *construct* form of the noun has, moreover, peculiar *endings* better fitted for union with the following noun. Thus:—

- a) In place of the plural and dual *endings* — and יִם —, it has, by throwing off the *m*, simply — (comp. Rem. below); e. g. *horses*, סֹרִים פְּרַעֲוָן *horses of Pharaoh*; *eyes*, עִינִים הַמֶּלֶךְ *eyes of the king*.
- b) In place of the usual feminine-termination הִ — (in the *absol. state*), it always takes the original ending חִ —, as מֶלֶכֶת שְׁבָא queen of Sheba. But the feminine-termination חִ — remains unchanged in the *constr. st.* as well as the plural ending הוּ —.
- c) Nouns in הִ — (from verbs לְהִ, § 85, V.) form their *constr. st.* in חִ —; as רִאָה *seer*, constr. רִאָתָה; undoubtedly this חִ — is contracted from original רִ — (the הִ being orthographically retained) whilst the *absol. state* has been changed, after the *Yôdh* had been dropped, from רָא into אָהָה (v. § 75, 1); the same contraction is found with דִּי *constr. sufficiency*; חִי *life*, constr. חִיָּה, and so also גִּיאָה (גִּירָא) *valley*, constr. (גִּירָא) גִּירָא (גִּירָא).

¹ What is here said of the Heb. mode of expressing the relation of the genitive, is applicable in almost every particular also to the Keltic. In Welsh, for instance, they express *word of God* by *gavr Duw*, i. e. *word-God*, without any change in either noun, their close connection in utterance being all that indicates the genitive case.—Tr.

On the ending *i* and *—* in the *constr. st.*, see § 90.

Rem. to a). Probably the liquid *m* at the end of a word was pronounced obscurely, like the Latin *-m* before a vowel, and hence might be wholly lost in pronunciation, just as the *m*, in the case alluded to (commonly called *ecthlipsis*), was obscured or slurred over in the language of common life and in poetry. (*Quinct. Inst. Orat. IX.* 4, § 40; *Schneider's Lat. Gram.* I. pp. 153, 300). So also the corresponding *n* of the plural-ending in Arabic and Aramaean is slurred over, and that of the plural-ending *ן* in the verb (§ 44, 1, and § 47, Rem. 4). After the rejection of the *m*, the final vowel *i* of the plural-ending was strengthened by a foregoing *a* (*Guna*, in Sanskrit grammar), so that *ai* arose, which was then contracted to *e* (§ 7, 1, and § 9, 6). Instead of *—*, the Syriac still has *—*: in Hebrew, too, this form may be clearly traced in the suffixes to the plural noun (§ 91, 2). Of this we have, perhaps, an example in the form *רָבַעַתְּ* Is 20, 4.—It is obvious that the *—* of the *dual* has come from *—* (*רִיבְּ* from *רִיבָּ*).

§ 90.

TRACES OF ANCIENT CASE-ENDINGS.

— local, — and i appended to the construct state.

1. As the Arabic distinguishes three cases by terminations, so we find also in the Hebrew noun three endings, which correspond in sound to those of the Arabic, but have mostly lost their significance. These endings (the so-called *paragogic letters*) appear only as crumbled remains of a fuller and more vital organic development, than the language exhibits in the Old Testament, where it no longer ordinarily distinguishes the cases by terminations.

The Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptota*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative (corresponding to the three primary vowels); in the so-called *Diptota* the ending *a* represents also the genitive. In modern Arabic, these endings have almost entirely disappeared; and when they are now and then used, as by the Bedawins, it is done without regularity, so that one is used for the other (*Wallin*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gesellsch.* Bd. V., 1851, p. 9, Bd. XII., p. 874; *Wetzstein*, *ibid.* Bd. XXII., 1868, p. 118). Already, in the Sinaitic inscription, the regular use is not adhered to (*Beer, Studia asiatica*, III., 1840, p. XVIII; *Tuch*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges.* Bd. III., p. 139); and even at present among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai, one may hear e.g. *'annmuk* (thy uncle, in the

nom.) used also for '*anumik* (*gen.*) and '*animak* (*acc.*). In central Arabia the three endings are still heard in the mouth of the people of the towns; farther south and east the *-a* stands for the *-i*, and nearer the coast these endings are heard no more (*Palgrave's Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and eastern Arabia*, Vol. I., p. 465, Lond. 1865). The Ethiopic, likewise, has preserved only the *-a* (in pr. names—*hā*), which is, however, still used for the whole scope of the accusative, and moreover (the distinction of case being dropped) as a termination of the *constr. st.* for connecting it with a following genitive. *Philippi* gives a lucid discussion of the questions belonging here in: "Wesen und Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebrew. — Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt." Weimar 1871, p. 96 ff. (Compare the criticism on it by *Noldeke* in the *Götting. gel. Anzeig.* 1871, St. 23.)

2. The *accusative* relation is still most obvious in the ending *ה-* (usually without accent), which is appended to the substantive—

- a) Mostly to denote *direction* towards an object, or *motion* to a place¹ (answering to our *-ward*), e. g. *sea-ward*, *westward*, *צְפֹנָה northward*, *אֲשֶׁרֶת to Assyria*, *בְּבִלְתָּה to Babylon*, *הַרָּה from הר mountain-ward* Gen. 14, 10, *אָרֶץ to the earth*, *בֵּיתָה into a house*, *תְּרֵצָה to Tirzah* (from *תְּرֵצָה*) 1 K. 14, 17, *עַצְّזה to Gaza* (from *עַצְּזה*) Judg. 16, 1; with the article, *הַרָּה to the mountain*, *הַבָּיְתָה into the house*, *הַאֲלָלָה (Grdf. 'əhl)* *into the tent* (also *הַאֲלָלָה* Gen. 18, 6, Exod. 18, 7); even after the *constr. state* with a genitive following, *בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף into Joseph's house*, *אָרֶץ הַגְּנָבָה to the south-land* Gen. 20, 1, *מִדְבָּרָה רְפָשָׂק towards Egypt's land* Ex. 4, 20, *אָרֶץ מִצְרָיִם towards the wilderness of Damascus*, 1 K. 19, 15 *מִזְרָחָה שֶׁמֶשׁ (here with the tone, contrary to rule) towards the rising of the sun, eastward*, Deut. 4, 41; and even after the plural, *כְּשֻׁדְרִיםָה to the Chaldeans*, Ez. 11, 24, *הַשְׁמָרָתָה the heavens-ward*.
- b) Sometimes in a weaker sense, as merely pointing to the place *where²* something is; e. g. *מִקְהָלֵטָה at Mahanaim* 1 K. 4, 14; *שָׁמֶת there (usually thither)* Jer. 18, 2 comp.

¹ See on this force of the accusative, § 118, 1: and compare the Lat. local accusative, as *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire.*

² So also elsewhere the accusative, § 118, 1.

2 K. 23, 8. (On the other hand בְּבָلֵן Jer. 29, 15 and בְּלִילָה Hab. 3, 11, must be taken as the usual accusative of direction: *to Babylon, in the dwelling*; also expressions like: פָּאַת צְפָנָה the side towards the north Jos. 15, 5, comp. 18, 15, 20, Ex. 26, 18).

c) The proper sense of the ending **ה—** is still more disregarded when a preposition is prefixed to the word, and this not only after ב or ע (which is easily explicable), e. g. לְמַעַל upwards, לְמַטֵּה downwards, לְשָׁאַלְהָ into the grave Ps. 9, 18; עַד אֶפְקָה unto Aphek, Josh 13, 4 but also after ב and even after מ e.g. בְּנֶגְבָּה in the south Josh. 15, 21, מִבָּבֶלְהָ from Babylon Jer. 27, 16. Comp. also § 80, Rem. 2, f.

This termination **ה—** has usually reference to *place* (hence called *He local*); yet in rare cases it also refers to *time*; so, in הַצָּעֵד (with the tone on the last syllable) *now, at this time* (from עַת), מִוּמִים יְמִינָה *from year to year*. Its use is peculiar in חֲלִילָה, prop. *ad profanum!* = μὴ γένοιτο, *abstain, or God forbid!*

Also as *accusatives of the object* we may regard not only a few names of places, Num. 32, 35, Josh. 21, 36 (**חַתִּיחָצָה** A.), but also אֲרֹצָה זְבֻלוֹן *terram Z.* and אֲרֹצָה נְפָתִילָה *terram N.* Is. 8, 23; comp. Job. 34, 13 and § 80, Rem. 2, e.

As the ending **ח—** is properly unaccented, the vowels of the word, as the above examples show, undergo mostly no change, in מְדֻבָּרָה (*const. state*, v. § 28, 3, c) the short vowel ē remains even in open tone-syllable. The segholate forms, as חַצְבָּתָה, חַרְבָּתָה, appear according to their original form, without the helping-vowel (cf. also חַקְבָּצָה); so too the feminine ending appears in its older style (§ 80, 2), only that the ē of the ending ח— is lengthened to a in the accented open syllable, as in חַבְבָּתָה.—Moreover, the ח— itself is in some cases shortened to ה—, as חַבְבָּתָה to Nob 1 Sam. 21, 2, 22, 9; חַרְבָּתָה to Dedan Ez. 25, 13, אַנְחָתָה whither 1 K. 2, 36, 42.

3. Much less frequent, and almost exclusively poetical, is the use of the two other endings, which along with the accusative in ח—, are presumed to correspond to the Arabic case endings viz. the so-called *literæ compaginis* ח— (the obsolete genitive ending) and ר— (also ח— in proper names) the

obsolete nominative ending. The reference to case in these forms is quite lost, and they are to be regarded simply as archaisms, which occur in poetry or in elevated speech, and are found besides in many compound names handed down from early times. As in these names, so also elsewhere, these terminations stand only in the closest connection of noun with noun, viz. in the *constr. state*.¹

a) The ending יְ— is not quite rare in the *construct state*, and it usually has the tone, e. g. בָנֵי אַצְנוֹן his ass's colt Gen. 49, 11, עֹזֶבֶת הַצְאָן forsaking the flock Zech. 11, 17, שָׁכְנֵי סְנָה dweller in the bush Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine, גִּנְבְּחֵרִי לְלִיה stolen at night Gen. 31, 39 (in excited speech), צָל הַבְּרוּתִי מִשְׁפָט full of justice Is. 1, 21, מִלְכִיזְדֵּק after the manner of Melchizedek Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the apparently numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the construct and the absolute state (comp. § 116, 1) without abolishing the relation of dependence e. g. רַבְתִּירִי בְּנָוִתִים mistress among the nations Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of the tone from the י— here may have proceeded from the foregoing יְם, where the drawing back of the tone resulted from the following tone syllable; however comp. also אַרְחֵבְתִּירִי לְדוֹרֶש Hos. 10, 11); אַסְכְּרִירִי לְנַפְשִׁים binding to the vine Gen. 49, 11, comp. Ex 15, 6, Obad. 3, Ps. 113, 5—9 (partly in freer constructions; v. 8 even with *Infin.*). Outside of the *constr. st.* is found the *Chirèq compaginis* e. g. Is. 22, 16, Mic. 7, 14, Ps. 123, 1, and besides these in like manner it is found with some particles which are strictly nouns in the *constr. st.*, as זְלָחָה (= זְלָחָה) besides, מְנִי (poet. = from, בְּלִיחָר not, מִן), and in compound proper names, as מִלְכִיזְדֵּק (i. e. king of righteousness), גְּבָרָאֵל (man of God), חֲנִינְיאָל (favour of God), and others; comp. the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. חַנְיבָּעֵל (favour of Ba'al).

¹ In ancient combinations of words, other endings are also often retained which have disappeared elsewhere, or are but seldom employed; e. g. the feminine-ending יְ— with the noun in the genitive connection (§ 89, 2, δ) and with the verb in connection with suffixes (§ 59, 1). In like manner, many peculiarities of the language are retained in proper names, and also by the poets.

b) The always accented ending ֿ— is of much rarer occurrence, in prose only in the Pentateuch, and that in more elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חַיּוֹת־אָרֶץ *the beast of the earth* = חַיּוֹת הָאָרֶץ v. 25 (the same is copied in Ps. 50, 10, 79, 2, 104, 11, 20, Is. 56, 9, Zeph. 2, 14); other cases are בֶּן־צְפֵר son of Beor Num. 24, 3, 15, בֶּן־צְפֵר son of Zippor 23, 18, and מַעֲינוֹ מִים fountain of water Ps. 114, 8.—On the ending ֿ—, see the following Rem.

Rem. As these two terminations ֿ— and ֻ— have wholly lost their significance, they can no longer pass for proper case-endings; yet it is probable that once they, as well as ַ— (No. 2), were so used in the living language; for we find that the ancient Arabic had exactly corresponding endings, and like the Hebrew (see above) lost them at a later period. This is the case also in other tongues. In Latin, for instance, we find a trace of the so-called locative case (in names of towns, *ruri, domi*, etc.) with the same ending as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural-endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient terminations of case, which are no longer so used; not to mention the Germanic and Roman languages.—Even in cases where the ancient Arabic incorporated, with stronger sound, case-endings with the stem, as in אָבִי, אָבָרִי, אָבָרָן (constr. st. of אָבָر father), the modern uses all three forms without distinction of case. Hence also probably in the Hebrew constr. state אָבָרִי, we have properly a genitive-ending; and in West. Aram., אָבָרִי in Heb. מִזְרָח (in prop. names as מִזְרָחָלָן and מִזְרָחָלָה, מִזְרָחָלָה), שְׂמָחָלָה (קְנָאָל), פְּנָאָל (קְנָאָל), a nominative-ending, so that we can better understand how פְּנָאָל occurs along with פְּנָאָל, and אָחָרִימְרָי with אָחָרִימְרָי.

§ 91.

THE NOUN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In connecting the noun with pronominal suffixes, which in this case stand for the genitive of the pronoun and therefore necessarily are appended to the construct state of the noun (§ 33, 2, b), we have, as in the verb (§ 57 etc.), two things to notice, viz. the form of the suffixes themselves and the changes in the form of the noun. Here we take up chiefly the first, as the second will be treated of under the inflection of nouns in § 92. A general view of the suffixes is given also in Paradigm A. We exhibit the suffixes, first, as appended to the singular, and then as appended to the plural and dual of the noun.

1. The suffixes to the singular Nouns are these:—

<i>Singular of Pronoun.</i>		<i>Plural of Pronoun.</i>
1. <i>com.</i> מ— my.		1. <i>com.</i> מָנוֹן— our.
2. { m. נַךְ, נִךְ—, in pause נַךְ— f. נַךְ, נִךְ— }thy.		2. { m. כָּם, כָּמִין— f. כָּמִין, כָּמִין— }your.
3. { m. הַר, וְרוּחָה; הַ, הֵה his. f. הַר, וְרוּחָה; הַר, הֵר her. }		3. { m. הַם, מַה—, poet. f. מַה, מַה—, חֲנִין their. }

Rem. 1. There is less variety of forms here than when they are attached to the verb, and their use is as follows:—

- a) The forms without a union-vowel are joined to the few nouns which in the *constr. st.* end with a vowel, as אֶבְרִיָּה אֶבְרִיָּה and אֶבְרִיָּה אֶבְרִיָּה, אֶבְרִיָּה אֶבְרִיָּה, אֶבְרִיָּה אֶבְרִיָּה.
- b) The forms with a union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), are joined to nouns ending with a consonant. The union-vowel is usually *a* in the 3rd sing., fem. מַה— (for *aha*), and 3rd plur. מַה—, מַה—, מַה—; also in 3d sing. masc. הַ, הֵה of which the ô is contracted from ähû (הָהָה) as well as the pausal form of the 2d masc. נַחְתָּה— (as a half lengthening of original נַחְתָּה). The forms with *e* are in the above mentioned *pers.* only used with nouns in הַה— (from the stem הָלָה) *constr. st.* מַה— (contracted from *ay*) e. g. מַדְרַשׁ his field (for *sadahû* or directly from *sadé-hu*); מַרְאֵה from *marajhâ* = *marâhâ* with the rejection of *Yôdh* and the half lengthening of ä to *S'ghôl* in the accented open syllable; but מַהְרָה her field from *sâda[j]hâ*. Outside of these forms is found the union vowel *e*, but rarely with 3d *pers.* e. g. אֵירָה his light Job 25, 3, מַהְרָה after its kind Gen. 1, 21, 25; but in 2d sing. fem. נַחְתָּה— and in 1st plur. מַה—, are the customary forms, while נַחְתָּה—, מַה— are of rare occurrence; see Rem. 2.—Instead of נַחְתָּה—, כָּמִין, כָּמִין— (with *Sh'vâ' mobile*), when the last consonant of the noun is a guttural, we have נַחְתָּה—, כָּמִין, כָּמִין— as in רַחְמָה thy spirit, נַחְתָּה thy creator Is. 43, 1, הַעֲבָדָתְךָ your friend Job 6, 27.

2. Rare forms are—

Sing. 2d pers. *m.*, in pause נַחְתָּה—, in pause מַחְכָּה thy hand Ps. 139, 5; *fem.* נַחְתָּה— Ez. 5, 12, כָּרְבָּה— Ps. 103, 3, Jer. 11, 15; once נַחְתָּה— in בְּלַקְבָּרָה thy envoy Nah 2, 14, comp. No. 2, Rem. 2; also נַחְתָּה— (נַחְתָּה Is. 28, 1).— 3d pers. מַ, e. g. in the frequent אַחֲלָה Gen. 9, 21, 12, 8, 18, 3, 85, 21 (throughout with *Qerî* אַחֲלָי); קַצְחָה 2 K. 18, 23, *Kethibh*, for which we find מַקְצָח in Is. 37, 24; עִירָה and סִוְיה Gen. 49, 11 (*Qerî* עִירָה, סִוְיה).

Plur. 1st pers. מַה—, in pause קַרְמָלָנִי Job 22, 20, comp. Ruth 8, 2, Is. 42, 10.—2d pers. fem. נַחְתָּה— Ez. 23, 48, 49.—3d pers. מַה—

2 Sam. 28, 6 (from which is contracted the usual form **וְ**). Fem. **וְנִתְנָהָרָה** 1 K. 7, 37, Ez. 16, 53; **וְנִתְנָהָרָה** Gen. 41, 21, **וְנִתְנָהָרָה** Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere mostly in pause, finally **וְנִתְנָהָרָה** as suff. to a noun, only in Is. 8, 17

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes must be considered to be appended to the original ending of the *construct state* (**וְ**— comp. § 89, 2, Rem.). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2d *fem.* In most cases we find, what occurs in the *construct state* without suffixes, viz. the contraction into **וְ**— (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2d *masc.* and 3d *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic suff. **וַיְהִי**) the *Yôdh*, which has been virtually dropped, is retained orthographically. The preceding *ă* is either lengthened into *ā* (3d *masc. sing.*) or inflected into accented *S'ghôl* (2d *masc.* and 3d *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *masc. sing.* see below under letter *b*. Thus we have the following:

Suffixes of Plural Nouns:

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. com. רֹאשׁ	<i>my.</i>	1. com. רֹאשָׁנָה <i>our.</i>
2. { m. רֹאשׁ f. רֹאשׁ	{ <i>thy.</i>	2. { m. רֹאשָׁנָה f. רֹאשָׁנָה
3. { m. רֹאשׁ , poet. וַיְהִי f. רֹאשׁ	<i>his.</i> <i>her.</i>	3. { m. רֹאשָׁנָה , poet. וַיְהִי f. רֹאשָׁנָה

In these forms the original **וְ** is a) contracted in the 3d *sing. masc.* **וַיְהִי** and throughout the plural, as **סֻסִירֹאַהֲרָוּ** etc.; b) retained unchanged in the 1st *masc. sing.* **סֻסִירֹאַהְ**, the real suffix ending **וְ** or **וְ** being blended with the final *Yôdh* into **וְ**, and in the 2d *fem. sing.* **סֻסִירֹאַחְתְּ** (with auxiliary *Chirèq* after the *Yôdh*); on the other hand c) the *Yôdh* of **וְ** is abandoned and a) the *ă* lengthened into *ā* in the 3d *masc. sing.* **סֻסִירֹאַהְ** i. e. **sûsān**; b) *ă* inflected into accented *S'ghôl* in the 2d *masc. sing.* **סֻסִירֹאַחְתְּ** from **sûsâkhâ** and in the 3d *fem. sing.* **סֻסִירֹאַחְתְּ** from **sûsâhâ**.

Rem. 1. The *Yôdh* of these forms (letter *c* above), being only orthographically retained, is occasionally omitted (which in unpointed MSS creates slight confusion with the sing.), e. g. **רֹאשׁ** for **רֹאשָׁנָה** *thy*

ways Ex. 33, 13, רְעֵבָת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל for his friends Job 42, 10, בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל after their kinds Gen. 1, 21. This omission of the Yôdh occurs esp. with the suff. 3d pers. m. sing., where we very often find בְּנֵי, which is, however, almost invariably changed in the Q'ñi to בְּנִי, e. g. חֶן בְּנֵי his arrows Ps. 58, 8 in Q'ñi בְּנִי.

2. Unusual forms are: sing. 2d pers. fem. בְּנִי— (after the unchanged interjection בָּרוּךְ blessed! Eccl. 10, 17, comp. Delitzsch), בְּנִי— (comp. Syr. בְּנִי—) 2 K. 4, 8 and 7 in Kethibh; Ps. 103, 3—5; entirely abnormal is בְּנִלְאַכְדָּה (so acc. to Kimchi Lex.) thy messengers apparently for בְּנִלְאַכְדָּה Nah. 2, 14.—3d pers. masc. בְּנִי (quite an Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12; 3d fem. בְּנִי— Ez. 41, 15.—Plur. 2d pers. fem. בְּנִי— Ez. 13, 20; 3d pers. masc. בְּנִים— Ez. 40, 16, fem. בְּנִינָה— Ez. 1, 11.

3. On בְּנִי see § 103, 2, Rem.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the Yôdh in these suffixes belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *constr. st.* of the masculine plural. Yet this was so far lost sight of by those who spoke the language, that there arose the strange peculiarity (in fact the inaccuracy) of appending these *suffix-forms* (already embodying the plural-ending בְּנִי—) to the feminine plural in בְּנִי, as סְוֹטֹרְיִם, סְוֹטֹרְיָה, where in reality a double indication of the plural occurs.¹.

N.B. This is the rule; yet the bare suffix (as in No. 1) is sometimes appended to the ending בְּנִי, as פְּדוּרִי Ps. 132, 12 (if not the sing. for acc. to Kimchi in the Lex. פְּדוּרִי 2 K. 6, 8, for פְּדוּרִי); פְּלִנְקָה חֲנַנְתִּי Deut. 28, 59 (acc. to analogy of inf. כְּהַנְתִּי). In the 3d plur. this is even the more prevalent mode; e.g. אֲבוֹתָם their fathers, oftener than אֲבוֹתִים; so also שְׁמוֹתָם their names, דְּרוּרִתָּם their generations, obviously to avoid the excessively long forms with !

4. We now subjoin, in illustration of the preceding statements, a Table of the *masculine* and the *feminine nouns with suffixes*; and choose for the purpose a word whose stem-vowel is unchangeable. It should be remarked however that the *construct-ending* בְּ— of the *feminine* retains its P'ôthâch before the *grave* suffixes בְּמֻת, בְּמַת, בְּקַנְתִּי, but changes it to Qā'meṣ before the *light* suffixes.

¹ See an analogous case in § 87, 5. Rem. 1. Comp. the double feminine-ending in the 3 Sing. Perf. of verbs בָּנֵי § 75, 4.

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.**Singular.*

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סֹרֶך ¹	a horse	סֹרֶה	a mare.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סֹרֶךְ	horse-of.	סֹרֶת	mare-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סֹרֶךְיִ	my horse.	סֹרֶתְּךָ	my mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶךְךָ	thy horse.	סֹרֶתְּךָךָ	thy mare.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶךְךְּ	thy horse.	סֹרֶתְּךְּךָ	thy mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶךְוֹ	his horse.	סֹרֶתְּוֹ	his mare.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶךְהָ	her horse.	סֹרֶתְּהָ	her mare.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סֹרֶנְגַּ	our horse.	סֹרֶתְּנַ	our mare.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶכְּבָם	your horse.	סֹרֶתְּכָם	your mare.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶכְּבָנָ	your horse.	סֹרֶתְּכָנָ	your mare.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶכְּבָם	their horse.	סֹרֶתְּבָם	their mare.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶכְּבָנָ	their horse.	סֹרֶתְּבָנָ	their mare.

Plural.

<i>Absol. st.</i>	סֹרֶטִים	horses.	סֹרֶתִּ	mares.
<i>Constr. st.</i>	סֹרֶטִי	horses-of.	סֹרֶתְּוִתָּ	mares-of.
<i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i>	סֹרֶטְּיִ	my horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּיִ	my mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶטְּיֵךְ	thy horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּךָ	thy mares.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶטְּיֵךְּ	thy horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּךְּ	thy mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶטְּוֹ	his horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּוֹ	his mares.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶטְּהָ	her horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּהָ	her mares.
<i>plur. 1. com.</i>	סֹרֶטְּנַ	our horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּנַ	our mares.
2. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶתְּכָם	your horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּכָם	your mares.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶתְּכָנָ	your horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּכָנָ	your mares.
3. { <i>masc.</i>	סֹרֶתְּבָם	their horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּבָם	their mares.
{ <i>sem.</i>	סֹרֶתְּבָנָ	their horses.	סֹרֶתְּוִתְּבָנָ	their mares.

§ 92.

VOWEL-CHANGES IN THE NOUN.

1. The vowel-changes in a noun (often called its *inflection* comp. § 79, 2), are caused—*a)* by a noun following in the

* In learning this Paradigm and the others, let the accent be carefully placed on the last syllable, except when it is marked elsewhere (see § 15, Rem. 8).—Tr.

genitive,—*b*) by pronominal suffixes,—*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, of the absolute state, as well as of the construct (before the following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. The tone, in all these cases, is moved forward one syllable or more, or even (*Stat. cons.*) thrown upon the following word. We here meet with three cases, viz.—

a) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case in appending the plural and dual endings יִם— and יִם— as well as all the monosyllabic suffixes, or those which have their accent on the 1st syllable. In disyllabic nouns the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 1st syllable becomes *Sh'wā* (because it no longer stands before the tone); on the other hand the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable is retained (as being now the pretonic vowel), e. g. word דָבֵר (groundform *däbär*), plur. דָבָרִים, with the light suffix, commencing with a vowel: דָבָרִי, דָבָרְנוּ, plur. דָבָרִים, etc.; also with the unchangeable vowel in the 2d syllable: פָקִיד oversee, plur. פָקִירִים with the suff. to the sing.: פָקִידִי, פָקִידְנוּ etc.; to the plur. פָקִידִים, פָקִידְךָ etc.; with the unchangeable vowel in the 1st syllable: עֹלֶם eternity, plur. עֹלְמִים, with the suff. עֹלְמִימִי etc. But in participial forms with tone lengthened ē (originally i) in the 2d syllable, this ē is reduced to *Sh'wā* mobile before the accented suffix e. g. אָוֶב enemy, plur. אָוֶבִים, with suff. אָוֶבְיִם etc., likewise in the formations analogous to (§ 84, No. 9) e. g. אָלֶם dumb, pl. אָלְמִים.

b) When the tone is moved forward two places, as in the dual and plural construct, and when the grave¹ suffixes are appended to the plural (יִתְהַלֵּם, —) In this case the tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Sh'wa*, and the vowel of the first syllable which had been

¹ Nearly all the suffixes are *light*, being so called in distinction from the few that always carry a strong accent or tone, and which hence are called *grave*, namely בָן, בָּן, תָּם; יִתְהַלֵּם, יִתְהַלֵּן, תִּתְהַלֵּן.

lengthened, as being pretonic, becomes short again, e. g. **דְּבָרִים** *words of the people*, **דְּבָרֶיךָם** *your words*, **דְּבָרֵיהם** *their words* (in which cases the *i* of the 1st syllable is everywhere attenuated from *ă*).

Rem. In the socalled S^cghôlate forms, in the singular the suffix is appended throughout to the groundform (**מֶלֶךְ** *my king*, **מֶלֶכֶת** etc.); on the other hand, before the ending **־ים**, **־ות** (partly also bef. **־ים**—) a *Qā'meṣ* is inserted as pretonic vowel, before which the vowel of the first syllable disappears (**מֶלֶכֶת**). This *Qā'meṣ* is retained also before the light suffixes which are attached to the *pl. masc.*, so that (as with **רַבְּרִי** etc. from **רַבָּר**) it has a semblance, as if the suffixes were attached, not to the *constr. state*, but to the *absol. state* (**מֶלֶכֶת**, **מֶלֶכֶתָּה** etc.). On the contrary the *construct state* plural and dual form, according to letter *b*, **מֶלֶכֶר**, with grave suffix **מֶלֶכֶרֶת** etc.

c) Before the *Shewâ mobile* which precedes the suff. **ן** when appended to a consonant, the tone-long vowel of the penult is retained (being now in an open syllable before the tone) e. g. **שְׁמֹךְ**, **שְׁבָרְךָ**; but before the grave suffixes **ם** and **ן** in the same position it is shortened, thus **שְׁבָרְךָם** (*d'šār'khēm*) etc. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ă* or *ē* of the 2d syllable in the *constr. sing.* is shortened, the tone going forward to the following word, e. g. **שְׁצַרְתָּ הַבִּיתָה**; **שְׁבַרְתָּ אֶלְקָרָם** (*from השְׁצַר*).

3. The vowel changes in the inflection of *fem. nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, the addition of the feminine-ending to the *masc.* having already occasioned similar changes to those produced by appending the light suffix (§ 94).

Besides the above (No. 1 and 2) mentioned vowel changes which take place according to general laws (§§ 25—28) there are other phenomena occasioned by the inflection of nouns, to judge correctly of which, it is necessary to go back to the original forms §§ 84—86. Here belong e. g. the rejection of the **ת** of the **תְּנִ'ם** stems (comp. § 91, 1, b), the doubling of the final consonant of the contracted **עֲנִ'ם** stems in cases like **תְּנִ'תָּה**, **תְּנִ'תָּתָה** etc.

NB. There is this striking difference between the vowel-changes in the verb and the noun, namely, that in the verb the *second* of two movable vowels mostly disappears (**שְׁמַךְ**, **שְׁמַחְתָּ**, **שְׁמַלְתָּה**), in the noun the *first* (**שְׁמָרְךָ**, **שְׁמָרְתָּ**, **שְׁמָרְתָּה**), comp. § 27, 3.

For greater convenience attention will now be given in the next sections to the Inflections of Nouns, with explanatory remarks (founded on the Paradigms); first the masculines (§ 93), then the feminines (§ 95), the theory as to the vowel-changes in the latter being premised in § 94.

§ 93.

INFLECTIONS OF MASCULINE NOUNS.

Masculine nouns of a simple stem may be most conveniently arranged, with reference to their vowel changes, in four classes, as in the following Table. The necessary explanations are subjoined. We here only remark in general,—

- a) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 107, 1, 3) are inflected like masculine nouns (e. g. **חרב** *f. sword*, like **מלך** *m. king*), except that in most cases they take the plural ending **תָּהִי**—; so **חרב** has *plur. absol.* **חרבות**, *const.* **חרבות**, which is also the form before *suffixes*; see § 95.
- b) That in the plural of the first three classes the lengthened pretonic vowel remains unchanged before the so-called light suffixes, whenever it is found already before the plural-ending **תָּהִי**. Comp. § 92, 2, *b*, Rem. and Note¹; also § 91, 1, Rem. 1, *b*, last clause.

ו

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מלך	ספר	קדש	עיר	נצח	על
	(king)	(book)	(sanctuary)	(a youth)	(perpetuity)	(work)
" <i>constr.</i>	מלך	ספר	קדש	עיר	נצח	על
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מלךי	ספריו	קדישי	עירי	נצחיו	עליו
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מלךם	ספרכם	קדשכם	עירכם	נצחכם	עליכם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	מלכים	ספרים	קדושים	נירים	נצחים	עלים
" <i>constr.</i>	מלךי	ספריו	קדישי	עירי	נצחיו	עליו
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מלךיו	ספריו	קדשו	עיריו	נצחיו	עליו
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מלךם	ספריהם	קדושיםם	עיריים	נצחיהם	עליכם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	רגלים	קבצים	מתנות	געלים	מתנות	-
		(feet)	(two heaps)	(loins)	(sandals)	
" <i>constr.</i>	רגלי	קביצין	מתנות	געלין	מתנות	

I.

	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	מרות	זית	שוט	פרי	ים	ם	ה
	(death)	(olive)	(scouge)	(fruit)	(sea)	(mother)	(law)
" <i>constr.</i>	מרות	זית	שוט	פרי	ים	ם	ה
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מרות	זיתו	שוטו	פרי	ים	ם	ה
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מרות	זיתו	שוטו	פרי	ים	ם	ה
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	אפרחים	ימכט	שוטחים	זרחים	ימות	מות	חקים
" <i>constr.</i>	אפרחים	ימכט	שוטחים	זרחים	ימות	מות	חקים
" <i>with light suff.</i>	אפרוחי	ימכטו	שוטחו	זרחו	ימות	מות	חקי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	אפרוחם	ימכטו	שוטחו	זרחו	ימות	מות	חקים
<i>Dual absol.</i>	לחיים	בפם	לחיים יומם	לחיים יומיים	עינים	שיני	שיני
			(cheeks)	(two days)	(hands)	(teeth)	
" <i>constr.</i>	לחיי	בפי	לחיי עיני	לחיי עיניים	שיני עיני	שיני עיניים	שיני עיניים

II.

	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	דָּבָר (word)	חָכֶם (wise)	זָקֵן (an old man)	בָּרוֹקָה (shoulder)	חַצְאָרָה (court)
" <i>constr.</i>	דָּבָר	חָכֶם	זָקֵן	בָּחוֹת	חַצְאָרָה
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקְנִי	בָּחוֹפִי	חַצְאָרִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דָּבָרְכֶם	חָכְמָכֶם	זָקְנָכֶם	בָּחוֹפָכֶם	חַצְאָרָכֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	דָּבָרִים	חָכְמִים	זָקְנִים	חַצְאָרִים	חַצְאָרִים
" <i>constr.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקְנִי	חַצְאָרִי	חַצְאָרִי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	דָּבָרִי	חָכְמִי	זָקְנִי	חַצְאָרִי	חַצְאָרִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	דָּבָרְכֶם	חָכְמָכֶם	זָקְנָכֶם	חַצְאָרְכֶם	חַצְאָרְכֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	כְּנֶגֶלים (wings)	חָלְזִים (loins)	ירְכָּים (thigh)	.	.
" <i>constr.</i>	כְּנֶגֶרְכֶי	חָלְזִיכֶי	ירְכָּיכֶי	.	.

III

IV

	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.
<i>Sing. absol.</i>	עֲלֹם	אֵיבָר	הַזָּהָה	פָּקִיד	עָנֵי
	(perpetuity)	(enemy)	(prophet)	(overseer)	(poor)
" <i>constr.</i>	עֲלֹם	אֵיבָר	הַזָּהָה	פָּקִיד	כְּנֵי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עֲלֹמִי	אֵירָבִי	הַזָּהָרִי	פָּקִידִי	כְּרִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עֲלֹמֶם	אֵירָבֶם	הַזָּהָרֶם	פָּקִידֶם	כְּבֶם
<i>Plur. absol.</i>	עֲלֹמִים	אֵירָבִים	הַזָּהָרִים	פָּקִידִים	כְּרִים
" <i>constr.</i>	עֲלֹמִי	אֵירָבִי	הַזָּהָרִי	פָּקִידִי	כְּנִי
" <i>with light suff.</i>	עֲלֹמִי	אֵירָבִי	הַזָּהָרִי	פָּקִידִי	כְּרִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	עֲלֹמֶם	אֵירָבֶם	הַזָּהָרֶם	פָּקִידֶם	כְּבֶם
<i>Dual absol.</i>	מֶלֶךְתָּרִים	מְאֻזָּנִים	שְׁבָעִים		
	(tongue)	(balance)	(fortnight)		
" <i>constr.</i>	מֶלֶאנָרִי				

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Parad. I* comprises the whole circle of the so-called segholate forms (§ 84, 11). In the first three examples with a strong stem, the ground forms, מִלְכָה, סִפְרָה, קֶרֶשׁ, have been developed by the adoption of an auxiliary *S'ghôl* into אַלְמָה (ă inflected into ē) פַּתְחָה (i lengthened into ē) שַׁדְקָה (ū lengthened into ō). The next three examples show, instead of the auxiliary *S'ghôl*, an auxiliary *Pâthâch*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or closing (*e*) gutturals. In all these cases the *constr. st.* agrees entirely with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the groundform; but in *c* and *f* the original ū is replaced by ō, and, in *d* and *f* the guttural demands an echo of the ā and ō in the shape of a *Châ'eph* (אֵלִירִי, פֵּלִירִי); before a following *Sh'vâ* this *Châ'eph* is changed into a simple auxiliary vowel (ă, ō) according to § 28, 3; thus אַלְמָה etc. In the plural there is inserted, before the accented ending וְ—, a pretonic *Qâ'mêš*, according to § 92, b, Rem., whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Sh'vâ*. This *Qâ'mêš* is again evanescent in the *constr. st.* so that now the short vowel comes to stand after the first stem consonant, in an open syllable (אַלְמִירִי not אַלְמִירָה). On the other hand the pretonic *Qâ'mêš* of the *absolute state* maintains itself before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *constr. st.* The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground form (as with *a—d* and *h*; comp. however *k*); the *constr. st.* of the *dual* is always the same as that of the *plural* (except in cases like *k*).

The paradigms *g* and *h* give forms with middle י and י (§ 85, IV, 11); the ground forms מִרְתָּה and זִירָה, with the exception of the *absolute sing.*, have been contracted everywhere into מִרְתָּה and זִירָה. Parad. *i* represents one of the numerous forms, in which the contraction of a middle י or י has been performed already in the *absolute sing.* (ground form šawî). Parad. *k* is a form from a stem נַ"ד (§ 85, V, 11).

The paradigms *l*, *m*, *n* are forms of stems עַ"ע, therefore contracted out of בַּמְםָה, אַמְמָה, בַּקְבָּה with regular lengthening into

םָם, אָם, קְהִלָּה. These forms take *Dāghēš* in the last stem letter before suffixes, e. g. בְּמַרְיָה etc. (s. § 85, II, 10, 11).

R E M A R K S.

1. To I *a* and *d* (Groundf. נֶלֶבֶת). In *Pause* there occurs mostly the full lengthening into ā, like לְרֵכֶד vineyard, נְצֵר seed, and so always with עָמָד earth, with the article הַנְּחָתָה (comp. also by the LXX the writing Ἀβέλ, Ιαφέθ for בָּבֶל, יַפְתָּח). However there is sometimes found along with the form with ā in *Pause* also the simple inflection of ā into ē, e. g. נְחָתָה, together with נְצֵר, and very frequently the form with *Sghol* only, e. g. מְלֹךְ, קְדֻשָּׁה east, שְׁמַעַן help, etc.—With two *Sghols* in spite of the middle guttural is found נְחַם bread (*Pause* נֶחֱמָה) and רְחַם womb (*Pause* נֶחֱמָה) together with לְחַמָּה (*Pause* נֶחֱמָה); before the closing נ stands always auxiliary *Sghol* as נְשָׁאָה, נְלָאָה etc. (also written נְרָאָה).

The *constr. s̄t.* is almost always like the *absolute*, though there occurs sometimes a removal of the characteristic vowel to the second stem-consonant (v. No. 4) e. g. גְּזַעַן, חְרַר, רְשַׁעַן, בְּגַעַן, also נְגַעַן etc.

The so-called נְ—local is added to the groundform, thus נְצָחָה, in *Pause* נְצָחָה; however compare also נְגָבָה from נָגָב south and קְדָחָה (perhaps from a secondary form קָדָם).

The suffixes of the singular are added likewise to the groundform in middle gutturals with *Châṭeph Pâlħâch* instead of the silent *Sh'wâd*: נְבָרֵר etc. (however there is also נְלָחְמָר etc.) With rather a large number of נְלֶבֶת forms before suffixes in the singular, as well as in the *constr. pl.* and *dual*, the ā of the first syllable is weakened into ī, as בְּטָנֵי my body, נְרָרֵי; the same with פְּשָׁתֵּשׁ, נְצָעֵקֵשׁ, נְגַעֵן and many others. In a few cases of this kind, besides the form with ī there may exist another with original ī in the first syllable; it is certainly thus with נְשָׁעֵן and נְשָׁעֵת, נְחָזֵקֵנָה and נְחָזֵקֵת etc. With the abolishing of the firm close of syllable is found בְּנָדֵר and בְּנָדֵר, קְבָּדֵק Deut. 15, 14 and 16, 13, in both cases plainly through the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With ī for ī: נְבָרֵר, נְבָרֵק, נְבָרֵק etc.

In the plural there is found sometimes, along with the ending נְ—also the ending נְיִתְ, e. g. נְעַמְוֹת, נְפָשָׁות, נְעַמְוֹת, together with נְשִׁשְׁמָה (Ez. 18, 20) etc.; construct state נְעַמְוֹת, נְפָשָׁות. Others have only the ending נְיִתְ, e. g. נְעַמְוֹת const. נְעַמְוֹת from עֲמָד. Without Qā'mēq before the ending נְיִתְ—is found נְחַזְוּתִים entrails (comp. however also the numbers נְשִׁבְתִּים twenty, נְשִׁבְתִּים 70 and נְשִׁבְתִּים 90).

In the construct plural there is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, a firm close of the syllable, e. g. קְסָפֵר Gen. 42, 25, 35 (before suffixes); Canticles 8, 6, טְרָפֵץ Ez. 17, 9; אַקְבָּרֵי Is. 5, 10 (on the other hand, according to the best testimony, not in קְסָפֵר Is. 55, 3 al.). Very frequently there occurs also here the weakening of ī into ī (v. above) e. g. בְּנָדֵר. Even יְלָדֵי Is. 57, 4 besides יְלָדֵי Hosea 1, 2 al.

In the dual absol. are found with the forms like אֲלָפִים *two thousand*, בְּרִכִים *sandals*, בְּרַכִים *knees* (ă weakened into ī), with suffix בְּרִכִי, also forms with pietonic Qā'mēṣ like קְרֻבִים (also קְרֹבִים) *horns*, הַרְבִים, הַרְבָּתִים *double way*.

2. To the paradigms *b* and *e*. By rejecting a final נ (which however is preserved orthographically) there is found חַטָּאת *sin*.

The first guttural, before suffixes, generally receives *Seghōl* instead of the original ī, e. g. חַלְקָר *Chalqar* צַוְרָה *Czorrah* etc.; the same in construct plur. עַגְלִים etc.; forms חַטָּאָת 2 Kings 10, 29 etc. by preserving the — of חַטָּאים before weak נ.

3. To paradigms *c* and *f*. Without an auxiliary vowel stands שְׁמָךְ Prov. 22, 21; with middle gutturals שְׁעָלָה etc., with ה however also אַחֲלָה, בְּרָחָה; with a closing guttural גְּבָהָה etc., with נ however נְכָה. Before suffixes reappears sometimes in the singular the original ū; e. g. גְּדָלֵי (Ps. 150, 2) and also from גְּדָלָה *greatness*; (with *Dāghēsh forte dirimens* and the echo of the ū in the form of —) Is. 9, 3.—Corresponding to the form שְׁפָלָה *pōolēkhēm* stands קְטָבָה Hos. 13, 14 even without middle guttural. In the forms Is. 1, 31 (instead of קְטָלָה) and Is. 52, 14 (for חַאֲרָה 1 Sam. 28, 14) the lengthening of the original ū into ö is retained even before the suffix, comp. § 63, Rem. 4.

In the same way remains the ö before the ה — local, e. g. חַדְּחָה, חַדְּחָתָה Gen. 24, 67 (also חַאֲרָה 18, 6).

In the *absol. pl.* the original ū vanishes generally before Qā'mēṣ e. g. from בְּקָרִים *morning*, בְּקָרִים *works*, בְּקָרִים *lances*; on the other hand with initial gutturals the ū remains as Chateph Qā'mēṣ, e. g. בְּרָחִים *months*, בְּקָרִים *gazelles*, אַרְחוֹת *ways*, and the same, without initial gutturals, בְּקָרִים *sanctuaries*, and שְׁרָשִׁים *roots* (*gōdhāshēm* etc. with ö as the orthographical representative of —); also before light suffixes בְּרָחֶשׁ etc., whereby however the reading frequently wavers between בְּרָחֶשׁ and בְּרָחֶשׂ (the latter especially after the article 'הָ'); comp. with these forms especially § 9, Rem. 2.

From אַחֲלָה *tent* is found אַחֲלִים and אַחֲלִים (after the Syriac; comp. above שְׁעָלָה); with light suffixes אַחֲלִי etc.; so from אַרְחָה *way*; אַרְחִי (also אַרְחָה). It seems that by these different ways of writing, a distinction was to be made between the plural of אַרְחָה *Caravan* and that of אַרְחָה *way*; however there is also found with the former signification מְאַרְחָה (constr. state Job 6, 19) and with the latter אַרְחָה (e. g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of *Ben Naphtali* and *Kimchi*).

In the constr. state plur. with original ū there is only רְבָּתִים Ps. 31, 21; elsewhere like קְרָבִים, קְרָבִי etc.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto there belong here also a series of forms which have the characteristic vowel only after the *second* stem-consonant, as is ordinarily the case in the Aramaic. Thus: *a)* after the form קְאַלְּבָן (comp. § 84, No. 10): בְּשַׁעַנְתִּי *honey*, בְּעַנְתִּי *little*, in pause: שְׁבָנִי, מְבָנִי; *b)* man Ps. 18, 26 (elsew.) ere גַּבְרִי and infinitives like בְּשַׁבְּנִי, § 45, 1, *a*);

בְּכָל, *א* being modified into *אֵ* (pause however שֶׁכָּל), *Local* מִקְרָעַת, also שֶׁכָּל, Hos 6, 9, with suffixes in the usual manner תְּקֻמִּי שֶׁכָּל Gen. 19, 33, 35 (as *infinitive* with vocal *She'wā*, not שֶׁכָּה). On the other hand the *אֵ* is retained in the *plural absol* before the artificially doubled final consonant, אֲגַמְּרִים (*constr.* אֲגַמְּרִים) *morasses*, חֲלַצִּים *myriles*, קְטַלִּים; *b)* after the form קְטַל well, אַבָּא קְטַל, with *Suff.* בְּאָרֶי, *Plur.* בְּאָרוֹת, and אַבָּרֶי, on the other hand, construct בְּאָרוֹת, *c)* after the form קְטַל *בְּאַשְׁ* *stench* (with *suff.* בְּאַשְׁוֹ) perhaps also נְאָמָר *Nation*, *Pl.* לְאָמָרים, and the large number of infinitives, like קְחַבְּ with *suffix* בְּקָרְבוֹ etc.

5. Parad *g*—*i* comprise the segholate forms with middle וּ or וְ, *a)* after the form בְּמַעַן with *Waw* as firm consonant whereby the original אֵ is almost always lengthened into *a* (Parad *g*) thus קְוֹתָה = *death*, אֲנָפָה *mishap*, צְוָיל *wrong*, midst, with final אֵ שְׁוָיָה *vainness*, comp. however also רְוָתָה *width*. In the *constr. state* occurs always a contraction מְוֹתָה etc (from the original *mawt*), likewise before suffices מְזֹוֹתָה etc. Exception שְׁלָל as *constr. state* Ez 28, 18 (according to *Kimchi*) and with *suff.* צְוָלוֹ. The contraction remains throughout the plur (v however below letter *c*), *b)* from the form בְּמַעַן with *Yodh* consonant (Parad *h*). With נָ at the end נְגִיאָה (רִיאָה) *constr.* נְגִיאָה (רִיאָה). The uncontracted form (in the absolute state with auxiliary *Chî rēq*) remains also before local חָלָל, וְ g בִּרְיתָה (on the other hand in the *construct state*, e.g. בִּרְיתָה *royal*) etc. In the *plur. absolute* there are found uncontracted forms, like טְבִינּוֹת *springs*, חְרִישִׁים *bucks* etc., *c)* with the contraction of וּ and וְ already in absolute state sing (Parad *i*). In this manner there rise formations which are throughout unchangeable, thus from the groundform קְטַל (from *yawn*), יְמָם שְׂוִירָה, סְמָךְ, שְׂוִירָה (in the plur. however with a stronger formation טְבִינּוֹת *cattle*) etc., with middle *Yodh* (also חְרִילָה Is 21, 11 (elsewhere לְרִילָה, in *prose* לְרִילָה), from the groundform לְלִיל etc, שְׂדֵר, שְׂדֵרָה, דִין קְטַל etc.

Strong forms in the plur. are דְּרִידִים *pots* and שְׁנָקִים *streets*. Finally belong here also forms with נָ quiescent, like רְאֵשׁ *head* (modified from נְאֵשׁ § 96) and גְּזָן = גְּזָן *flock*.

6 To paradigm *k*, segholate forms from the חָלָל stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned § 85, V, 11, like בְּכָה etc as well as שְׁחוֹר (employing the original וּ as auxiliary vowel), there are found *a)* from the groundform קְטַל nearly everywhere forms like גְּלִיל, גְּלִילָה, גְּלִילָה, גְּלִילָה, גְּלִילָה etc, in *pause* אֲרִי, פְּרִירָה, בְּנִירָה, גְּלִילָה, גְּלִילָה etc, on the other hand אֲרִי, גְּלִילָה, אֲרִי, גְּלִילָה etc, in *pause* פְּרִירָה (weakened from *pâryô*) however also פְּרִירָה etc.; before grave suffix פְּרִירָה etc, but also פְּרִירָה. Plur. גְּלִילִים (*constr.* v. above No 2 חָלָל), גְּלִילִות and אֲרִים, גְּלִילִים, with softening of the וּ into נָ: אֲרִים, גְּלִילִים, אֲרִים, פְּרִירָה, פְּרִירָה, פְּרִירָה; *b)* from the groundform קְטַל half, in *pause* בְּנִירָה, בְּנִירָה etc. Probably belongs here also עַתָּה *time* (properly 'idy, then with rejection of *Yodh* and חָלָל *sem.* בְּנִירָה, finally

with assimilation of **וְ** (= עַ), with suff. עָרִים, plur. עָרִים. **קָתוֹת** **עָרִים**. With stems of middle *Waw* rise formations like **אָנָה** (from *'iwiy* = אֵין), עָנָה plur. אָנִים etc.; c) from the groundform **בָּשָׂר** partly forms like **בָּשָׂר**, **בָּשָׂר** (from *tūhū, būhū*), partly like **בָּשָׂר**, **בָּשָׂר**, and also without initial guttural **אָנָר** (also צָרִיר Gen. 37, 25), **אָנָר** etc.; in *pause* **בָּשָׂר** etc., with suffix **בָּשָׂר**, plur. **בָּשָׂר**.

7. To paradigms *l*—*n*, Segholate forms from stems עַנְנָה (v. § 85, II, 11). a) In the *qaṭl* form the *ă* of the contract form is partly lengthened in the *absolute state sing.*, as in **רַם** (so also in the *constr. state*, except in the combination **רַם-סְפָּקָה** *a weedy-sea*; even before *Mäqqēph*: **רַם-חַמְלָחָה** *a salt-sea*), partly it remains short before *Dāghēsh f. implic.* e. g. **רַמָּה** *morsel*, **עָם** *people*, but even these formations have *Qāmēṣ* in *pause* as well as mostly after the article (e. g. **הָעָם**). In the *constr. state* **חַדְּחָה** *life*, and **חַדְּחָה** *sufficiency* are contracted into **חַדְּחָה**, **חַדְּחָה** *mountainwards* Gen. 14, 10 (v. § 22, 1) has to be noticed as a *directive* (also חַדְּחָה). However forms like **חַדְּחָה** may possibly be derived from the groundform **חַדְּחָה**, especially as there is also found **חַדְּחָה** Jer. 17, 3 (v. *Parad. II*). Before suffixes and in the *plur.* there occurs sometimes the attenuation of *ă* into *i*, e. g. **פָּרָה**, **פָּרָה** etc.—Some nouns (especially in poetical speech) have besides the contracted forms, also the uncontracted ones e. g. **חַדְּחָה** Gen. 14, 6 *Plur. constr.* **חַדְּחָה**; **צְמַדְּרִים** Neh. 9, 22, *Judges* 5, 14, Neh. 9, 24 (elsewhere **צְמַדְּרִי**, **צְמַדְּרִי**); b) *qitl-forms*: **אַמְּרָה**, **אַמְּרָה** *fire*, **חַדְּחָה** *favor* etc.; c) *qūtl-forms*: **כָּלָה**, **כָּלָה** *totality*, before *Mäqqēph*, **כָּלָה**, **כָּלָה**, with suff. **חַקְרִי** etc., the *Dāghēsh f. falling out* (according to § 20, 3, b) also **כָּרְבָּה**, **כָּרְבָּה**, with **כָּרְבָּה**, **כָּרְבָּה**, with **כָּרְבָּה** *strength* even **כָּרְבָּה** etc. also **כָּרְבָּה**.

The *Segholates* with assimilated middle *Nūn* follow likewise the analogy of *Parad. l*—*n* e. g. **מָרָה** *wrath* (**מָרָה** *Dual* **מָרָה**) for **'anp**; **צָהָרָה** *goat* (**צָהָרָה** *inzn.*)

2. *Paradigm II* comprises all formations with original short vowels as well in the first as in the second syllable; comp. § 84, 1, 2, 12 and the general laws of formation § 92, No. 2.

Rem. 1. To paradigms *a* and *b*, groundform *qāṭal*. The lengthening of *ă* into *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only with **אָנָה**-forms e. g. **אָנָשָׁה** *army*, **אָנָשָׁה**. For the construct forms **לְבָנָה** *milk* and **לְבָנָה** *white* Gen. 49, 12, we must adopt, instead of the usual absolutes **לְבָנָה**, **לְבָנָה**, a secondary form **לְבָנָה**, **לְבָנָה**. Sometimes an artificial doubling of the final consonant takes place in order to keep the preceding vowel short e. g. **צְמַדְּרִים** *camels*, **צְמַדְּרִים** *small ones*, **לְבָנָה** *brooks*.—The weakening of the *ă* of the first syllable into *i* does not take place in the *constr. state plur.* nor in some instances with non-gutturals, e. g. **גְּבוּרָה** *tails*, **פְּגֻפָּה** *wings*, from **גְּבוּרָה**, **פְּגֻפָּה**.—The *Dual* **מְבָרָקָה** from **מְבָרָק** *stream*, shows an abnormal remainder of the *ă* before an accented ending.

From **עַנְנָה** stems rise according to § 72, 4 formations like **עַנְנָה** (*Part.*

Qāl), סָמֵךְ *high* with unchangeable *Qāmēṣ*.—In the שָׁמֶן the contraction is mostly prevented by the lengthening of the two short vowels, therefore e.g. צָמֵן חַלְלֵן etc. But undoubtedly also contracted adjective forms belong here, like לְלֹא *low*, לְלֹא *light*, etc. (f. n. קַלְלֵל, קַלְלֵק) Then inflection follows naturally *Parad. I*, l. Under the influence of a guttural arises forms like רְעִירָם, רְעִירָם (for רְצִים etc.). On הַר *mountain*, comp. above I Rem. 7.

The few nouns of the groundform *qīṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as לְבָב *heart*, שָׁכָר *strong drink*, עַנְבָּר *grape* etc. For שְׂعָר *hair* is found besides also the constr. state שְׂעָרָה (שְׂעָרָה having been treated as a Segholate form), for נִזְבָּח *is also found נִזְבָּח* and even נִזְבָּחַ 2 Sam. 18, 13, both probably ancient secondary forms (also in the absolute state) for נִזְבָּח, comp. also צְלָמָה and צְלָמָה as well as the constr. state plur. צְלָמָות, also of נִזְבָּח *strangeness* stands Deut. 31, 16 the constr. state נִזְבָּחַ.

2. To *paradigms c–e*, groundform *qāṭil*. Here the shortening of the e of the second syllable into ē in the *constr. state*, is quite peculiar (except with נִלְלָה, e.g. מִלְלָה *full*, מִלְלָה, comp. however also Gen. 25, 26 from שְׁקָב *heel* and אֲבָלָה Ps. 35, 14 *mourning*), e.g. חַטָּאָרָה, זָקָן, תְּלִבָּה etc. *Parad. d* represents forms which treat the word כְּרֻפָּה as if it were a Segholate, accented upon the first syllable (v. *Puad* I Rem. 4) or in other words they convert it into a real Segholate, in the same way are formed גְּדָרָה, יְרָךָ, from גְּדָר *wall*, יְרָךָ *thigh*.—In the plur. *constr.* the ē, lengthened from ī, is retained with the verbal adjectives of these forms e.g. יְרָחָרָה, אֲבָלָה שְׁמָרָה שְׁבָחָר (under the protection of the secondary tone) from יְרָחָה *nail*.—From וְנִסְתָּר stems come forms like נִסְתָּר *dead person* (from *mārit*), גִּרְגָּשׁ *stranger*, נִדְרָה *witness* with unchangeable *Sei*, thus גִּרְגָּשׁ, נִדְרָה etc.

Related to this are the forms of the groundform *qāṭul*. The latter is according to the rule, lengthened into *qaṭol*, e.g. נִגְבָּה *round*, נִזְבָּח *deep*, אִרְמָה *red* on the other hand before affirmatives the ī comes back again, guarded by the artificial doubling of the following consonant, as נִגְבָּבָה, נִזְבָּבָה etc.

3. To *paradigm f.* groundform *qāṭāl* from חָמֵד stems. With חָמֵד is also found the form שְׁמָרָה, preserving the final *Yōdh* (comp. § 85, V, 2); in the same way the closing i is preserved in שְׁנִירָם *sufferers*, constr. שְׁנִירָם. The plural of שְׁרוֹתָה is שְׁרוֹתָה, constr. שְׁרוֹתָה (also שְׁרוֹתָה). Also the word פְּנִים *face*, פְּנִים, פְּנִים etc. belongs undoubtedly to the category of these forms.

In some forms of this kind the vowel of the second syllable has already been abandoned in the *sing. absolute state*, thus in יְדָה *hand* (for יְדָה), constr. יְדָה, with suff. יְדָה, but רְכָבָה, plur. רְכָבָה, constr. רְכָבָה, Dual רְכָבָת, יְדָה, with suff. יְדָה, plur. יְדָה, constr. יְדָה, with suff. יְדָה, but רְכָבָת (יְדָה weakened into ī, plur. רְכָבָת).

3. *Paradigm III* comprises forms with unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable

has been lengthened from an originally short vowel and is therefore changeable. Here we must distinguish the cases where the originally short vowel has been lengthened, as well *in* as *before* the tone, but vanishes elsewhere, when standing in an open syllable (parad. *a*, to which also examples like אֲוֹתָרִים *wheels*, for אֲוֹתָרִים must be reckoned) also the cases where the vowel becomes Sh^{wā}, even *before* the accent (parad. *b*); finally the entire rejection of the ending in the forms חַדְשָׁה which belong here (parad. *c*).

Rem 1. In the category of שִׁלְמָה (which however has been modified from 'ālām) belong in regard to inflection also the following forms of those cited in § 84: No. 14 מִקְרָבֶל with the only difference that the נ' of this form maintain the Qāmīṣ in the inflection, e. g. plur. constr. מִקְרָבָר, No. 15 שְׁלֵךְ table (plur. constr. שְׁלֵחָנָה, שְׁלֵחָנָה), therefore in constr. plur. with suffix קָרְבָנִים Lev. 7, 38; No. 17 קָרְבָּלָה; No. 35 plur. עַכְרָבִים (with the doubling of the final consonant for עַכְרָבִים, compare also קָרְדוֹם, קָרְדוֹת); § 85, I, No. 14 עַכְנָן; II, No. 14 עַכְנָן, עַכְנָן, where the ā of the first syllable maintains itself against the rule, even where it is not pretonic, e. g. III, עַכְזִי, עַכְזִי; III, No. 14 מַוְשֵׁב etc.; No. 27 חַשְׁבָּה.

2. (Paradigm *b*) Instead of the shortening of the ē into the original ī in forms like אֲרָבָה it is more frequently shortened into ī, e. g. יְצַרְתָּ thy creator, and with a closing guttural there are found forms sometimes like שְׁלֵחָה sometimes like בְּרָאָה. According to the same analogy are inflected: § 84, I, No. 3; No. 9 בְּנָן etc. (however there are exceptions, as בְּרָבִים, בְּרָבִים, No. 35 עַכְרָבִים; III, No. 14 מַוְשֵׁב; VI, No. 2 טוֹף; but also here are found exceptions like נַקְרָלִים Ps. 28, 12).

3. (Paradigm *c*, Part *Qəl* of verbs חַדְשָׁה, differing from Parad. II, *f.* by the stability of the vowel in the first syllable.) The חַדְשָׁה forms of § 85, V. No. 14 and 4 belong here according to their formation.—In some cases, before a suffix commencing with a consonant, the original īy of the ending has been contracted into ī, and thus are produced forms that have apparently the plural suffix; as בְּרָאָה their appearance Dan. 1, 15, Gen. 41, 21 (on the other hand the examples mentioned farther back from Is. 14, 11, 30, 23, Gen. 47, 17, 1 Sam. 19, 4 are real plurals). Before the plural ending the original ending īy has come back again in מַמְתִּירִים Is. 25, 6 (Part. Pu. from חַדְשָׁה).

4. Paradigm IV comprises forms with a changeable (*a*, *b*) or already vanished vowel (*c*) in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second one. With Parad. *c* are also connected all the forms, which have in both syllables

unchangeable vowels and can therefore (like בְּרַב) not submit to any flectional changes.

Rem. 1 Analogous with קָרֵיד (Groundform *pāqîd*) are § 84, I, No. 3 דָּרוֹל etc (with ô, not changeable ô for ū), in substantives like פָּלִילָם the ô has been inflected from â (arab *sâlâm*), No 5 אָסָר, אָסָר etc, II, No 15 וְקָרְוָן, כְּבָרְוָן, IV, No 35 חֲלָמִישׁ, constr. חֲלָמִישׁ, § 85, IV, No 14 בְּלִין etc, V, No 15 פְּלִירָן, constr. בְּלִין

2 צְנִיר (groundform 'ânî, stem עַנְנָה) represents forms in which the closing Yôdh has been blended in ī, before formative additions the Yôdh under the protection of a *Dâghesh forte* becomes again a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable vanishes, comp § 85, V No 5 גְּקָרָב, Plur נְקִירִים

3 קְרַב with unchangeable â in the second syllable whilst the *Sh'wâ* comes from a short vowel (arab *kitâb*), constr. state בְּרַב Esth 4, 8 (readings like יְקָר Esth 1, 4, קְרַב 4 8, 2 Ch 35, 4 are simply errors). In a stricter sense belong here the forms numbered § 84, II, No. 13, in a larger sense those which have throughout unchangeable vowels, thus § 84, I, No 6 (לְקָרָב, comp however the anomalies mentioned there), No 7, 8, partly II, No 15 and III, No 23, IV, No 26, 27, 32, 33, § 85, IV, 27, 31, V, 27 —In opposition to the anomalous abbreviations of the form לְקָרָב (v. above) there are found elsewhere cases, where the vowels before the accent maintain themselves also in the antepenult (with the secondary accent), comp above No 2, Rem 2 and No 3 Rem 3, as well as, of the form קְרִיבָל (really qâfîl) the examples קְרִיצִים, סְרִיסִים, פְּלִילִישִׁים, whilst the constr. state sing reduces according to the rule the a into *Sh'wâ* and צְרִיךְ (Forms like צְרִיךְ *tyrant*, for therefore with unchangeable *Qaméš*, must not be mistaken for the above.) Of the forms לְקָרְבָּן (qâfîl) belong here שְׁבָרָג *week*, plur שְׁבָעִים and שְׁבָעִורָה, constr. שְׁבִזּוֹת, but with *Metheg* of the secondary tone in the fourth syllable before the last שְׁבָעִירִיקָה.

§ 94.

FORMATION OF FEMININE NOUNS.

1. The feminine ending מֵ — appended to the masculine forms (see § 93), effects almost everywhere the same changes, which are produced by adding a light suffix to masculine nouns, as in both cases the tone is removed one place farther forward (v. § 92, 2). In the following summary are kept the same divisions and subdivisions as in § 93; a few special forms are treated in § 95, in connection with the paradigm of the feminine noun.

Parad. I (segholate forms, everywhere with the appending of the feminine ending to the ground form), a) מִלְכָה queen,

כְּבָשָׂה and with the weakening of ā into ī כְּבָשָׂה *lamb*, *strength* (if not belonging to parad. b); b) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתְרָה), not to be mistaken for the unchangeable forms of לְהָ stems, created by a prefixed מ, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲדֵנָה *grace, delight* (עַדְןָה); c) חֶלְדָּה *proper noun* (חֶלְדָּה *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אֲכָלָה); d) נִצְרָה *girl* (נִצְרָה); e) בָּאַשָּׁה *weed*, טָהָרָה *purity* (טָהָרָה); f) עֲוָלָה *wrong* (also parad. i); g) צִרְקָה *game* (contracted from צִירָה, therefore really parad. i); h) בִּינָה *intellect*, סֻפָּה *tempest*; i) אַלְיָה *fat sheep* (as of אַלְיָה), שְׁבִיה *(ā weakened into ī) captivity* (שְׁבִיה); j) לוֹרָה *wreath* (probably an original *qitil* form); k) חִיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (weakened from מִדָּה); l) זְמָה *plan*; m) חֲקָה *law* (חֲקָה).

Parad. II. Groundform qāṭälät etc. a) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נִקְמָה); b) אַרְמָה *earth*; c) נִבְלָה *corpse*; e) עַרְפָּה *languid*; f) יְרָפָה *beautiful*, קְצָה *end* (from קְצָה). From stems עַזְעָה *arise* thus a) רַבָּה *many*, with middle gutturals רַעְעָה *bad*; from עַזְעָה *stranger*; c) עֲרָה *(ground form 'āwid) female witness*; from stems middle o טַוְבָּה *good*. From the ground form qāṭūl עַמְקָה *deep* (masc. עַמְקָה), עַבְרָה *servitude*.

Parad. III (unchangeable vowel in first, changeable in second syllable); b) יְלִדָּה *puerpera*, but also with reduction of the ē (originally ī) into Shewā יְשָׁבָה *dwelling* Nah. 3, 8; however in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת— (v. below No. 2); c) גַּזְלָה *emigrating host* (masc. גַּזְלָה), but also with the retention of the final Yôdh בָּזְקִיחָה *weeping Lament*. 1, 16.

Parad. IV (original changeable vowel in the first, unchangeable in the second syllable); a) גַּדְלָה *great, stork*, really *pious*; b) בָּתְלָה *virgin*, really L. *sejuncta*; b) עַנְיָה *wretched*.

2. The feminine ending ת is (except before suffixes) rarely appended, in its original form, to the noun; comp. however forms like weeping (masc. § 93, I, k), בְּרִית *covenant*; also *sem. participle* of אָלָם, as מִזְאָתָה, يִזְאָתָה, although these forms may have been contracted from יִזְאָתָה like segholate forms (therefore we also have מִזְאָתָה), as בָּאָר (§ 93, Parad. I, 4, b), comp. § 74, Rem. 3. Besides this, there is found with a simple ת, only יְלִדָּתָה בֶּן (construct state) Gen. 16, 11; Judges 13, 5, 7, for יְלִידָה (Gen. 17, 19, Is. 7, 14).

The forms which arise by the appending of the **ת** feminine to the ground form, are, as a rule, developed exactly in the manner of the masc. segholate-forms. Thus rise in I, *a*) from נָבָרָת (masc. נָבָר — § 93, I, 4, *a*) the form נָבָרָתָה *mistress*; from מלְכָת (מלך — מלְכָת) *queen*; Parad II, *a*): יְבִם brother-in-law, fem. יְבִמָּת (from יְבִמָּת); *c*) נֶדֶר wall (from נֶדֶרֶת), thus, the general form *constr. state* masc. זָקֵן is taken as a base; comp. on the other hand חַמְשָׁתָה as *constr. state* of חַמְשָׁה with the lengthening of the original *i* of חַמְשָׁה (*חַמְשָׁתָה*); of formations with changeable *ō* in the second syllable, belong here נֶשֶׁר brass (from נֶשֶׁר); Parad. III, *a*) חַמְצָה (from חַמְצָה) masc. חַמְצָם seal; *b*) יוֹנְקָתָה (real sense, sucking) off-spring; and so mostly the feminines of the participle קָטֵל, however also here we must admit the ground form קָטֵלָת (קָטֵל, יוֹנְקָתָה, v. above); this ground form reappears before suffixes and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. יְדֻעָת, fem. of יְדֻעָה knowing; in a larger sense belongs here also גָּלְגָּלָת skull, v. § 95; Parad. IV, *c*) בְּתָבָת scripture, modified from *k'thab* § 93, Parad. IV, *c*.

As to the ending **תָה** and **תָה** — v. § 84, No. 16 and § 95 at the end.

§ 95.

PARADIGMS OF FEMININE NOUNS.

Corresponding with the general laws of formation, exhibited § 92, 2, 3, the principal cases that have to be considered, in regard to the inflection of feminines are the following: 1) a tone lengthened vowel retakes its original shorter form by the removal of accent (thus the *ā* of the ending **תָה** — becomes *ă* again in the ending of the *constr. state* **תָה** —). On the other hand a long pretonic vowel, although originally short, maintains itself *before* the ending **תָה** — e. g. חַדְקָת; 2) outside of the accent or foretone every original short vowel becomes *Sh'wā*; on the contrary the *ă* which had likewise disappeared in the first syllable, returns again *before* a similarly vanished vowel, although usually weakened into *i*, e. g. תְּמִיקָת from *sādāqāt*; 3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms, before the ending **תָם** — as well as before the

light suffixes, a pretonic *Qā'meṣ* is inserted anew, and the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Sh'vā*, but reappears in the *constr. state* and before grave suffixes.

In the following paradigms we present only such of those forms treated in § 94 (besides I, d) as require the consideration of some vowel change or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Parad. I, d.

Paradigms of feminine Nouns.

	I					
	a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	
Sing. <i>absol.</i>	מלכה (queen)	חרפה (reproach)	חרבה (waste)	חקה (law)	גבורה (mistress)	
" <i>constr.</i>	מלכתה	חרפתה	חרבתה	חקתָה	גבורתָה	
" <i>with light suff.</i>	מלכתִי	חרפתִי	חרבתִי	חקתִי	גבורתִי	
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	מלכתכם	חרפתכם	חרבתכם	חקתכם	גבורתכם	
Plur. <i>absol.</i>	מלכות	חרפות	חרבות	חקות	גבורות	
" <i>constr.</i>	מלכות	חרפות	חרבות	חקות	גבורות	
" <i>with suff.</i>	מלכותִי	חרפותִי	חרבותִי	חקותִי	גבורותִי	
Dual <i>absol.</i>	רקמיהים	(double embroidery)		מצלחות	(cymbals)	

	II			III.	
	a.	b.	c.	a	b.
Sing <i>absol.</i>	צדקה (justice)	זעקה (outray)	שנה (year)	יולקָת	גולגולת (skull)
" <i>constr.</i>	צדקה	זעקה	שנה	יולקָת	גולגולת
" <i>with light suff.</i>	צדקה	זעקה	שנה	יולקָתִי	גולגולתִי
" <i>with grave suff.</i>	צדקה	זעקה	שנה	יולקָתכם	גולגולתכם
Plur. <i>absol.</i>	צדקות	זעקות	שנות	יולקָות	גולגולות
" <i>constr.</i>	צדקות	זעקות	שנות	יולקָות	גולגולות
" <i>with suff.</i>	צדקוֹתִי	זעקוֹתִי	שנוֹתִי	יולקָותִי	גולגולותִי
Dual <i>absol.</i>	צדקהים	זעקהים	שנותים	נחתות	[נחתות]
" <i>constr.</i>	צדקהים	זעקהים	שנותים	(lips)	(pair of fetters)

REMARKS.

Rem. 1. *Parad. I* (feminine of Segholate forms). a) the form of this class with ה local sounds like גַּבְּרָה towards *Gibā* (*masc.* גֶּבֶּה). In some cases, especially with gutturals for the first letter, it cannot be distinguished whether the forms belong to *qāṭl* or *qīṭl* e. g. חֲזֵקָה *strength* (comp. רְדָקָה under b). A dual of this form occurs in שְׁבֻּעַתִּים *seven times* (comp. שְׁבַּת *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms, as שְׁבַּת (§ 93, I, Rem. 4) there is found הַרְסָה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form form, § 93, I, k) rise feminines, partly like גָּנוּחָה, פָּלָחָה, אַלְמָרָה (v. above § 94, 1, I, k) partly like כְּבִירָה (§ 94, 2), sometimes the closing ה before the plural ending, has been retained as if it belonged to the stem, e. g. צְנִירֹות *lances*. Forms like גָּדוּתָה (comp. אֲגָּדוֹת as a *qōṭl* form), are derived directly from the masculine forms גָּדוֹד *kid*, אָגָּר *ship*.—b) An example of עַדְתָּה is חֲמָתָה *wheat* (for חֲמָתָה, plur. חֲמָתִים; analogous with בָּאָר (§ 93, I, Rem. 4, b) are forms בְּרָכָה *pond* (with unchangeable *ḥērō*) and שְׁאָלָה *request*, with suffix שְׁאָלָה (= שְׁאָלָה) Job 6, 8, Ps. 106, 15 (on חָדָש etc. comp. below letter e).—c) the plural *absol.* of חֲצִינָה *prepuce* is תְּרִילִים (comp. פְּנִילִים § 93, Parad. I, f) *construct* חֲצִינִים.—d) As an example of a feminine Segholate form of a stem עַדְתָּה (groundform *qūṭl*, like חֲרִיךָ of the form *qāṭl*, צְמָרָה of the *qīṭl* form) with ḥ for ū, is found אַגְּדָה *fright* Is. 10, 17 (aram. orthog. for אַגְּדָה)—e) Segholate forms with ה fem. In the Parad. גְּבָרָה (v. § 94, 2, 1, a) the ā of the groundform גְּבָרָה has been sharpened into ī before the singular suffixes. Plural would be גְּבָרִות.—To the same category belong infinitives of עַדְתָּה and עַדְתָּה, which have rejected the feeble consonant, as שְׁבַּבָּה (from שְׁבַּבָּ), גְּזַיְּרָה (from גְּזַיְּרָ), שְׁמַרָּה (from שְׁמַרָּ), as well as קְרַבָּה (from קְרַבָּ), comp. § 69 Rem. 4 and § 86. The infinitive of עַדְתָּה is however also found in the form עַדְתָּה, לְרַחַם, צָאָה, also עַדְתָּה *congregation* (from עַדְתָּה), אַדְתָּה *advice* (from עַדְתָּה), שְׁנָה *sleep* (שְׁנָה), constr. צְרָרָה, שְׁנָרָה, whilst in the construct forms צְרָרָה *sweat* Gen. 8, 19, (from צְרַרְתִּי to flow) and שְׁנָרָה *excrement*, Ez 4, 12, the *ḥērō* has remained firm, בְּשָׂרָה *shame* (from שְׁבַּרְתִּי to be ashamed) must be considered undoubtedly as a *qōṭl* form of an עַדְתָּה stem, analogous with שְׁבָרָה (§ 93, I, Rem. 4 c). Of a הַחֲלָה (חֲלָה) has been formed after rejection of the closing Yōdh, the masculine לְחָלָה and afterwards the feminine לְתָה door; plur. לְתָהוֹת, constr. לְתָהוֹת retains however the final ה (v. above a חֲלָה). In a similar way has been formed שְׁתָּרָה *trough* (from שְׁתָּרָה), of which the *masc.* should be שְׁתָּרִי; on the other hand, the plur. constr. שְׁתָּרִים Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ה as an apparent stem consonant) can only be traced back to a kindred form (חֲטָרָה or חֲטָרָה).

2. *Parad. II* (groundform *qāṭlālāt* etc. comp. § 94, I, *Parad. II a* and *b*). Analogous with the masculine forms such as קְבָּעָן, plur. קְבָּעִים, is found here קְבָּעָה little etc.—The constr. forms, as צְדָקָה (*qidqās*) differ by the vocal *Sh'wā* from the Segholate forms, as בְּשָׂרָה (*kib-sāt̄h*). Consequently the constr. state בְּרָכָה (*qidqās* blessing) is anomalous, and

probably comes from the unused absolute — Under the influence of a guttural (v. Parad. b) the original *ā* of the first syllable comes back again in the *constr. state* (comp. also אָרֶץ earth, אַדְמָתָה land), in other places it is modified into *Seghōl*, e.g. שָׁגֵל chariot, צָנִילִי. Frequently with an *absolute state* in חֹ— the *construct* is formed with the ending חֹ e.g. עֲשָׂרָה crown, consti. (from עֲשָׂרָה gathering) is found already in the *absolute state* שְׁבָרָה (from רְבָרָה brother in law) has before suffixes רְבָרִי, agreeing completely with בְּרִית (Parad. I e)— אַמְתִּי fidelity, is found from a נָן stem (אָמֵן) (for אַמְתִּים = 'amant) before suffixes אַמְתִּי etc.— From the *masc* form קְטַל (qāṭil) are formed גְּדַרְתָּה wall, נְכָלָה corpse, constr. נְכָלָת cattle, consti. (for בְּחִטָּה). More frequently however the ē of the second syllable is retained before the ending at of the *consti. state*, thus from נְכָלָת is found once בְּלָה Is. 26, 19 and always מְלָאָת טְמֵאָת טְמֵאָת prey, unclean, full 1, 21 (with i compaginis v. § 90, 3)— As a *dual* is found יְרֻקָּתִים (comp. יְרֻקָּה Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete יְרֻקָּה as feminine to רְקָקָה), the *consti. state* יְרֻכִּתִּי, is thus to be referred to a *Segholate* form (יְרֻקָּה, comp. רְקָקָה as *constr. state* of רְקָקָה)— The forms with simple feminine חֹ are not based on the groundform qāṭil but on the usual form of the *constr. state* (v. § 92 Parad. II, c יְקָנִים of יְקָנָה), thus the feminine of חָבָר companion is חָבָרָה, of גָּדָרָה besides גָּדָרָה also גָּדָרָה— The feminine of the form qāṭal of stems צָעַד, צָרָה have an unchangeable a in the first syllable, as צָרָה, constr. plur. צָרָתִים double height. From חָמָת mount, (stem בָּוּם, therefore with unchangeable ā in first syllable) is found in the *constr. state* plus. the pleonastic form בָּמוֹרָה or defectively בָּמוֹרָה (v. § 87, Rem 1), the Massora demands for this everywhere בָּמוֹרָה, which must be read bamōrā (not bōmōrā) with the anomalous reduction of the ô into (ָ), before suffix however בָּמוֹרָה etc— Besides the forms with the ending חֹ are found also such with חָ, thus with the shortening of ā into ā are formed *Segholates*, like נְצָה (masc. חָצָה) rest, שְׁמָרָה put, from נְצָה and שְׁמָרָה— The feminine of the form qāṭal of stems צָעַד, צָרָה, as well as those of the form qāṭil of צָעַד, like מְתָה mortua, מְתָה fem. witness (from רְבָבָה, מְזָה, צָעַד) have likewise unchangeable vowels in the first syllable. The feminine of the form qāṭal, as נְמָקָה (masc. נְמָקָה) maintains in all cases the original ū by doubling the following consonant; on the other hand through appending the fem. חָ are formed *Segholates* like נְמָקָה, before Suff. חָתָה etc. Dual נְמָקָה (placed in the Parad. III, b), comp. however חָתָה Lament 3, 7.

A few feminines of לְיָה stems (Parad. II, c) are found with the ending āth, formed by the ejection of the closing Wāw or Yōdh and the contraction of the preceding ā with the ā of the ending āth, thus נְמָנָה share (for mānāyāth or mānāvāth, נְמָנָה end, plur. constr. state Neh. 12, 47, 13, 10) and נְאַיָּה (12, 44), נְמָקָה Exod. 38, 5.— חָרָך sign (stem חָרָא) comes from חָרָא and this is contracted from āyāt = 'āvāyāt.

8. *Parad. III*, comp. the enumeration of the different forms § 94,

No. 1, *Parad. III*, and No. 2. The *dual* חַמְרִירִים instead of double wall is anomalous, taken directly from the plur.—In a wider sense belong here the feminines of the form קָלֵל (§ 84, No. 6), in so far as they shorten the ā of the second syllable before the ending ת, e.g. דָלָקְתָה burning fever (from *dallaqat*) next the form קָלֵל (§ 84, No. 9), as אַילָח folly (for 'iwāħ) and all the forms, which are formed with ה preformative and have a changeable vowel in the second syllable (§ 84, No. 14), e.g. מֶלֶךְתָה kingdom, constr. קָזְבָרָה pruning knife, constr. מִזְבְּחָתָה sacrifice, reward, before suffix תְּשִׁירָה, comp. also the forms mentioned in § 85, III, as מִולְדָה birth (of אֲלֹהִים, on the other hand, is מִזְמָה outgoing), חַלְדָה generation, חַזְבָּנָה abomination, constr. חַזְבָּנָה etc. Sometimes the plural of these forms depends on a secondary form e.g. מְחֻרְשָׁה ploughshare, plur. מְחֻרְשִׁיּוֹת (as from מְחֻרְשָׁה *Astarte*, plur. שְׁתִירִות (the ā no more being inflected into e), on the contrary בְּחֻרְשָׁה, capitals (of columns) and חִיכְרָה reproaches are the regular plurals of בְּחֻרָה and חִיכְרָה.—In בְּחֻרְשָׁה coat the original ī of the first syllable has maintained itself through the doubling of the following consonant (comp. arab. *qūtiñ*) before suffix בְּחֻנְרִי, the constr. state however is בְּחֻנָה (as already in the *absol. state* Ex 28, 39), plur. בְּחֻנּוֹת, constr. בְּחֻנּוֹת—The form mentioned in *Parad. III*, לְקָלְלָה is a pulpal form of the stem קָלֵל, comp. § 85, II.

4. To the fourth class, for which no parad. is required, belong all those numerous forms, which at present have entirely unchangeable vowels, after the originally short vowel of the first syllable has become *She'icħā*, through the removal of the accent (comp. however בְּגָוְרִיה Jer. 8, 7, 10, with an anomalous retention of the a, although the same had been only lengthened from ī). Of forms mentioned in § 84 and 85 belong here especially those with נ"א stems, as קָרְבָּן scroll, קָרְבָּנָה praise, תְּפָנָה prayer § 85, II, as well as the feminines of the participle *Hiph'il* נ"א, e.g. מָאִירָה lighting (from מְאִיר), principally the feminines of נ"א stems, which are combined with preformative ה, as מְנִיחָה rest (from מִינְחָה), v. § 85, IV, 14. Thus, in their external shape, all these forms coincide with those which already, as masculines, have throughout unchangeable vowels (v. theu enumeration § 93, *Parad. IV*, 3).

5. The feminine ending תְּרִי is based (apart from the נ"ל forms, as בְּכִירִי, § 94, 2), on the appending of the feminine ת to the ending ת—, which has been employed to form adjectives etc., v. § 86, 2, 5 and 6. The ending תְּרִי mentioned in the same place and also in § 84, No. 16, is attached in segholate forms partly to the groundform, as Job 12, 5 partly to forms with lightly closed syllable, as קָלְבָנִירִי kingdom; from נ"ל stems are formed words partly like בְּבָשָׁר imprisonment partly like בְּבָרָך weeping, the latter retain the ā of the first syllable also in the constr. state and before suffixes. קָבְדוֹת difficulty is formed of a *qāṭil*-form, and קָרְדוֹת of a *qāṭil*-form etc.—In the plural of these forms we can distinguish a different manner of treatment. In some cases the

ending וָתִי is entirely retained, as belonging to the stem (comp above Rem. 1) e g אַלְמַנְתֵּרֶת from אַלְמַנְתָּה, in others this ending is dismembered, as in Dan 8 22 (without doubt for *malkuwôth*), as well as in תְּדִירָה ('ed̄wôth) from צָדֵה witness (only in connection with *suffixes* כְּדוֹתִיךְ etc).

§ 96.

NOUNS OF PECULIAR FORM

In the following alphabetical list is arranged a collection of much used nouns whose inflections offer more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities are however entirely subordinate to the general laws of sound, and the usual designation of these nouns as *irregular* is therefore not justified, if we only consider rightly the groundforms on which the present forms are based.

אָבָּה (for אָבָּה prob to procreate, hence אָבָּה prop *procreator*) father, constr *st* אָבָּי, with suff אָבָּי (my father), or אָבָּרְךָ אָבָּרְךָ, with suff אָבָּרְךָ (my father), or אָבָּרְךָם אָבָּרְךָם, plur constr אָבָּרְךָם (§ 87, 4) אָבָּרְךָם. The feminine ending of the plural points undoubtedly to an original abstract, indicating dignity, comp § 108, 2, b

אָחָתָה brother, (for אָחָתָה fr אָחָתָה) constr אָחָתָה, with suff אָחָתָה (my brother), or אָחָתָה, plur constr אָחָתָה, אָחָתָה. But the plur *absol* is אָחָתָה (with *Dag f implicitum*, § 22, 1), hence אָחָתָה, אָחָתָה, etc. On the form אָחָתָה (which is invariably used instead of אָחָתָה), see § 27, Rem 2, b, and so too אָחָתָה in pause for אָחָתָה my brethren. The doubling of the ה points by no means to another stem (תְּהִרְךָ) but serves only as an artificial means of keeping the preceding *Päthach* short, as in בְּמִלְרָם etc. (§ 93, Parad II, a)

אָחָדָה one (for אָחָד, with *Dag f implicitum*, § 22, 1, comp § 27, Rem 2, b), constr *st* and also elsewhere in close connection אָחָד, fem. אָחָתָה una (for אָחָתָה, see § 19, 2), in pause אָחָתָה. In one instance (Ez 38, 30) it takes (by *aphæresis*, § 19, 3) the form חָדָה masc, as in Aram. Plur אָחָדִים some, but also the same

אָחָזָה sister (from *âchawât* or 'âchayât with the elision of the ו or י and the modifying of the â—arisen from ââ—into ô), constr אָחָזָה, with suff אָחָזָה etc, however see Num 6, 7 אָחָזָה (with *Dagh f implicitum* in ח) The plur *absol* (תְּהִרְךָ) accidentally does not occur, but the constr with suff is found in אָחָזָה etc (Ez 16, 52, אָחָזָה for אָחָזָה). The forms אָחָזָה Jos 2, 13 *Kethâbh*, אָחָזָה Ez 16, 51, 55, 61, אָחָזָה Hos 2, 3 come from a singular אָחָזָה (with rejected third consonant).

אָנָה man, either incorrectly lengthened from **אָנָ** (from *'išš* with the assimilation of the *Nún* of the groundform *'inš* (stem **אִנְשָׁ**) which has again been attenuated from *'anš*) or a direct softening from *'inš*; in the plur. it has very seldom אָנְשִׁים (Is. 58, 3, Ps. 141, 4, Prov. 8, 3), the usual form being אָנָשִׁים (from **אָנָ**), *constr.* אָנָשִׁים. Comp. אָנָשָׁי.

אֲמַת maid-servant, with suff. **אֲמַתָּה**, plur. (with **ה** as a consonant) אֲמַתּוֹת, *constr.* אֲמַתּוֹת. Comp. in Aram. אֲבָדָן *fathers*, also Arab. *'abahāt* (fathers), *'ummahāt* (mothers).

אֲשֶׁר woman (for אֲנָשָׁה, *fem.* from **אָנָ**, *see* **אָנָ**), *constr. st.* אֲשֶׁר (for *'ist* with **ה** *fem.* from *'išš* after rejection of *Dāghesh* and lengthening the *i* into *e*, comp. חֵמֶשׁ as *constr.* of חֵמֶשׁ *five*; but a direct derivation from אָשֶׁר would also be possible, the *i* having been reduced to *e*); with suff. אֲשֶׁרְ, אֲשֶׁרְתָּ, plur. בְּשִׂירִים (shortened from אָשֶׁרְתָּ), but Ez. 28, 44 אֲשֶׁרְתָּ; *constr.* בְּשִׂירָה, with suff. בְּשִׂירָה, *see* **אֲשֶׁרְתָּ**.

בָּרֶךְ house, *constr. st.* בָּרֶךְ, plur. בָּרֶכִים *bâṭîm* or rather *bâṭîm*, for the *Dāg. forte* (*after firm Mēthēgh*) serves only to distinguish this word from בָּזֶר staying over night (*Part. Qâl of בִּיהִ*); the former habitual reading *bôṭîm* is therefore not at all justified. Comp. Gesenius' Lex. 8th ed. under בָּרֶךְ. To the reasons cited there, the testimonial of the Babylonian vocalization must be added, which leaves no doubt as to the reading *bâṭîm*.—*Constr. st.* בָּרֶךְ, with suff. בָּרֶכִים.

בָּן son (from *bîny* for *bâny*=בָּנָה from בָּנָה to build), *constr. st.* בָּן, seldom בָּןָה, once בָּנָה (§ 90, 3, a) Gen. 40, 11, and בָּנָי (§ 90, 3, b) Num. 28, 18, 24, 3, 15. With suff. בָּנָה, בָּנָה; plur. בָּנִים, בָּנִים, *constr. st.* בָּנִי, בָּנִי, בָּנִי, בָּנִי, *see* בָּנִים.

בָּתָה daughter (from בָּן=בָּנָה fem. of בָּן, comp. § 19, 2), with suff. בָּתָה (for בָּתָה=בָּנָה); plur. בָּנוֹת (comp. בָּנִים sons from a sing. בָּנָה), *constr. st.* בָּנוֹת.

חָמִין father-in-law, with suff. חָמִין; and **חָמִית mother-in-law** with suff. חָמִית. Compare אָב father, אָח brother, אָסister.

יְוָם day, (Arab. *yaum*) dual יְוָמִים; but plur. יְוָמִים, (from יְוָמִים with elision of ה) constr. יְוָמִי and יְוָמָה (Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15).

כָּלֵל vessel, from *kâlîh* to hold, plur. (as if from בָּלָה, בָּלָה), *constr. st.* כָּלֵלִים, כָּלֵלִים, כָּלֵלִים, כָּלֵלִים, with suff. כָּלֵלִים.

מָלֵט water (plur.) (comp. § 88, 1, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* מָלֵט, but also doubled מָלֵטִים, מָלֵטִים, with suff. מָלֵטִים.

עָרִים city, plur. עָרִים, *constr. st.* עָרִים (either syncopated from עָרִידִים *city* or from a kindred sing. עָרִ, which is still found in proper names).

פָּה mouth, acc. to Gesen. for אָנָה, from אָנָה to breathe. It may however be derived from an original פָּר (Olsch.) for פִּיהִ, of a stem פִּיהִ or פִּיהִ. In

this case the *constr.* פָּרַי would be contracted from *p̄ewî* or *p̄eyî* (with *Chîrēq compag.*); comp. אֲבָהָה from אָבָה with *suff.* (for *p̄iy*, *my mouth*), פְּרִתָּה or פְּרִתָּה, פְּרִתָּה, פְּרִתָּה; *plur.* פְּרִתָּה edges 1 Sam. 18, 21 (= פְּרִתָּה) and (Prov. 5, 4).

שֶׁנֶּאֱשָׁרְיָה head (derived from רְאֵשׁ = רְאֵשׁ), *plur.* (for רְאֵשִׁים (for רְאֵשׁ), etc., but Is. 15, 2, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* רְאֵשִׁים, with *suff.* etc., but Is. 15, 2 רְאֵשִׁים.

שְׁמָרִים plur. heaven (§ 88, 1, Rem. 2) *constr. st.* שְׁמָרִים.

§ 97.

NUMERALS. I. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 are, in Hebrew, substantives with abstract meaning, like *triad*, *decade*, πεντάς, and are therefore originally attached in the *constr. state* to the numbered word, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *trias filiorum*. However the use of the numerals in apposition was likewise of an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים *trias sc. filii*, and from this apposition it came to pass that these abstract substantives were conceived as adjectives (§ 120). The words אֶחָד one, fem. אֶחָת (v. § 96) show already by their form that they are adjectives although here combinations like אֶחָד הַחֲרִים unus e montibus are also possible. The consequence of the appositional and finally adjective construction was that, for numbers used in connection with feminine nouns, a special (shorter) form came into use, whilst the original forms with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connection with masculine nouns. Thus in the numbers 3 to 10 arose the semblance as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive and the feminine form with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality there are proper dual forms, with the usual distinction of gender.

The numerals from 1 to 10:—

	<i>With the Masculine.</i>			<i>With the Feminine.</i>
	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>
1.	אֶחָד	אֶחָד	אֶחָתָה	אֶחָתָה
2.	שְׁנַיִם	שְׁנֵי	שְׁנִיתָם ¹	שְׁנִיתָה
3.	שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלֹשֶׁת	שְׁלֹשָׁת	שְׁלֹשָׁת
4.	אֶרְבָּעָה	אֶרְבָּעָת	אֶרְבָּעָת	אֶרְבָּעָת
5.	חֲמֻשָּׁה	חֲמֻשָּׁת	חֲמֻשָּׁת	חֲמֻשָּׁת
6.	שְׁשָׁה	שְׁשֶׁת	שְׁשֶׁת	שְׁשֶׁת
7.	שְׁבֻעָה	שְׁבֻעָת	שְׁבֻעָת	שְׁבֻעָת
8.	שְׁמֻנָה	שְׁמֻנֶת	שְׁמֻנֶת	שְׁמֻנֶת
9.	תְּשִׁבָּה	תְּשִׁבָּת	תְּשִׁבָּת	תְּשִׁבָּת
10.	עֲשָׂרָה	עֲשָׂרָת	עֲשָׂרָת	עֲשָׂרָת ²

The other Semitic languages exhibit the same peculiarity in respect to the genders, of the numerals from 3 to 10. The full form of the numeral abstracts is now but rarely found in connection with feminine nouns³; e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁת נָשָׁתָה Gen. 7, 18, Ez. 7, 2 (in Kethibh), Job 1, 4; in apposition Zech. 3, 9, 4, 2, comp. Jer. 38, 23.

¹ Shortened from שְׁנִיתָם, which would be the regular fem. form for שְׁנִיתָה. Notwithstanding this, the *Dāghēsh* in שְׁנִיתָם etc. can by no means be taken for *Dāghēsh forte*, risen from an assimilation of the *Nün*, for in this case we should have at the most שְׁנִתָם (comp. Arab. *tintani*). We rather have to read שְׁנִיתָם, שְׁתָם (with *Dāghēsh lene*=תְּשִׁבָּת or תְּשִׁבָּת with נ prosthetic § 19, 4); comp. Arab. 'itnātāni, another fem. form to 'itnāni, duo.

² The simple numerals, from 1 to 10, not only exhibit an essential agreement in all the Semitic dialects; but they also, as pure primitives, awaken the expectation that somewhere a connecting point may be found for establishing a historical affinity between these languages and the Indo-Germanic (see § 1, 3, 4). Thus we may compare: द्वा, Sansk. *dvā*; त्री, (Aram. תְּרִי) Sansk. *dva*, Lat. *duo*; त्रिः (Aram. תְּרִי) Sansk. *tri*, त्रेति, *tres*; चत्तृः Sansk. *pañcan*, पञ्चते; षष्ठृः (properly, as the Arab. and Aethiop. show=सप्तृः, grdf. *sīdē*) Sansk. *shash*, षष्ठि, *sex*; अष्टृः Sansk. *saptan*, अष्टाता, *septem*. Meanwhile we should consider that there is a more natural explanation of the Semitic numerals by reference to existing verbal stems which renders these comparisons, as a basis of evidence, extremely doubtful; thus וְאַחֲד (Arab. also *wāchid*) from the stem עָוִיד, Hebr. עָזַר "to be united"; מְשֻׁבָּח from שׁׁבַּח "to fold" hence *double*, i. e. *two folds*, שְׁבָעָה from שׁׁבַּח "to lie down" (by folding the four paws); שְׁמֻנָה, really the contraction of the five fingers into the fist, from שׁׁמַּח; finally שְׁשָׁת from שׁׁשַּׁח; finally עֲשָׂרָת from עָשַׂח "to bind together=a connection" (comp. שְׁבָעָת).

³ In the vulgar dialects of the Arabic, and in the Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numerals is used almost exclusively. This form appears in Hebrew

2. The numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed by adding to the *units* the numeral *ten* (in the form עֶשֶׂר *masc.*, עֲשָׂרָה *fem.*), written as separate words and without the conjunction. As, however, they are both pronounced closely together, the units appear almost entirely in the form of the construct state (without pretonic vowels); comp. in the following table אחד and אַחֲת in the number 11 and the units in the feminine numbers from 13 upwards. Only the real forms of connection (*constr. st.*) of the masculine abstracts, like לְלִשְׁתָּה etc. are excluded from the combinations with עֶשֶׂר, as they are really in apposition and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁנָר in the number 12 are only seemingly in the *constr. st.*, although formed in the same manner and for the same reason of close connection (by contraction of *ay* and elimination of ס in שְׁנִים, שְׁתִּים). In שְׁנִים and שְׁתִּים the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ס), unless both forms be considered as the Massoretic *Q'ri perpetuum* (§ 17) viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁנָר for the really intended שְׁנִים, שְׁנִים. Accordingly the numbers from eleven upwards are:

	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
11.	אַחֲד עֶשֶׂר עֲשָׂתִיר עֶשֶׂר ¹	אַחֲת עֲשָׂרָה עֲשָׂתִיר עֲשָׂרָה
12.	שְׁנִים עֶשֶׂר שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר	שְׁתִּים עֲשָׂרָה שְׁתִּי עֲשָׂרָה
13.	שְׁלִשָּׁה עֶשֶׂר	שְׁלִשָּׁה עֲשָׂרָה

and so on, analogous with the last. These numbers have regularly but the above form. In regard to their syntax comp. § 120, 2 Rem.

also when speaking of the number as such, in the abstract, as in the multiplicatives (Gen. 4, 15, 24)

¹ The enigmatic עֲשָׂתִיר has been lately found in the Assyr. cuneiform inscriptions where it has the form *istin=unus* (v. Schröder in der Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. 26 p. 234 ff.). According to this עֲשָׂתִיר עֶשֶׂר would be a combination like Sansk. *ekādaśan*, Ḫn̄dēxa, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12—19), and serve at the same time in the combination of the fem. numeral eleven, whilst elsewhere the Assyrian has *icht* (חִתָּה) for *una*. It seems that in Hebr. also the verbal stem for עֲשָׂרָה

Very rarely the *units* appear in the *masc.* in the constr. st., as in **quinquaginta** חמשים וחמשה **fifteen** Judg. 8, 10, 2 Sam. 10, 18, 19, **eighteen** שבעים ושלשים **Judg. 20, 25.**

3. The *tens* from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the corresponding units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten-times* the unit), as **שׁלשים** 30, **ארבעים** 40, **חמישים** 50, **שׁשים** 60, **שבעים** 70, **שמונים** 80, **תשעים** 90. But *twenty* is expressed by **עשרים**, plur. of *ten*.¹ They are of *common gender*, and do not admit the *construct state*. When units and tens are written together, the earlier writers commonly (but with many exceptions) place the units first (e. g. *two and twenty*, as in Arabic and German); but in the later writers the order is most commonly reversed (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, French, English *twenty-two*) e. g. 1 Ch. 12, 28, 18, 5. The conjunction (וְ and, also וְ before numerals accented on the 1st syllable, וְ before —, וְ before *Shewâ*) is always used between them.

The remaining numerals are:

100	מאה <i>fem.</i> , <i>constr.</i> מאות , <i>plur.</i> מאות <i>hundreds</i> .
200	מאתיים <i>dual</i> (for מאות).
300	שלש מאות (2 K. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15 however in <i>Kethibh</i> המאות).
400	ארבע מאות etc.
1000	אלף , <i>masc.</i> <i>plur.</i> אלפים <i>thousands</i> .
2000	אלפיהם (<i>dual</i>).
3000	שלוש אלפים , 4000 etc.
10000	{ רבעה , but in later books (Ezr. 2, 64, Jon. 4, 11). רבעה רביה , רבעות (prop. <i>multitude</i> , cf. <i>μεγιστας</i>).
20000	רבויות ² (<i>dual</i>) Ps. 68, 18, also שְׁתִּירָבְּתוֹת , Neh. 7, 71.
40000	רביע רבאות , Ezr. 2, 64.
60000	שְׁשִׁירָבְּאות Ez. 2, 69 (perh. f. <i>sh.</i> as Dan. 11, 12).

has been preserved in *work of art* and *thought, opinion*. These two terms may easily be related to the fundamental idea of *connecting, combining* and thus one finds for **עֵשֶׂת** the idea of *uno, unity*.

¹ The anomalous plural forms **שׁבְּצִים**, **עַשְׂרִים**, **עֲשָׂרִים**, **שׁבְּנִים**, **עַשְׂרִים**, **שׁבְּנִים**, for which we should (according to § 93, 6) expect **שׁבְּצִים**, **עַשְׂרִים**, **שׁבְּנִים**, are found but very seldom elsewhere as in **שׁקְבִּים** *mulberry-trees* and **רַחֲם** *viscera* from **רַחֲם**.

² Acc. to *Delitzsch* (Comm. on Ps. 68, 18) this "is a dual from **רַבָּה** and

Rem. 1. The dual form occurs in some of the units, with the effect of our ending *-fold*, as in אֶרְבַּעֲשָׂרִים *fourfold* 2 Sam. 12, 6, שְׁבָעֲשָׂרִים *sevenfold* Gen. 4, 15, 24, Ps. 79, 12. Besides its use for the *tens*, we find the plural also in אֶחָדִים [comp. Ger. *einige*, W. *gchydig*] *some, a few*, also *the same* (*iidem*), and in עֶשֶׂרִים *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21, 25.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with nouns, prop. genitives of the pronoun, though we translate them as in nominative or acc., as שְׁלֹשָׁה *you three*, prop. *your triad*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98.

NUMERALS. II. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination י — (§ 86, No. 5), besides which another י — also is mostly inserted between the second and third stem consonant. They are as follows, שְׁנִי *second*, רְבִיעִי, שְׁלִישִׁי and חְמִישִׁי, שְׁתִּיעִי, שְׁבִיעִי, שְׁמִינִי, עֲשִׂירִי, תְּשִׁירִי, שְׁמִינִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by רְאֵשֶׁן for רְאֵשׁ, from רְאֵשׁ *head, beginning*, with the ending יָן (§ 86, 2, No. 4). The feminine forms have the ending יָתָה —, more rarely יָתָה —, and are employed also for the expression of *fractions* or *parts*, as עֲשִׂירִית *fifth part*, עֲשִׂירִית *tenth part*. The same meaning is found also in forms like הַמֵּשׁ *fifth part*, רְבָע *fourth part*; they are abstracts derived from cardinals.

For the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no separate forms, see in the Syntax, § 120.

this is either an abstract noun equivalent to דְּבוּרָה (from which comes the apoc. רְבָעִים = רְבָעִי) *a myriad*, consequently רְבָעִים *two myriads* or a contracted plural out of רְבָעִים Ezra 2, 69 therefore the dual of a plural". This as Perowne suggests would signify *two series* of myriads, as חַמְזִירִים the double line of walls, חַמְזִירִים the double series of planks of a ship.—Ed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARTICLES.

§ 99.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, and the closer relation of the words or clauses and sentences to each other, are for the most part borrowed or derived from nouns, but a few also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30, 4); on the other hand (aside from a few demonstrative forms, § 100, 4) only in the sense defined in § 81 can any be taken for *primitives*.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be determined with certainty, they are,—1) either *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the verb, noun, or pronoun, are employed as particles, retaining more or less of their original signification, like the Lat. *certo*, *falso*, *partim*, *verum*, *causa*, and the Eng. *except*, *instead*, *away*; or—2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either—a) by the *addition of formative syllables*, like יוֹמָה *by day*, from יוֹם (§ 100, 3); or most commonly—b) by *abbreviation*, effected in various ways, the degree of mutilation being proportioned to the frequency of their use, so that the original form of some has become entirely unrecognizable.

Compare in Ger., *gen* from *gegen*, *Gegend*; *seit* from *Seite*; *weil* (orig. a particle of time) from *Weile*=our *while*; in Eng. *sith* and *since* (old Eng. *sithence*).

Such words suffer still greater changes in the Greek and the Latin, and in the languages derived from the latter, as in ἀπό, *ab*, *a*; οὐ, *ex*, *e*; *ad*, Fr. *à*; *aut*, Fr. *ou*, Ital. *o*; *super*, Ital. *su*.¹

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one word, e. g. German *wahr* from *es ist wahr* (*il est vrai*), Lat. *forsitan* from *fors sit an*, δηλούντι, δηλαδή, Fr. *peut-être*, E. *printhee* from *I pray thee*. In the Chinese, most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. 与 (to give), employed as a sign of the dative; 在 (to make use of), hence *for*; 在 (the interior), hence *in*.

The greatest curtailing of the particle occurs when, having ceased to be an independent word, it has been reduced to a single letter with, in most cases, a very short vowel sound. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26, 4) such particles cannot stand independently but are *prefixed* to the following word (as in the case with the preformatives of the Imperfect, § 47, 1, 2), e. g. the prefix **ל** from **לֹא** (§ 102).

That this shortening of a whole word to a single letter has actually taken place, and is to be regarded as a part of the process in the formation of the language, is evident from the fact, that in the subsequent stages of this process, as exhibited in the later Hebrew, the Aramaean, and all the Semitic dialects such abbreviations become more and more striking and frequent. Thus **שֶׁ** was shortened into **וּ** in Phoen and in Hebr to **וְ**, **וּ** and even **וִ**, which prefix forms became more and more customary among the Rabbins; the **וְ** of the Biblical Aram at a later period became **וַ**, in modern Arabic we have *hallaq* (now) from *hâhwâqt*, *lâsh* (why?) from *li ayyî-shawn*, and many others. This view derives confirmation from the analogy of the Western languages. Yet the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest epochs of the Hebrew language, or at least to the earliest documents in our possession.

3. Particles are formed, less frequently, by *composition* as in **מָדְרַע** (for *מה יֵדַע*? **תִּיְמְחוּן**,) *wherefore?* **בְּלָעֵד** (from **בְּלָ** and **עֵד**) *besides*, **מְלֻמָּעָה**, **לְמַן** (from **לְ** and **מַן**) *from above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words without being contracted into one, as **כִּי-צָלֵךְ**, **אֲסֵרִי**, **אֲזִירִיךְ**.

§ 100.

ADVERBS

1. Of obscure origin though undoubtedly the remainder of some noun is the negative **לֹא** *not*, and some particles of place and time, as **וְ** *there*.

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which, without any farther change, are used *adverbially*, are—

a) Substantives with prepositions, as **בְּמַאֲדָ** (prop. *in strength*) *very, greatly*; **לְבַדּ** *alone* (prop. *in separation* Fr. *a part*

=E. *apart*), with suff. לְבַדָּר *I alone*; (prop. *from house*) *within*; (prop. *as one*) *together*.

- b) Substantives in the accusative (the *adverbial case* of the Shemites, see § 118, comp. τόν ἀρχήν, δωρεάν), as מְאֹד (*strength*) *very, greatly*; אַפָּס (*cessation*) *no more*; הַיּוֹם (*this day*) *to-day*; יְחִיד (*union*) *together*. Many of these substantives are but seldom used as such e. g. סְבִוב *and* in plur. form סְבִיבוֹת (*circuit*), as adv. *around*; others not at all, as כֶּר (*length*) *long ago*; שָׁוֹد (*repetition, duration*) *again, further, longer*.
- c) Adjectives, especially in the *feminine* (answering to the Indo-Germ. *neuter*), as רָאשָׂוֹנָה (*primum*) *at first, formerly* (often 'בראש, also 'לראש); רְבָה *and* רְبַת (*multum*) *much, enough*; נְעַלְוֹת (*prop. mirabilibus sc. modis*) *wonderfully*; יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish tongue.
- d) Verbs in the *Infinitive absolute*, especially in *Hiphil*, which are also to be regarded as accusatives (§ 131, 2); e. g. הַרְבָּה (*prop. to do much*) *much, in quantity*.
- e) Pronouns and numerals, as זה (*prop. there = at this place*) *here*, הַנֶּה *here, hither*, אַחֲרֵיכֶם, שֶׁבַע, מֵאַת *once, twice, seven-times, 100-times*, 100-times, שְׁנִירָה *a second time, again* Lev. 13, 5.

See a list of the adverbs most in use, classified according to their meanings, in § 150.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of the formative syllable מ— to substantives, as אִמְמִים *truly* (from אִמָּן *truth*); חַזְמִים (*by favor*) *gratis*, (from חַזָּן *favor*); רַקְמִים *rainily* (from רַקָּה *empty*); יוֹמִים *by day* (from יוֹם); פְתָהִים *for* (from פְתָה *twinkling*) *in a twinkling, suddenly*.

The termination מ— occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סְלָמִים *ladder* (from סֶלֶב) so that מ—, מ— are like נ—, נ— (§ 84, No. 15), e. g. מְרוּם and מְרוּן *ransom, λύτρον*; בְּמִקְרָם (*with prep.*) *in a twinkling* 2 Ch. 29, 36; hence these forms may be regarded as denominative nouns used adverbially. But others think that the מ— is nothing else than an obsolete plural-ending of the noun (see § 87, 1, d), and that these adverbs are properly nouns in the accusative plural, hence מְמֻנָּם like אִמְמִים as adv. in Ps. 58, 2, מְחַזְּרִים like Lat. *gratis* i. e. *gratis*.

4. Those forms which are very closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun may most naturally be regarded as *primitive adverbs*, having sprung from a combination of so-called demonstrative sounds. Some of these have since suffered great mutilations, whose extent however can nowhere be determined with certainty. Here belong e. g. **תְּזַהֵּר** *then*, **כְּנָא** *so*, **תְּזִהְבָּה** *truly* (on all these adverbs v. Davies' Heb. Lex.), but especially the *interrogative* **הָ**, e. g. **הָלֹא** *nonne?* **הָגַם** *num etiam?* This **הָ** as well as the kindred article **הַ** (v. § 35, Rem. 1) comes undoubtedly from **לְ**, as still used in Arabic and perhaps also meant in Heb. in Deut. 32, 6.

This *interrogative* **הָ** receives,—1) before non gutturals with firm vowel generally *Chāṭēph-pūthāch*, as **הָשִׁיבָה** *hast thou set?* see examples in § 153, 2 (except **בְּ** in Lev. 10, 19),—2) usually with *Pūthāch* and *Dāghēsh forte* (according to the original form **לְ**, and hence like the article) before a letter that has *Sh'wā*, as **הָרַבְתִּי** *num in via* Ez. 20, 30, 30, 31; **בְּ** Gen. 17, 17, 18, 21, 27, 32, or also with the *Pūthāch* only, as in **מְעַמֵּד** Gen. 30, 15, 27, 38,—3) with *Pūthāch* (and *Dāghēsh f. implicitum*) before gutturals, as **הָנָהָה** *shall I go?* **הָחָרָה** (art) *thou?* **הָנָהָה** *num si;* Judg. 6, 31, 12, 5, Neh. 6, 11 must be read **הָנָהָה** (not **הָהָה**); with **שִׁמְעָן** Num. 16, 22 the Massora means the article. Comp. Deut. 20, 19, Eccl. 8, 21 and Delitzsch on the latter passage;—4) with *S'ghōl* before gutturals that have *Qā'mēṣ* or *Chāṭēph Qā'mēṣ* as **הָאָנָה** *num ego?* **הָהָה** *was there?* The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs, involving a verbal idea, or at least (though really substantives) inclining to such an idea, admit also of *verbal suffixes*, especially those with *Nūn epenthetic* (§ 58, 4); e. g. **וְיֶה** *he (is) existing;* **וְאַתָּה** *I (am) not,* **וְיֶה** *he (is) not,* **וְזֶה** *he (is) yet,* **וְהַבָּה** *where art thou?* **וְזֶה** *where (is) he?* The same applies to **וְזֶה** and **וְהַהֵּה** *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*), with suffixes; as **וְהַנִּי** (in pause **וְהַנִּי** and **וְהַנִּי**) *behold me* (prop. *here I am*), **וְזֶה**, **וְזֶה** *behold him,* **וְהַנִּינוּ** *behold us* (in pause **וְהַנִּינוּ** and **וְהַנִּינוּ**), **הָגַם** *howbeit.*

§ 101.

PREPOSITIONS.

1. The words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, and properly:

a) Substantives in the *accusative case* and in the *construct state*, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and it actually has in Arabic the genitive-ending (compare in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek τούτου χάριν, in Latin *hujus rei causa* or *gratia, montis instar*); as אֶחָד¹ (hinder part*) *behind*, *after*; אַכְלָל (side*) *close by*; בֵּין (intermediate space, midst*) *between*; בַּعַד, בַּעַד (interval of space) *behind, about*; זְרַחַת or with *Chireq compag.* זְרַחַת (removal, want) *besides*; בַּעֲשָׂר (purpose) *on account of*; מִלְּאָלָל (*front-side*, from v. Ges. Lev. 8th ed.) but usually מִולְּאָה *before, over against*; מִן (part) *from, out of*; נְגַד (what is in front) *before, over against*; בַּעַד (progress, duration*) *during, until*; עַל (upper part*) *upon, over*; עַמְּבָד (connection, from the same stem עַמְּבָד comes also לְעַמְּבָד, *with*; תְּחַת (under part*) *under, in place of*.

b) Substantives in the *construct state* to be conceived however as standing in the genitive depending on *prefix prepositions* (espec. the inseparable): as לְפִנֵּי (in the face of) *before*; לְפִי, כְּפִי (to the mouth of, i. e. the command*) *according to*; בְּגַלְלָה (in the occasion of) *on account of*, בְּמַעַן (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

2. Substantives used adverbially, in this manner, are very apt to become prepositions; e. g. בְּאַרְצָה, בְּבָلִי, בְּאַפָּס (with nought of) *without*; בְּעוֹד (in duration of) *during*; בְּקַרְבָּן, בְּקַרְבָּן (for the requirement of) *for, according to measure of*.

§ 102.

PREFIX PREPOSITIONS.

1. Of the prepositions given in the preceding section מִן *from, out of*, is frequently written as a *prefix* (§ 99, 2), yet its *Nün*, assimilated to the following consonant, is still represented by the *Dāghēsh forte* in that consonant, as in בְּאַרְץ *from a forest*.

¹ In these examples, the signification of the noun is put in parenthesis, and marked with an asterisk when it is still in use.—On a similar use of substantives as prepositions in other languages, see W. Von Humboldt über die Kawisprache, Bd. III., p. 621.

Rem. The preposition **בְּ** is used as follows. It stands apart generally only before the article (and always with *Mägg'eph*), as בְּגַגְעֵבָה, also here and there before softer letters, as בְּנִי חֶרְבָּן Jer. 44, 18, 1 Ch. 5, 18, and elsewhere in the later books (like the usage of the Aramaean); there is besides a poetical form בְּנִי (comp. § 90, 3, a) and בְּנִי Is. 80, 11 (comp. בְּנִי and בְּנִי § 103). Its form is mostly בְּ prefixed (as in בְּמִם from blood) by means of *Dāghēsh forte* which can be omitted only in letters that have *Shewā* (according to § 20, 3, b), with a following בְּ the בְּ is usually contracted into בְּ e. g. בְּרִירִיר or בְּרִירִיר, before gutturals it becomes בְּ (according to § 22, 1), e. g. בְּנִים, בְּאָדָם; but also בְּ (w. *Dagh. f. impl.*) before בְּ and בְּ, as in בְּחִזְקָה מְחִזְקָה Gen. 14, 23; so sometimes before בְּ (§ 22, 5, Rem.).

2. There are also three other prepositions, the most common in the language, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99, 2) to a single prefix consonant with *Shewā*; viz.—

- בְּ in, at, on, with,
- לְ towards, to, for, L. ad,
- כְּ like, as, according to.¹

On the pointing of these (inseparable) prefixes it is to be observed that—

- a) The *Shewā mobile* with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced has resulted from the disappearance of a short vowel, which therefore according to § 28, 1, 2 must return as soon as another *Shewā* follows. Before simple *Shewā* this vowel is ī, but before *Chāṭeph*, the vowel of the *Chāṭeph* is taken e. g. בְּרִיךְ for fruit, בְּרִיךְ as a lion; and before feeble letters it follows the rules in § 23, 2, and § 24, 1, a, e. g. לְאָמֵר, בְּלֹאָמֵר for to say, בְּרֹהֲרָה, בְּלֹאָמֵר for to give, בְּלֹרְרָה for to judge,
- b) Before the article they usually displace the בְּ and take its pointing, as בְּנֵי for בִּנְיָה in the garden. See full particulars in § 35, Rem. 2.
- c) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and words of two syllables that have the tone on the penultima, they take also *Qā'meq* (prob. as a lengthening of orig. ā, comp. § 26, 3), but only in the following cases,—α) בְּ before the Infinitives which have the above-mentioned form, as בְּלֹבֶג for to give, בְּלֹרֶר for to judge,

¹ Contrary to *Gesenius'* and *Rodiger's* learned derivation of בְּ from בִּין, Aram. also בְּנֵי (therefore really in the house. in) or from בִּין between (*Ewald*, *Mühlau* and *Volk* in the 8th ed. of the Lex., following *Böttcher*, have recommended, and without doubt rightly, to regard the בְּ (Arab. bī) as a softening of the Arab. fi: (in).—בְּn arises first from בִּנֵי and more remotely from a stem which means appropinquavit, accessit (Arab. بَلَّ).—On בְּ, orig. a noun meaning amount, kind (instar) see Lex.

לְנֹשֶׁת *for to bear*, except when another word closely follows the Inf (especially as its subject § 133, 2), placing it in a sort of *constr. st.* as in **גַּשְׁמָה** Num 8, 19, **לְפָנֵי** Gen 16, 3,—β) before many pronominal forms, **זֶה**, **זֶהוּ**, **זֶהוּת** *like these*, but specially always **כֹּה**, **כֹּהוּ**, **כֹּהוּת** *such*, **כֹּהוּמָה** (see § 103, 2),—γ) **לְ** before monosyllables or nouns accented on the first syllable, e. g. **פֶּתֶן לְפָנָיו** *mouth to mouth* 2 K. 10, 21, **בּין מִים לְמִים** *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6, in both cases before the great pause observe in the instructive example in Deut 17, 8 that the punctuation **לְ** requires at least the small pause after it, in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the **לְ** stands in the double repetition before the small and the smaller distinctives.—δ) in certain standing expressions, which have become adverbial as **עַד** *to eternity*, **רַב** *in multitude*, **בְּבָטֵחַ** *in security*, **בְּזָמָן** *to perpetuity*, but **בְּזָמָן נְצָרָם** *to all eternity* Is 34, 10

d) With the *interrogative* **מַה** we have **מַה** *by what?* **מַה** *how much?* **מַה** (Job 7, 20 **מַה**, 1 Sam 1, 8, **מַה**, all *Mil el* therefore *d* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what?* *why?* Before the gutturals **א**, **ח**, **כ** **לְמַה** (*Milra'*) is used to avoid hiatus instead of **מַה**, but before the **מ** we find also **מַה**. Before non-gutturals is found **מַה** Ps 42, 10, 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name **יְהֹוָה**, which has not its own original vowels (probably **יְהֹוָה**), but those of **אָנָּה** (see Lexicon under the word), takes the *prefixes* also after the manner of **אֶל**, as **אֶלְيָהוּ**, **מִלְחָמָה**, **מִלְחָמָה** (because the Jews read in these cases **אֶלְיָהוּ**, **לְמִלְחָמָה**, **מִלְחָמָה**, **לְמִלְחָמָה**).

§ 103.

PREPOSITIONS WITH SUFFIXES AND IN PLURAL FORM.

1. So far as all prepositions were originally nouns in the accusative (§ 101), they are also united with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91, 1, 2), as **אֵלָי** (*at my side*) *by me*, **אֵלֶיךָ** (*in my proximity*) *with me*, **אֵלֶיךָם** (*in their place*) *instead of them* (like L. *mea causa, on my account*).

Rem. 1. The preposition **מִן** *near, with* (from **מִן** v. Lex. a. v. **מִן** II.), is distinguished from **מִן** (the sign of the definite accusative, see § 117, 2) when suffixes are added, by the difference of pointing, the former making **מִנִּי**, **מִנִּיכָּךְ**, **מִנִּיכָּם**, **מִנִּיכָּנוּ**, while the latter retains its original **ו** before the so-called light suffixes as **מִנִּי** *me*, **מִנִּיךָ**, **מִנִּיךָה** *thee*, **מִנִּיכָּם** *him*, **מִנִּיכָּנוּ** *her*, **מִנִּיכָּנוּ** *us*, but **מִנִּיכָּנוּ** *you*, **מִנִּיכָּנוּ** and **מִנִּיכָּנוּ** *them*. Yet in later books, particularly in the books of Kings and in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this **מִן with** is at times incorrectly inflected **מִתִּי**, **מִתִּיךָ**.

2. The preposition **בְּ** *with* (st. **בָּנָה**) takes **Qəməṣ** (pretonic) before

בְּ and בָּ, in order that the doubling of the *Mêm* may be distinctly heard, as in בְּנֵי עֲמֹקָה (for which however עַמְקָה usually stands). In the first person, besides נִמְנִי we find עַמְנִי.

3. It is but seldom that prepositions take the verbal-suffixes, as בְּרַחֲנֵי 2 Sam. 22, 37, 40, 48 (for which we find בְּרַחֲנָה in Ps. 18, 37, 40, 48), Gen. 2, 21, and בְּעַדְנִי Ps. 139, 11 (perh. for the sake of rhyming with יְשֻׁפֶּנִי). But in these cases the form of the suffix may perhaps be accounted for in this way, that the idea of *direction whither* is implied, so בְּרַחֲנֵי under-me-ward 2 Sam. as above (also בְּעַדְנֵי under me), בְּתַחַתְךָ in its place ('he put flesh in-to its place'), בְּצַדְנִי hither around me.

2. There is a tendency to obviate the extreme brevity and lightness of the forms resulting from the union of the prefix prepositions (§ 102) with the suffixes, especially with the shorter ones, by lengthening the preposition. Hence to בְּ is appended the syllable מְ, and מִn is doubled into מִnn (for אֶמְנָנָנִי, prop. L. *a parte*, from the side of—), and for בְּ and לְ we have at least בְּנִ and לְנִ with full vowel (§ 102, 2, a and c).

a) לְ with suffixes:

Sing.

Plur.

1. לְ to me.	לְנוּ to us.
2. {m. לְבָה, לְבָה, in pause לְבָהָיְהָ} to {f. לְבָהָיְהָ} thee.	{לְכָם, [לְכָנָה]} to you.
3. {m. לְבָה to him. f. לְבָה to her.}	{לְהַמְּרוֹתָה להַמְּרוֹתָה, poet. מְלָמְדָה} לְהַמְּרוֹתָה להַמְּרוֹתָה to them.

¹ בְּנִי happens not to occur in the O. Testament.

² Even Rödiger denies altogether that נִמְנִי may stand also for the sing. But this question must now be decidedly answered in the affirmative, since the Phoenician suffix of the 3. fem. sing. in בְּ is generally recognized as analogous to the Hebrew suffixes in בְּ (comp. Schröder Phöniz. Sprache p. 153 f. and p. 154, Schlotmann's explanation of this בְּ). To be sure in places like Gen. 9, 26, fl. Deut. 33, 2, Is. 30, 5, Ps. 78, 10, נִמְנִי is better explained as plural (in reference to collective nouns); but in Is. 44, 15 and 58, 8 its explanation as plural would be an extremely forced one. Besides there would remain נִמְנִי Ps. 11, 7 and נִמְנִי as well as גִּלְמִינִי, the latter occurring three times, Job 30, 23, 27, 23 (also גִּלְמִינִי) and especially 22, 2. In all these places we can avoid the worst exegetical artifices by recognizing simply a singular suffix (= נִמְנִי, נִמְנִי, גִּלְמִינִי).

³ The form בְּנִי usually signifies therefore.

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּהֶם, בָּהֶת, also בָּם and the fem. בָּהָת, also 15 times בָּהָן; but only in 1 Sam. 30, 7, Is. 38, 16, Ezek. 42, 14 בָּהָן.

b) בְּ with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. בָּנִי ¹ as I.	כָּמֹנוּ as we.
2. {m. כָּמוּךְ f. —} as thou.	{כָּמוּכִים — —} as ye.
3. {m. כָּמוּחַ as he. f. כָּמוּחָה as she.	{כָּמוּחָם [כָּהָם] כָּמוּחָת [כָּהָת]} as they.

c) בְּן with suffixes:

Sing.	Plur.
1. מֵנִי, poet. מֵמִינִי, in pause מִמְּנִי from us. from me.	
2. {m. מִמְּךָ, in p. מִמְּךָ} f. מִמְּךָ} from thee.	{מִמְּכָן מִמְּכָן} from you.
3. {m. מִמְּנִיחַ, poet. in pause מִמְּנִיחַ, מִמְּנִיחָם, f. מִמְּנִיחָה} from him. from her.	{מִמְּנִיחָם [מִמְּנִיחָה] מִמְּנִיחָה, מִמְּנִיחָה} from them.

Rem. The syllable מִרְ (in Arabic *mâ* = Heb. מִירְ what) in (prop. according to what I for as I), is in poetry appended to the three simple prefixes בְּ, בָּ, בָּן, even without suffixes, so that לְמִי, בְּמִי, בָּמִי appear as independent words equivalent to בְּ, בָּ, בָּן. In this case, poetry distinguishes itself from prose by longer forms; in the case of בָּן on the other hand it has adopted the shorter ones, resembling the Syriac.

The above bracketed form כָּהָם stands only in 2 Kings 17, 15 (in pause); כָּהָן (or כָּהָן) only in Ez. 18, 14. Comp. Freindsdorff, Massora magna, p. 284 ff.—For בְּבָנָךְ (so formerly in this grammar) as ye, must be read בְּבָנָךְ according to the express testimony of Kimchi (comp. also Baer on Job 18, 4).

The preposition בְּן (see § 102, 1, Rem.) with suff. makes בְּמִמְּנִיחָם from him, which comes from בְּמִמְּנִיחָה (according to § 19, 2), and is identical

¹ The use of בְּן for בְּ— here is simply for euphony, (comp. above No. 1 Rem. 3). בְּמִינִי written defectively only in the Pentateuch.

in form with מִנוּן from us, which comes from מִמְנָנוּן¹.—The form מִתְגַּנָּה always stands without *Mappiq*, and comes from מִמְנִינָה. The bracketed form מִבְרָה for which *Baer* after *Kimchi* et al. writes מִבְרָה is found only in Ps. 68, 24 and is perhaps rather a substantive=share (v. *Delitzsch* in loc.).—מִדְרָךְ (in printed editions, in MSS. however מִדְרֵךְ) is found only Ez. 16, 47, 52.

3. Several of these prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are properly plural nouns, like the Germ. *wegen* or the Eng. *besides* (for the reason of this, see § 108, 2, a),² and are therefore joined with the pronominal suffixes, in the form of the plural construct state just like plural nouns (§ 91, 2). Such are—

אַחֲרִי, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. hinder parts) *behind, after*, with suff. always thus: אַחֲרֵךְ *behind me*, אַחֲרֵךָ *behind thee*, אַחֲרֵיכֶם, אַחֲרֵיכָו etc.

אַלְיָה, poet. also אַלְיָה (regions, directions) *towards, to*, with suff. always to me, אַלְיָךְ, אַלְיָיךְ, אַלְיָהֶם, אַלְיָיכֶם (also *defect.* אַלְיָתוֹ), for which latter also poet. אַלְיָתוֹ (Ps. 2, 5).

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*, to which the suff. which have a singular sense are joined, thus: בֵּין, בֵּינָה, etc. (Gen. 16, 5 but the second *I'odh* has been rendered critically doubtful by a dot; occurs three times, but it is only Massoretic *Qere* for בֵּינָה, which is found e. g. Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand the suffixes that signify a plural are added to the plur. בֵּין or בֵּינוֹת, thus בֵּינוֹת, בֵּינוֹתָם, בֵּינוֹתֶם, בֵּינוֹתָם, בֵּינוֹתֶם (— also sometimes elsewhere to the plur. noun to avoid too long forms).

סְבִיבָה (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always in the plural form, partly masculine סְבִיבָיו, סְבִיבָיה, etc., partly, and more frequently feminine סְבִיבָותָי *surroundings* with suff. סְבִיבָותִי *around me*, סְבִיבָותֵיכֶם, סְבִיבָותֵיכָו.

¹ The Babylonian grammarians wanted to distinguish the last from the 3d sing. by writing it תְּמִלְלָנוּ from us, but Ibn Ezra justly objected.

² Some of these words, which come from stems נָלַךְ, viz., אַלְיָה, צָלָה, צָלָה, may certainly be traced back to singular forms like נָלַךְ, אַלְיָה, צָלָה; but the analogy of the others makes it more probable that these also should be regarded as plurals.

עד (*progress, duration, from* קָדְהָ *as far as, unto, plur.,* plur., *poet.*), but with suff. even in prose always עֲדֵה, עֲדֵי, עֲדֵי, עֲדֵי, עֲדֵיכֶם (with Qā'mēš in the secondary tone) Job 32, 12.

על *upon, over* (constr. st. of כִּי *what is above*, from עַלְהָ *to go up*), plur. עַלְיָה (poet.), but with suff. also in prose always עַלְיוֹת, עַלְיָה, עַלְיָה, עַלְיָה, עַלְיָה, for which עַלְיָמֶנּוּ is also often used in poetry On the use of the latter in the sing. see above 2, a, Note 2.

מתחת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*), in plur. with suff. בְּרִנְךָם, בְּתִחְפָּרִים, בְּתִחְפָּרִים (see above)

§ 104.

CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The conjunctions serve to connect words and sentences, and to express their relations to each other.—Such are

- Original pronouns, as the demonstrative כי *that, because, for.*
- Original substantives, which afterwards became pronouns or adverbs e. g. אֲשֶׁר (s. § 36), which serves partly as general expression of the idea of relation, partly as relative pronoun (= *qui, quae, quod*); farther אל *(nothing) that not;* וְ (perhaps literally *turning off*, from וְקָה) *that, not, lest* (the Greek μή *prohibitivum*) etc. Also substantives used adverbially with prepositions e. g. בְּפָרָם (*in not-yet*) *before that* (for which also מְפָרָם). On the combination of two conjunctions to express complicated ideas (e. g. כי אֲשֶׁר *to this comes, that=yea more that*) v. § 155, 2.
- Prepositions, which by the addition of the conjunctions וְאַשֶּׁר and כי are reduced to the idea of one conjunction; e. g. גַּזְעַן אֲשֶׁר *because* (from גַּזְעַן *account of*), prop. *on account that*, אַזְעַר אֲשֶׁר *after that*, בְּאַשְׁר *according as* (בְּאַשְׁר *and* בְּ), עַקְבָּאַשְׁר *and עַקְבָּבְיַי* (*in consequence that*) *because*. The preposition may still be employed in this manner, even when the conjunction is omitted, e. g. בְּלַעַד *(for בְּלַעַד)* *although*, Job 16, 17.

So at least according to the logic of our language; it would however be more correct to say that instead of the intermediate וְאַשֶּׁר the whole

following sentence has one substantive idea, governed directly by the preposition. In like manner, all prepositions prefixed to the Infinitive may be rendered in English as conjunctions (§ 132, 2) with the finite verb.

2. Even those little words which are no longer in use except as conjunctions, and which are in more or less of obscurity as to their formation, or original signification, may be considered throughout as remainders of original nouns, such as וְ (prop. *will, choice*, from אֶלְחָד to desire, comp. Prov. 31, 4) or, like Lat. *vel, ve*, from *velle*; of doubtful origin are וְנִי when, also or (before the second member of a double question) וְנִי also and others. Even the only prefix conjunction וְ (and) seems to have come from a stem meaning *to add or join*; comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. under וְ.

N.B. The pointing of the conjunction וְ is in many respects analogous to that of the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, הְ, וְ (§ 102, 2), but as a feeble letter it has some peculiarities:—

- a) Usually it has simple *Shewā* (וְ).
- b) Before words beginning with a guttural and a composite *Shewā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Shewā* is compounded (according to § 28, 2), as וְרֹ��בְּ and be thou wise, וְקַבְּדִיםְּ and slaves, וְזַרְעִיְּ and force, וְאָתְּ and eat thou, וְרֹאֵלְיְהִי and sickness. But אֱלֹהִיםְּ God, with וְ is contracted into וְיָצָרְיְהִי etc. In cases like וְיָצָרְיְהִי Job 4, 2 comp. § 28, 2.
- c) Before words whose first consonant has simple *Shewā* (excepting the cases under d), *Wāw* becomes the vowel ū, as וְלֹכְלָדְךָ and to all, and even before a *Chāṭēph* (under letters not guttural), as וְרֹחֶבְךָ Gen. 2, 12 (comp. § 10, 2, Rem. b). It is also sounded thus (yet with the exception of the cases under e) before its cognate labials בְּ, מְ, דְ; as וְלֹבְדָךְ.
- d) Before וְ *Wāw* takes *Chirēq*, as in וְיָדְךָ and he was (for שָׁׁדְךָ, according to § 24, 1, a); on the peculiar punctuation of וְ copulative before forms with initial *Shewā* from וְיָהִי to be and וְיָחִי to live, as וְיָהִירְךָ Gen. 20, 7, comp. § 63, Rem. 5.
- e) Immediately before the tone-syllable, it often takes *Qāməṣ*, like בְּ, מְ, דְ (§ 102, 2, c), yet chiefly only at the end of a clause, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 (וְיָמַרְתְּ), וְיָמַרְתְּ; and וְיָמַרְתְּ), Ruth 3, 3 (וְיָמַרְתְּ), Ps. 10, 15 (וְיָמַרְתְּ), 2 Sam. 18, 26 (וְיָמַרְתְּ), 1 Sam. 9, 4 (וְיָמַרְתְּ), Ez. 47, 9 (וְיָמַרְתְּ); comp. also (with *Tiphchā*) Gen. 33, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 12. Regularly the וְ copulative stands with *Qāməṣ*, when it serves to unite two nouns, which have the same generic idea, and thus in their combination present only one more comprehensive idea. It is also here however a condition that the וְ shall stand immediately before the tone syllable, e. g. וְיָמַרְתְּ)

§ 105.

INTERJECTIONS.

1. Among the interjections there are (as in all other languages) some merely natural sounds, or as it were, vocal movements, called forth by some impression, or sensation, as אהה ah! הָהָ ho! aha! סְתַתְתִּי hush! But אוֹרֶה woe! is an original noun and belongs therefore to No. 2.

2. Others, however, were borrowed from other parts of speech, and became interjections only by use in animated discourse, as or **הִנֵּה** *behold!* (prop. *here*); **רָאָה**¹ *lo!* (prop. *see*, Imp. of **רָאָה**); **הַבָּה**, plur. **הַבְּ** (prop. *give*, Imp. of **יִתְבֹּה**) for *come on! go to!* (L. *age, agite*); **לְכָה** (also **לְךָ** in Judg. 19, 13), **לְכָבֵד** (prop. *go ye*, Imp. of **הַלְכָה**) *go to! come on!*¹ **חֲרִילָה** *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*), **בָּרִ** (for **בְּשִׁיר** *entreaty*) *I beseech, prithee!* (for *I pray thee*), **וְ** *now!* (cf. Ethiop. *nā'ā*, prop. *hither, but also come on!*) a particle of incitement and entreaty (which is put after the expression it belongs to).²

רָהַת and **רָהַתּוֹת** stand connected, in this form, also with the feminine and with the plural, which shows that they have quite assumed the nature of interjections.

² The particle נָא serves to express the most various shades of thought, which are exhibited in various places in the Syntax. A short statement must here suffice. נָא stands—*a*) after the *Imp.* in commanding as well as in entreating (§ 130, 1);—*b*) after the *Impf.* in the first as well as in the third person (§ 127, 3, *b*, and § 128, 1);—*c*) once after the *Perf.* (§ 126, 4 in foot Note);—*d*) after various particles, as נָא-הִנֵּה behold now, particularly with conjunctions, as אַל-נָא no! pray (ne queso). נָא-מִנְאָה if now, εἰπότε, if, with a courteous or modest hesitation.—In courteous discourse this particle is used in reditance, as in Gen. 18, 3, 19, 7, 8, 19, 50, 17.

P A R T T H I R D.
SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.
SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

§ 106.

EXPRESSION OF ADJECTIVES THROUGH SUBSTANTIVES,—
THE ABSTRACT FOR THE CONCRETE.

In the Hebrew language, there is a want of adjectives in proportion to the substantives, and some classes of adjectives, such as those of *material*¹, are almost entirely wanting. This deficiency is supplied by substantives, especially in the following ways:—

1. The substantive expressing quality is placed in the genitive after the noun qualified. This is constantly the case in specifying the material, e. g. כָּלִי בְּסֶלֶת vessels-of-silver=silver vessels, אַרְזׁן עֵץ ark-of-wood=wooden ark, like the Fr. *des vases d'or*; in like manner אֲחִזּוֹת עָלוֹם eternal possession Gen. 17, 8, מִתְרֵי מִסְפָּר men-of-number i. e. that can be numbered = *few men* Gen. 34, 30, אֲבָנֵן חָן precious stone Prov. 17, 8. So likewise even in cases where the language had a corresponding adjective, e. g. בְּגָדִי הַקָּדוֹשׁ garments of holiness=the holy garments Ex. 29, 29; for the use of the adjective קָדוֹשׁ is restricted

¹ A few adjectives of this kind, in the form of *passive participles*, are אַרְזָא (denom. from אַרְזָה) of cedar, חַרְושׁ of copper. On the form קָטוֹל as expression of inherent qualities, v. § 50, 3, Rem. 2.

to the expression of certain combinations. Compare hence in the N. Test. δοκιμόμος τῆς ἀδικίας Luke 16, 8. Comp. Fr. *Un homme de bien*.

Rem. 1. Less frequently the substantive which expresses a quality precedes and the other noun follows it in the genitive, as בְּמִקְדָּשׁ עֲמָלֵךְ *the choice of thy valleys*, i. e. *thy chosen valleys* Is. 22, 7 (comp. 17, 4), 37, 24, Gen. 23, 6, Ex. 15, 4. This is the usual construction with the substantive הַכָּל *totality* used for the adj. *all, whole* (see § 111, 1).

2. Instead of an adjective, which ought to stand as the predicate of a sentence, a substantive is sometimes employed, e. g. Gen 1, 2, *the earth was desolation and emptiness*, Job 3, 4 *let that day be darkness*, Ps 25, 10, 35, 6, 88, 19, 110, 3, Is 5, 12, Job 28, 2, 26, 18, in a few of these cases the periphrasis with the aid of a substantive was necessary, as there existed no corresponding adjective. But in all cases the idea of quality is more strongly expressed by a substantive than by an adjective or verb. The same may be said of the examples where the predicate has been expressed by a substantive with a preposition, as in Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is בְּכָחֹן with power* i. e. *powerful*.

2. Especially, adjectival ideas, denoting the possession of a thing, quality or condition, and the like, are frequently expressed by circumlocution, viz. by substantives (like *man*, *lord*, *son*, *daughter*) with the genitive of the thing, attribute, etc., in the following manner:—

a) אִישׁ מְבָרִים (*prop. man of words*) *eloquent man* Ex 4, 10; אִישׁ יֶדְעָה (*prop. man of knowledge*) *intelligent man* Prov. 24, 5, וְרֹוחַ אִישׁ חֹתֶם (*wrathfull man*) Prov. 15, 18.—b) לְבָנָה *master, owner*, e. g. שָׂרֵךְ לְבָנָה *hairy* 2 K. 1, 8; תְּרוּמָה לְבָנָה *the dreamer* Gen. 37, 19.—c) בָּן *son* and בָּתָה *daughter*, e. g. לְבָנָה *valiant man* 1 K. 1, 52; קָדוֹם בָּנָה *an oriental* Gen. 29, 1; בָּנָה *one year old* Ex. 12, 5; בָּנָה *doomed to death=a child of death* 1 Sam. 20, 31; בָּתָה לְבָנָה *worthless woman* 1 Sam. 1, 16; poet. also of a thing without life, as in Is. 5, 1 קָדוֹם בָּנָה *fat ground (of a fruitful hill)*; comp. בָּנָה לְבָנָה Jonah 4, 10.

A bolder construction, and merely poetic, is the use of the simple abstract in place of the concrete, as בָּלְבָדָה *worthlessness* for בָּלְבָד or בָּלְבָדָה *worthless*, like L. *sclerus* for *scelestissimus*. Comp. § 83, Rem. 1.

Rem. On the contrary, forms of adjectives or concretes, especially in the feminine, often take the abstract signification, as has been shown in § 84, 1, 3, 12, etc., comp. § 107, 3, b.

We here remark, also, that the poets employ certain *epitheta ornantia* alone instead of the substantive to which the attribute belongs; e. g. רָאשָׁה *the Strong*, i. e. *God*; רָאשָׁה *strong*, i. e. *the ox*, in Jeremiah the horse, גָּדוֹלָה *majestic, august*, for the prince (comp. מְגֻדָּלָה *elatus*, with the same signification); גָּדוֹלָה *white*, i. e. *the moon*. So also גָּדוֹלָה *lurking*

i. e. *the lurker*, for *a lurking lion* Gen. 4, 7. In Arabic this use of adjectives and participles for substantives is even far more common. Comp. L. *merum* for *vinum*, ὑγρόν i. e. *the sea* in Odyss. 1, 97.

§ 107.

INDICATION OF THE GENDERS OF THE NOUNS.

Whether the Hebrew regarded a substantive as feminine is known partly from its feminine termination in the singular (§ 80, 1, 2), and from the feminine ending of the plural (see however § 87, 4) and partly merely from its construction with a feminine predicate. On the indication or non-indication of the gender, and also on the peculiar Hebrew conception of genders, the following has to be noted in particular.

1. The most natural use of it was the express indication of gender in cases where the physical sex of man or beast comes into consideration. Language shows, however, several gradations, according as this natural distinction is more or less prominent in the mind's view. The former is principally the case—

- a) when the female is designated by an entirely distinct word, which, of course, requires no feminine-ending, as *father*, *mother*, in Heb. אָב אָם; רֵאִיל ram, רֵהֶל ewe; חַמּוֹר he-ass, צִדְקוֹת she-ass;
- b) when the female is indicated only by the addition of the feminine-ending, as אָח brother, תָּहֲרָה sister; טָלָע young man, עֲלֵמָה young woman; בָּר ox, בָּרָה heifer; בָּלָע he-calf, בָּנָה she-calf; the gender is less emphatically distinguished:—
- c) when the feminine gender is shown only by the construction (*communia*), like δ, γ βοῦς, δ, γ παῖς, as ἄλπις camel, masc. in Gen. 24, 63, but fem. in 32, 16; ἄρκυς masc. for male cattle in Ex. 21, 37, but fem. for female cattle in Job. 1, 14;
- d) when, without regard to the natural distinction of the sexes, only one form is employed in the same gender to designate both (*epicaena*), as in δ λύκος, γ χελιδών; e. g. בָּנָבָן masc., a bear robbed of his young Hos 13, 8 (yet

it is construed as feminine in 2 K. 2, 24, Is. 11, 7); אַלְפִיָּה masc., *ox* in Ps. 144, 14, where however the *cow* is intended.

In cases under a, b, c, the more definite designations of the *fem* gender, although existing in the language are often replaced by more general expressions which are used elsewhere only for the masculine, e. g. חַמֵּר as *fem.* for אֲחָצָן 2 Sam. 19, 27, and בַּיִלְלָה for אֲבִילָה Ps. 42, 2. Compare in German *Gemahl* for *Gemahlin*; on the other hand in Arabic, where the more ancient style avoids the feminine forms e. g. *ba'la* *mistress*, *arūsa* *bride*, which become more and more common in later usage. On the other hand בָּנָר *boy, youth* being employed also for בָּנָה in the Pentateuch, comes from the originally epicene use of בָּנָה. But if in Job 1, 19, Ruth 2, 21, נֶצֶרֶת is used for young people (of both sexes) it is because the idea of the male sex, as the nobler one, predominated and included at the same time, the female sex; comp. Arab. 'abārāni, *the two fathers*, i. e. *parents*.

The same sparing use of the designation of sex appears also in other examples; viz. אַמְּנוֹן m. *artificer* Prov. 8, 30 (where *wisdom* חַכְמָה f. is meant, like *artifex omnium natura* in Plin. 2. 1); מֵת m. *a dead body*, spoken of the corpse of a woman Gen. 23, 4; אַלְמָנָה f. for a *goddess* 1 K. 11, 5; comp. Eng. *friend, teacher*, also Lat. *auctor, martyr*.

Among *epicene* nouns are found names of whole species of animals, which were regarded as masculine or feminine according as they appeared strong and powerful, or weak and timid; e. g. m. בָּלָבָב *dog*, בָּאָבָב *wolf*; f. יוֹנָה *dove*, חַטְבָּה *stork*, שָׁוֹר *ostrich*, אַרְנָבָה *hare*.

2. The use of the feminine-ending for denoting the feminine gender, is most constant in the adjectives and participles. See § 87, 5. .

3. Besides objects properly feminine, there are others (nearly the same as those which in Greek and Latin are *neuter*) indicated in Hebrew by the feminine form *viz.*—

a) *Things without life*, for which the feminine, as the weaker, seemed to be the most suitable designation, as בָּנָה *side* (of the body), *thigh*, בָּנָה or בָּנָה *side* (of a country), *region, rear* (of a dwelling); בָּנָה *front* or *forehead*, בָּנָה *greave* (from some resemblance). As in the two last examples, so the feminine is often used to transfer the signification of an animate object to a kindred inanimate object (especially of art).

b) Hence *abstract ideas*, which decidedly prefer the feminine form, even when the masculine is also in use; as בָּנָה, בָּנָה *vengeance*, בָּנָה, בָּנָה *help* (§ 84, 11, 12). Adjectives when used substantively in a neuter sense (like τὸν καλὸν), commonly take the fem. form, as בָּנָה, בָּנָה *right* in

Ps. 5, 10; רֵזֶחַ evil, ill-luck; so also in the plur. fem. נְדִילוֹת great things
Ps. 12, 4; נָמָרָה (Part. Niph. wonderful thing).

c) At times the feminine form is applied, when a *dignity* or *office* is designated, as קְנִוּת (prop. *surnames, equally named*) *colleagues*, קְנִינָה *princes* (like our *highnesses*). Considered more closely, these feminine forms express really abstract ideas, which afterwards had been transferred to concrete individual persons. Undoubtedly the same is the case with אֲבוֹת *fathers* (more exactly something like *paternitas*, indicating dignity). Of a somewhat different kind are cases like קְדוּמָה *connicator* (designation of *King Solomon* as the preaching wisdom) where the fem. ending serves in a manner to designate the so named personality as being active in that particular direction; comp. סְפִירָה as a man's name in Neh. 7, 57, Ezra 2, 55. These words are, however, agreeably to their signification construed with the *masc.* This use of words prevails more extensively in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaean, e. g. in *Chaliphā* (fem. of *chāliph*, *successor, representative*) Compare in Lat. *magistratus*, Ger. *Herrschaft* (Eng. *lordship*) for *Herr* (Eng. *lord*), *Obrigkeit* for *Oberer*; *Majesty*, *Eccellency*, Ital. *podestà*¹, etc.

d) *Collectives*, as נָשָׁר *wanderer, traveller, caravan* (prop. that which wanders for *wanderers*); נִלְבָה (from *masc.* נִלְבָה) a company of exiles; יְרִשְׁבָה Is. 12, 6, Mic. 1, 11, 12, prop. that which inhabits for inhabitants; אֲנָבָה for enemies Mic. 7, 8, 10. So in Arabic often. Comp. the poetic בְּתֵי צֶר for בְּתֵי צָר sons (=inhabitants) of Tyre Ps. 45, 13, בְּנֵי צָמְרָה בְּנֵי צָמְרָה my countrymen. Comp. τὸ ιππικόν and ἡ ἱππος for the cavalry, ἡ κάμηλος (Herodotus I. 80).

e) But on the contrary the feminine, as the *nomen unitatis* in Arabic, now and then denotes *an individual of a class*, when the masculine is used of the whole class, e. g. אֲנָר ships, fleet (1 K. 9, 26, comp. 2 Ch. 8, 18), אֲנִיה single ship (Jon. 1, 3); שְׂרָר hair (collectively), שְׂעִירָה a hair (see Judg. 20, 16, 1 Sam. 14, 45, Ps. 40, 13), שְׂרָג song (mostly collective), שְׂרִירָה a song, so also הרָאָקָה a fig, שְׂרָפָה a blossom (besides the collective גַּם Gen. 40, 10), שְׂרִירָה a lily (besides שְׂרָפָה), לְבָנָה a brick Ez. 4, 1 (Arabic *labina*, also collect. *labin*), and other instances, although the difference is partly lost sight of in the Hebrew.

4. Many words (besides certain names of objects properly feminine, No. 1, *a—d* in this section) are more or less regarded as feminine, without having the appropriate ending, but taking the syntactical construction, as if feminine. They belong chiefly to the following classes:

¹ So פָּשָׁה (=pasha) is fem. in form and inflection, but *mas.* in sense and construction.—Tr.

a) Names of countries and towns, contemplated as mothers¹, or nurses (as it were), of the inhabitants e. g. אָסֵרְיָה f. *Assyria*, אַדְמָה f. *Idumaea*, צִירָה Tyre; so also the appellative nouns which denote *country*, *city* or any *locality*, or *limited space*, as עָרָה earth, land, חָבֵל the world, עָרָה city, יָדָה and עַיְלָה way, חֶצֶר court, פְּרָחָה camp, לְאָשָׁה the grave, עַמְּךָ a well, אַפְּנָה north, וְרַקְעָה south, etc.; at times even קָכוֹם (place) is fem., as in Gen. 18, 24 (referring to Sodom), and 2 Sam. 17, 12 in *Kethibh* (where the *Q'ri* gives the *masc.*).²

As names of people are commonly masculine, it often happens that the same word is used as *masc.* for the people, and as *fem.* for the country, e. g. יְהוּדָה m. *Jews* Is. 3, 8, f. *Judaea* Lam. 1, 3, אַדְמָה m. *Idumeans* Num. 20, 20 and f. *Idumea* Jer. 49, 17.

But names are also construed as *fem.*, even when intended for the people, by a metaphorical use (like the German *die Türkei schliesst Frieden*) Job 1, 15, 1 Sam. 17, 21, Is. 7, 2, 21, 2³.

b) Many *members* and *parts of the body* in man or beast, יָד hand, צְבֵבָה finger, בָּנֶל foot, בָּנֶרֶךְ knee, שְׂכָךְ shoulder, יְבָדָה loin, שָׂק leg, עֵין eye, עַדְעָה ear, יְרוּץ arm, שְׁבָעָה tongue, שְׁנָקָה wing, שְׁנָקָה horn, שְׁנָקָה tooth, שְׁנָקָה womb, probably with reference to their subserviency as mere instruments⁴; and hence also words for *inanimate instruments and utensils*, as כְּרָבָה sword, יְרָחָה peg, אַרְנוֹן ark or chest (but also *masc.*), טָהָר bucket, שְׁלָמָה bed, שְׁלָמָה sandal, כָּוֹס cup, also נָאָה stone, and many others.

c) *Fem.* too are the words for *light*, *fire*, and other *powers of nature*, as שְׁמַיָּה sun (also *masc.*), שְׁאֵל fire (Eth. šā'at), מְרָאָה light (Job 36, 32 elsewhere *masc.*), שְׁמַיָּה brightness, also שְׁמַרְיָה wind and spirit, שְׁמַיָּה breath and soul (both, but rarely, *masc.*), etc.⁵

¹ Thus בָּתָה in 2 Sam. 20, 19, and on Phoenician coins, stands for *mother-city*, μητρόπολις (comp. μητήρ, *mater*), and by the same figure the inhabitants were called *sons* of the country, as *sons of Zion* Ps. 149, 2, *sons of Babylon* Ez. 28, 15 (like *son of the house*, *son of the womb*).

² As this word בָּתָה is *masc.* everywhere else, so we find also in the others more or less fluctuation in the gender.

³ This applies also to the poetical personification of nations, countries and cities as female beings e. g. Is. 47, 1, 50, 1, 54, 1 seq., Ez. 16, 8, Lam. 1, 1. Therefore also צְרָבָה, בָּנָה, בָּנָה used for a city and its people (see above in No. 3, d), and the styling of a smaller place in dependence on a city as its *daughter*, as in Josh. 15, 45.

⁴ The *masc.* gender also is found in these nouns in a few cases, as נְזָבָה Is. 17, 5, נְזָבָה Ex. 29, 27, נְזָבָה Zech. 4, 10, נְזָבָה Ps. 22, 16. Only as *masculine* do we find נְזָבָה nose, נְזָבָה front, נְזָבָה neck, נְזָבָה nape of the neck, נְזָבָה mouth, נְזָבָה heel, נְזָבָה tail.

⁵ The particulars are to be found in the Lexicons. Some of these words have the feminine-ending, as נְשָׁמָה breath, נְשָׁמָה bow (from the root נְשַׁמָּה), נְשָׁמָה time (for נְשָׁמָה), and yet are now and then construed as *masculine*, from a misconception as to their origin, taking the נ for a stem consonant.

108.

OF THE PLURAL AND COLLECTIVE NOUNS.

1. Besides the proper plural-endings (§ 87, 1, 2), the language employs some other means for the expression of plurality, viz.—*a*) certain words, with a *collective* signification, which have their corresponding *nomina unitatis*, i. e. nouns which designate an individual of the class, as שׂוֹר *an ox*, בָּקָר *oxen*, e. g. בָּקָר חֲמֵשָׁה *five oxen* Ex. 21, 37, צַמְדָּן *small cattle*, viz. *sheep or goats* ($\mu\eta\lambda\alpha$), **הַשָּׁה** *a single head of the sheep or goats*;—*b*) the feminine-ending (§ 107, 3, *d*);—*c*) nouns which have the proper signification of the singular, but which are also used as collectives, e. g. **מִנְדָּחָא** (*never pl.*) *man, the human race*, **אִישׁ** *a man, for men*, **אָנָּבָּא** *enemy for enemies*, **עֵץ** *tree for trees*. These words take the article, when all the individuals of the class are included (§ 109, 1). Comp. also § 108, 4, Rem. 1 on the special signification of the plural of certain collectives.

2. On the other hand, the terminations which properly express *plurality* are employed in the expression of other kindred ideas, so that the Hebrew at times uses plural forms where other languages employ the singular. The plural is thus used to denote:—

a) *Extension of space or time*; hence the frequent use of it to express *portions of space, regions or surfaces*, their unity being considered as the compound of an immense number of single particles or dots (comp. L. *loca*), שָׁמָּה heavens (§ 88, Rem. 2), מִזְרָחֶם heights (of heaven) Job 16, 19, מִים water, יְמִינֵם poet. for מִזְמָרֶת sea (as it were the vast surface of the sea), מִצְגֵּלֶת place at the feet, מִצְבֵּחַ place at the head; certain portions of the body, which are parts of its extension,¹ as פְּנִים face (also *surface, front in general*), צִוְארִים neck; spaces of time, as חִיִּים life, נֶעֱרִים youth, זֹקְנִים old age. These latter plurals, however, may perhaps be better explained as intensively expressing the qualities and conditions inhering in the idea of the stem, so that זֹקְנִים expresses really the totality of the conditions of a זָקֵן. Such a comprehension into an abstract idea certainly takes place in cases like בְּרוּלִים virginity, צִעִירִים perverseness, שְׂלִימִים childlessness, סְנִירִים blindness. Comp. the prepositions of space and time in pl. form, § 103, 3.

¹ Comp. the same use of the plur. in τὰ στέρνα, τὰ γάτα, τὰ τράγηλα, *precordia, cervices, sauces.*

b) Might, power and greatness. These so-called *plurales excellentiae* are analogous to the intensive plural treated in *a*); here the plural serves first to form abstract nouns which express the fundamental idea, raised to a higher power (interiorly multiplied). Of this sort particularly is the plural (of אלהים אֱלֹהִים God). Even supposing that the use of this plural originated in a polytheistic view, in the language of the Old Testament it has become completely stripped of numerical multiplicity (so far at least as Elohim is used of one God) and retains only the conception of a being, who is in the highest degree an object of awe and reverence. So too a few times קָדוֹשִׁים *the most Holy* (God) Hos. 12, 1, Prov. 9, 10, 30, 3 (comp. Josh. 24, 19 and Aram. צְבָרִין *the Highest* Dan. 7, 18), and מְנֻמְדִים L. *penates* always in the plural (even when only one image is meant) 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16. Also most frequently אֲדֹנִים קַדְשָׁה a *severe lord* Is. 19, 4, אֲדֹנִים אֶרְזָן lord, e. g. אֶרְזָן הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land* Gen. 42, 30, 39, 20, specially with suff. of 2d and 3d person, as אַדְנָךְ *thy lord*, אַדְנָיךְ *his lord* (but אַדְנִי *my lord*, אֱלֹהִים *the Lord*, God's name, § 121, Rem. 4); so also בָּעֵבֶר master, with suff. often בָּעֵבֶר his master Is. 1, 3, תְּהִלָּה her master. Comp. also בָּשָׂרִים *creator* (always with suffix) Is. 22, 11, 54, 5 (with בְּצָלָמָךְ) Ps. 149, 2, Job 85, 10.¹

Rem. 1. This use of the plural, according to letter *b*, is very limited, and very seldom extends beyond the above words, which (except חָרְפִּים) are used in the singular as well. On the construction of these plurals with adjectives, see § 112, 1, Rem. 3; with verbs, in § 146, 2.

2. The plurals under *c* are also limited in common prose to few words, but in the language of the poets and prophets they are somewhat more frequent, e. g. הַשְׁכִּירִים *tenebrae* (used like our *shades* for dark places), שְׁעָרִים and שְׁעָנִים *delights*, אַמְנוּרִים *faithfulness*, and many others.

3. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and this compound idea is to be expressed in the plural, it is done—*a*) most naturally by the plural form in the governing noun (§ 89, 1), as גְּבָרִי הַרְיָל *valiant heroes* (prop. *heroes of valour*) 1 Ch. 7, 2, 9; so also in compounds, as בְּנֵי־מְרָנֵי *Benjaminite, plur.*

¹ Somewhat similar is the use of *we* by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. 1 Mac. 10, 19, 11, 31); but the plurals in the mouth of God (Gen. 1, 26, 11, 7, Is. 6, 8) are to be explained either as collectives (including the surrounding angels) or, and perhaps more justly, as plurals of reflection (self counsel). The Jewish grammarians call such a plural בְּגָם (pluralis virum or virtutum); the moderns call it *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis majestaticus*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address, as modern languages have it, is rather remote from the Hebrew usage.

נְבָרִי חִילִים 1 Sam. 22. 7;—*b*) in both nouns, as בְּנֵי רֹמֶן 1 Ch. 7, 5, בְּנֵי בַּתָּר כְּלָיִם prison-houses Is. 42, 22, and so sons of God (not sons of gods) Ps. 29, 1;—*c*) also in the governed noun only, as בֵּית אָבָּה father's house, family, families בֵּית הַבָּמֹת the houses of the heights 2 K. 17, 29, also in בֵּית הַבָּמָת their idol-houses 1 Sam. 31, 9. As to this remark, formerly overlooked by the grammarians, compare also Judg. 7, 25 (the head of Oreb and Zeeb for the heads). Here the two words, by which the compound idea is expressed, are treated just as a compound noun.¹

When a substantive with suffix is related to a plural, the singular form of the substantive is sufficient because the relation to plurality is sufficiently expressed by the suffix, as פְּרִימָיו their mouth for their mouths Ps. 17, 10, יְמִינָם Ps. 144, 8, where we also can say their mouth, their right hand.

4. To the modes of expressing plurality belongs also the repetition of a noun, with or without the conjunction. By this is chiefly indicated the whole, all, every, as יוֹם יוֹם day by day, every day, אישׁ אישׁ every man, also אישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, יוֹם יוֹם Est. 3, 4, every generation Deut. 32, 7; elsewhere distributively, as לְדָרְךָ לְבָדָךָ each flock by itself Gen. 32, 17, Num. 31, 4; also a multitude (in groups), even with the plural form, 2 K. 3, 16, גְּבִים גְּבִים ditches in abundance Joel 4, 14, Ex. 8, 10, also in constr. st. with a following genitive, as in Gen. 14, 10 בָּאֲרוֹת חַפֵּר nothing but asphalt-pits, Judg. 5, 22 (comp. Mark. 6, 39, 40); finally (with the conjunction וְ) diversity, of more than one kind, just as כל signifies all and of every kind, e. g. אָבִן וְאָבִן diverse (two) kinds of weights Deut. 25, 13, Prov. 20, 10; לְבִבְנֵי לבִבְנֵי a double heart Ps. 12, 3, 1 Ch. 12, 33.

Not here, but to rhetoric, belongs impassioned repetition of the same noun in exclamations (e. g. Jer. 22, 29, Lam. 1, 16, Ez. 21, 32; also of an adjective, Is. 6, 3), in order to give value, as it were, to its idea in all directions.

¹ All the three methods occur also in Syriac and Ethiopic. See Hoffmanni, Gramm. Syriaca, p. 254; Ludolfi, Gram. Ethiopica, p. 139; Dillmann, Gram. d. Äthiop. Spr., S. 364.

Rem. 1. Coherent substances, materials, etc., are mostly regarded as a *unity*, and therefore occur almost exclusively in the singular, as בָּשָׂר gold, לְכֹדֶם silver, עֵץ wood, יְמִין wine (yet מַיִם water is expressed by the plural, acc. to 2 a, but in Arabic it is singular). But when the word is used to express *portions*, separated from the totality, then of course the plur. is used, as בְּפִתְּפִירִים pieces of silver Gen. 42, 25, comp. verse 35; צְבָדִים ligna (timbers for building or sticks for burning) also pl. trees. So of grain, as חֲזִירָה wheat (on the stalk), חֲזִירִים wheat (in the grain); the same, שְׁלָמָה and שְׁלָמִים barley; דָם blood (as organic unity, therefore also the blood of sacrifices collected in a vessel) דָמִים spilled blood, revealing itself by a multitude of blood spots (*Pluralis extensivus*); however, the use of the plural (e. g. Gen. 10, 4) seems to have been limited to express simply blood violently spilled and therefore signifies directly *caedes* or *murder*.

2. In cases where the plural is regarded as poetic, the idea of *plurality* or *extension* is not excluded, e. g. Job 17, 1 *the graves are my portion* (that is the grave-yard, where many graves are together), comp. 21, 32, 2 Chr. 16, 14.

3. In some cases the plural designates an indefinite unity; as certainly in Judges 12, 7: בְּבָרֵר גָּלְגָּל in one of the cities of Gilead; probably also Gen. 8, 4; 13, 12, 19, 29.

§ 109.

USE OF THE ARTICLE.

The article (הַ, הָ, הֶן, § 35) was originally a demonstrative pronoun (as in other languages, e. g. the Romance, comp. δ, η, τό in Homer); yet its force is so slight at least in the language now before us, that it is used almost exclusively as a prefix to the noun

Rem. The stronger demonstrative force of הַ (this) is still found in some connections, as חַיִם (L. *hodie*) *this day, to-day* (in Scotch *the day*), חַיֵּלָה *this night, to-night*, הַעֲתָה *this time*. To this demonstrative sense is to be referred in particular,—a) the fact, that sometimes it stands for the relative before the verb, e. g. חַבְצָאָר *that are found* 1 Ch. 29, 17, 26, 28, Josh. 10, 24, Ezra 8, 25; likewise according to the view of the Massora Gen. 18, 21, 46, 27, Ruth 1, 22, 4, 3, Is. 51, 10; Job 2, 11; comp. also אֲשֶׁר עֲדָתָה=דָתָה 1 Sam. 9, 24;—b) the case where it is employed, mostly before a participle, to connect and to point back to a subject noun, in order to make it again prominent, as in Ps. 10, 10 *the laws of the Lord are truth ver. 11, תְּהִימָּרִים they, that are precious*: here the article has nearly the force of רְקָמָה עֲנָתוֹל. Comp. with this Ps. 104, 3 (three times), Is. 40, 22, 23, 46, 6, Gen. 49, 21, Job 5, 10,

41, 25, etc.; further before a participle with a verbal suffix in Ps. 18, 33 רָאֵל הַמְּנֻנֶּה the God that girds me with strength; comp. ver. 48, Jer. 10, 13, Neh. 10, 38. The article is found with like emphasis before substantives in the absolute: Deut 32, 4, Ps. 18, 31 (=he, the God whose, etc.).

The article is used with a noun to define its application in nearly the same cases as in Greek, German and English, viz., only when *a definite object*, i. e. *one previously mentioned*, is the subject of discourse, e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *God said, Let there be light* (אֹרֶן), ver. 4 *and God saw the light* (אָזְדַּחֲדָה אֹרֶן); 1 K. 3, 24 *Bring me a sword* (חֶרְבָּה), and they brought the sword (חֶרְבָּה), comp. Ec. 9, 15; or *one regarded as already known*, as הַמֶּלֶךְ *the king Solomon*; or *the only one of its kind*, as הַשֶּׁמֶן *the sun*, הָאָرֶץ *the earth*. The article is *not* used when the object is thought of as something indefinite, general or yet unknown, e. g. (besides אֹרֶן and חֶרְבָּה above) in Ec. 1, 12 *I was king* (לִלְכָה) over Israel in Jerusalem.

In poetry only, where the article is much less used than in prose, even the definite nouns (as above) may dispense with it, e. g. מֶלֶךְ for מֶלֶךְ Ps. 21, 2, קָרָא for קָרָא Ps. 2, 2.¹ In all the cases however where the **n** of the article is syncopeated after a prefix (§ 35, Rem. 2) the vowel required for the article is in poetry also usually placed after the prefix. Ps. 2, 4 al.

Special cases in which the article is usually employed are—

- When a generic word is used collectively to denote all the individuals belonging to it, as *the righteous*, *the unrighteous* Ec. 3, 17, *the woman* for the female sex Ec. 7, 26, *the Canaanite* Gen. 13, 7, 15, 19, 20, just as we say *the Russian*, *the Turk*; so among the Attics ὁ Αὐγυνάτος, ὁ Συραχόστος.
- When a generic word is applied by way of *eminence* to a particular object and thus becomes a kind of *proper name*, like ὁ ποιητής (Homer), as טָבַע adversary, הָרָבֵן the adversary, Satan; לְבָבָן lord, הַבָּעֵל (prop. name of the idol) Baal; הָאָדָם the (first) man, Adam; הָאָלֹהִים הָאֱלֹהִים Θεός, the

¹ Certain old words, mostly used by the poets, stand always without the article, as גָּדוֹל, שָׁרֵךְ, חִשְׁכָּה, תְּבִלָּה, שְׁאָלָה.

only, true God—**יהוָה** (*yet אלהים* is often used thus without the article, because it approaches the nature of a *proper name*, § 110, 1). So too **הַפְרָת** *the river*, i. e. *the Euphrates*; **הַכִּבְדָּר** *the circuit*, viz. of the Jordan.

3. Hence it is used also with actual proper names of *rivers*, *mountains*, and of many *towns*, with reference to their original appellative signification (comp. *the Hague*, *le Havre*; also our names *the Nore* and *the Nase*=*the nose* i. e. the head-land), as **הַנִּילָה** *the Nile* (prop. *the stream*), **הַלְּבָנוֹן** *Lebanon* (prop. *the white*, i. e. mountain), **הַיְהֹרֶן** *the Jordan* (prop. *the descent*, i. e. rapid current). But its use in connection with names of towns is rare, comp. **הַעֲרֵה** the town *Ai* (prop. *the ruins*), **הַגְּבֻעָה** lit. *the hill*, **הַרְקָטָה** *the height* etc. and in poetry is generally omitted. (Comp. § 110, 1).

Rem. 1. If the Hebrew article ever stands for our *indefinite* article, it is because the Hebrews conceived and expressed many ideas definitely, which we are accustomed to put indefinitely. This is most common in the following cases—

a) *In comparisons*, where the compared object is not conceived of as individual but as generic (see above No. 1), e. g. *white as the wool*, *as the snow*, *red as the scarlet* Is. 1, 18, *as the cattle* Ps. 49, 15, *he flings thee like the ball* Is. 22, 18, *the heavens are rolled up like the scroll* Is. 34, 4, comp. Is. 10, 14, 24, 20, 27, 10, 28, 8, 53, 6, Ps. 38, 7, Judg. 14, 6, 16, 9. Yet where the noun compared is already made definite by an adjective, the article does not stand any more than when a genitive follows, e. g. **כְּבָשׂ** Is. 10, 14, but **כְּבָשׂוֹן** 16, 2, Job 30, 14, comp. Ps. 1, 4 with Is. 20, 5. Exceptions to the above usage are rare, as **כְּבָבִיר** Job 16, 14, **כְּאַבְדָּל** 31, 18.

b) *In the names of classes or of materials which are generally known*, e. g. *the gold*, *the silver*, *the cattle*, *the water*. Hence Gen. 18, 2 *Abraham was very rich in the cattle, the silver, and the gold* (where other languages would omit the article). Comp. Gen. 41, 42, Ex. 81, 4, 85, 32, Is. 1, 22. So **שָׁבֵךְ** *to burn in the fire*.

c) Often also *in the expression of abstract ideas* (like τὸ ιππικόν, *la modestie*), hence of physical and moral evils, as *the blindness* Gen. 19, 11, *the darkness* Is. 60, 2, *the falsehood* Is. 29, 21.

On these principles, it is easy to explain the use of the article in special cases, as in **הַנְּאָרִיךְ** *the lion* 1 K. 20, 36 (comp. 1 Sam. 17, 34, Amos 3, 12 and τὸν λύκον in John 10, 12), Gen. 8, 7, 8, 14, 18, 2 Sam. 15, 3. The frequent **יְמִינֵיכֶם** does not stand simply as referring back to what has been related before (= *the same day*), but also directly for our *one day* (probably on the particular day in which it happened= *a certain day*) 2 K. 4, 18, Job 1, 6, 13.

2. The *vocative* also admits the *article* (as in Greek), and for the most part in those cases where it would usually stand; e.g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 קָרְבָּן דָּמֶךְ הַצְּבָא save, *O King* (in the Sept. σῶσον, δὲ βασιλεὺς, σῶσον, cf. χαῖρε, δὲ βασιλεὺς in John 19, 3); יְהוֹיָשָׁעַ תִּפְרֹץ תְּפִלָּל, *O Joshua, the high priest* Zech. 3, 8, 1 Sam. 24, 9.

§ 110.

The article is regularly omitted¹—

1. Before the *proper name* of a *person* or a *country* (דְּרֵד, מִצְרָיִם), and also of a *people*, when it coincides with the name of the founder of the race or the name of the country (ישָׂרָאֵל, אֲרָם). On the contrary, *gentilic* (p. 211) nouns admit it both in the sing. and plur., as the Hebrews 1 Sam. 13, 3, the Canaanite הַכְּנָעָנִים (collect. § 109, 1).
2. Before substantives, rendered definite by a following genitive or a suffix (§ 111, 1), which renders the use of the article unnecessary; e.g. דבר אלְהָיו God's word, אָבִי my father.

The exceptions, in which the article stands before the *Nomen regens* (*constr. state*) or before a noun combined with a suffix, are either only apparent and are removed by a right syntactical analysis or there may be reasonable doubt whether the Massoretic vocalization be correct. Generally are counted here:

a) The cases, where it is alleged that the demonstrative force of the article should be rendered more prominent. This explanation seems admissible in 2 K. 23, 17, yet even there הקבר is not in *constr. state*, but must be explained: *this grave is* (the grave) *of the man of God*, therefore the same breviloquence (for 'הַקְבֵּר קָבֵר') as in examples below, letter c.—Also Ps. 123, 4 can be explained *Our soul is filled with such scorning* (the scorning) *of those that are at ease*; comp. also Ez. 17, 15, Ezr. 8, 29, 2 Chr. 8, 16. Very doubtful are however: Josh. 8, 33; half חַצְׂצִיר the (other) half of it (?), preceded by חַצְׂצִיר; Judges 16, 14, where apparently should be read חַדְׂדָה; 1 K. 14, 24 where the article which stands usually after כל has been placed erroneously before חַיְבָה (comp. Jer. 25, 26); in 2 K. 9, 4 the second לְמַצֵּבָה has been

¹ In these particulars (relating to the omission of the definite article, viz., before proper names, before nouns in construction with a genitive or with a possessive pronoun, and before predicates), the usage of our language corresponds to that of the Hebrew. The same is true of the Keltic tongues. In Greek it is quite otherwise, the article being freely used in all these cases, except the last.—Tr.

caused by the preceding one; in 1 Chr. 15, 27 the text is evidently corrupt. Jer. 32, 12. **לְמִקְדָּשׁ** is epexegetis (not genitive) to the absolute **אֱלֹהִים** and in cases like **וְעַמְּקוּם** Is. 9, 12 we have a verbal suffix, therefore accusative. The articles in the following examples may perhaps be considered as syntactical impossibilities: **וְיְהִיא** **חֶתְלָה** Josh. 7, 21, **וְעַדְךָ** (perhaps a ditto graphy of the *Kaph*), Lev. 27, 23, **וְרֵבֶרְיוֹ** Micah 2, 12 (evidently the **וְ** as copulative to be drawn to the following) **וְעַדְתָּה** Prov. 16, 4.

b) When the genitive is a *proper name* which does not admit the article (according to No. 1), as **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּיתְאֵל** *the altar of Bethel* 2 K. 23, 17, **הָאֱלֹהַי בֵּיתְאֵל** *the God of Bethel* Gen. 31, 13, **חַלְכָּלָה** **אֲשֶׁר** **הַמֶּלֶךְ** *the king of Assyria* Is. 36, 16 (but not in the parallel passage 2 K. 18, 31); comp. Gen. 24 67. Jei. 48, 32, Ezek. 47, 15 (comp. 48, 1), so also in the *vocative*, as in **הַבָּתָה יְרוּשָׁלָם** *O daughter of Jerusalem* Lam. 2, 13. According to the first example (2 K. 23, 17) the Massora seems to have adopted everywhere the union of the article with the construct state. But here also it may perhaps be more correct to conceive the nouns with the article as *absolutes*, to which the genitive has been added in a loose connection, whilst, in reality, the *nomen regens* should be repeated without the article. e. g. **אֱלֹהַי בֵּיתְאֵל** (**אֱלֹהַי**). This is certainly true of cases

c) When the connection between the noun and the following genitive is somewhat loose, so that the first forms a perfect idea by itself, while the second conveys only a supplemental qualification, relating chiefly to the material, as **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ חַבְרִיל** *the weight, the leaden one* Zech. 4, 10, **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ תְּבַשֵּׂר** *the altar of copper* 2 K. 16, 14. But in verse 17 even the Massora seems to recognize such a relation of apposition (v. § 113 and § 116, 5) by vocalizing **חַבְקָר**, the same in **חַבְקָרָה** Josh. 3, 14.

4. Before the predicate, which from its nature is indeterminate, as in Gen. 29, 7 **עַד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל** *yet is the day great*, i. e. *it is yet high day* 33, 13, 40, 18, 41, 26, Is. 5, 20 **הַאֲזָרִים לְטוֹב רָע** *who call the good evil*, Is. 66, 3.

Yet there are cases where the nature of the predicate requires the article, as in Gen. 2, 11 **וְהַיּוֹת** **לְסֻכָּם** *it is the encompassing*, i.e. *that which encompasses*; 45, 12 **קְיָמֵי** **חַדְבָּר** *that my mouth (is) the speaking=it is my mouth that speaketh* Gen. 42, 6, Ex. 9, 27. See another case where the article stands before the predicate in § 109, beginning.

§ 111.

1. When a compound idea, expressed by a noun in the *constr. st.* followed by another in the genitive (§ 106), is to be made definite, it is done by prefixing the article to the

second noun; as **אָרֶשׁ מַלְחֵמָה** *man-of-war* Josh. 17, 1, but **אֲנָשִׁי אָרֶשׁ מַלְחֵמָה** *the men-of-war* Num. 31, 49; **דְּבָר שְׁקָר** *word-of-falsehood* Prov. 29, 12, **דְּבָר הַנּוֹبָרָא** *the prophet's word* Jer. 28, 9.

Rem. 1. The article is sometimes put in the same way when only the genitive, and not the *nomen regens*, is definite, as **חַלְקָה שְׂדָה** *a part of the field* 2 Sam. 23, 11 (see on the contrary Josh. 24, .2, Gen. 33, 19), **אֲרֶשׁ הַאֲרֶבֶת** *a husbandman* (if not appositional, v. *Delitzsch* in loc.), Gen. 9, 20 (comp. on the other hand **אֲרֶשׁ שָׂדָה** Gen. 25, 27). Yet in this case we usually find another construction chosen in order to avoid ambiguity, see § 115.

2. This explains the use of the article after **כָל** (*prop. totality, the whole*) The article is used after it to express definitely *all, whole* (like F. *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), and is omitted when it is used indefinitely for *of all kinds, any thing*, or distributively for *every (tout homme, à tout prix)*¹, e. g. **כָל־הָאָדָם** *all men*, **כָל־הָאָדָם** *the whole earth*, prop. *the whole of men, the whole of earth*; but **כָל־אָבָן** *stones of all kinds* 1 Ch. 29, 2, **כָל־כָּךְ** *any thing* Judg. 19, 19, **בְּכָל־יְמִינָה** *in every day* Ps. 7, 12. Yet also **כָל־חַיִתִי** *every living thing*=*all living* Gen. 3, 20 (in the same way **כָל־לְבָדָק**, **כָל־עַזְבָּן**, etc.). In regard to the (appositional) placing behind of **כָל** and the absolute use of **הָכָל**=*the collective all, everybody*, e. g. Gen. 16, 12, see *Davies' Hebr. Lex.*

3. Even compound proper names may be resolved again into two words, and then the second takes the article; e. g. **בֶּן־יְהוּדִי** *a Benjaminite* (§ 86, 5), **בֶּן־יְהוּדִי** *the Benjaminite* Judg. 8, 15, **בָּת־חִלְחָמָה** *the Bethlehemite* 1 Sam. 17, 58.

2. When the substantive has the article, or (what is equivalent) is made definite by a following genitive or a suffix, then the adjective belonging to it also (including the demonstrative pronoun **זה**, **זהוּ**, § 122, 1), takes the article; as **הַבָּצָקָה הַחִירָה** *the great city* Gen. 10, 12; **הַפְּטֻקָּם הַהִוָּא** *that place* 28, 19; **יְדָךְ הַחֲזָקָה** *thy strong hand* Deut. 3, 24; **מִשְׁעָה יְהוֹהָה** *the great work of God* Deut. 11, 7.

Not quite rare is the use of the article also—

a) With the adjective alone, and it then serves to make the preceding noun definite, e. g. **יּוֹם שְׁשִׁישִׁי** *day the sixth*=*the sixth day* Gen. 1, 31 (on the contrary **יּוֹם שְׁנִי** *a second day* 1, 8), 41, 26, 1 Sam. 19, 22, Is. 7, 20, Ps. 62, 4, 104, 18, Neh. 3, 6, 9, 35, Zech. 14, 10. On the other hand **שְׁנִי** Gen. 1, 21, 9, 10 has already been defined by **כָל**. When the adjective is properly a participle, the omission of the article is the

¹ What is here said of **כָל** applies also to its Greek equivalent, πᾶς; e. g. πᾶσα ἡ πόλις; *the whole city* (Mat. 8, 34)=**כָל־חַצְנָרָק**, but πᾶσα πόλις; *every city* (Mat. 12, 25)=**כָל־לְבָדָק**.—Tr.

general rule as in Jer. 46, 16 *הַדָּבָר הַיּוֹנֵחַ the sword that oppresses*; this omission is quite necessary in cases of inversion as Is. 11, 9. Rarely stands the article

b) With the substantive alone, as in *רַמְּנִים רַקְבִּים the many nations* in Ez. 39, 27, 2 Sam. 6, 3 (where perhaps the article before *רַמְּנִים* has been dropped erroneously before it). Somewhat more frequently the article is wanting with the pronouns *אֵלֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ* which are sufficiently definite of themselves, and for the same reason always with *אֵלֶיךָ*; as *קָלְלָה דָּנוֹתֶךָ* Gen. 19, 33, comp. 38, 21, 22; *כְּלַדְעָתֶךָ* 1 Sam. 2, 23, particularly when the noun is made definite only by a suffix, as in *עֲבָדָךָ אַלְמָנָה* 1 K. 10, 8, comp. Ex. 10, 1, Josh. 2, 20, Ez. 48, 12, Ps. 143, 10, Judg. 16, 5, 6, 15. Designedly indefinite is *רַבָּחָם רְצִיחָן an evil report respecting them* Gen. 37, 2 (*רַבָּחָם רְצִיחָה* would be *their evil report*), compare Num. 14, 37, 1 Sam. 2, 23; in Gen. 42, 19 *אֶחָד בָּנָיכֶם אֶחָד* means *one of your brethren*, Gen. 43, 14.

§ 112.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

1. The adjective, which serves to qualify the substantive, stands *after* it, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number* (as *אֲשֶׁר יְפֵחָה*). If the substantive is qualified by an intervening noun in the genitive (§ 114), then the adjective stands after such noun, e. g. *עַמְרוֹת זָהָב נְדָלָה a great crown of gold* Est. 8, 15.—On the setting of the article in this construction, see § 111, 2.

Rem. 1. The cases in which an adjective (according to the usual explanation, on account of special emphasis) seems to stand before its substantive are based almost entirely rather upon an appositional relation; comp. Is. 10, 30 *קָנֵחַ קָנֵחַ Oh! the wretch, Anathoth!* 28, 12: *תְּהִשְׁכַּח בָּרָצְחָנִין thou disgraced one, virgin daughter of Zidon!* in 28, 21 and *בְּרִירָה* are predicates placed before; 53, 11: *צַדִּיקָךְ עַבְדָּךְ a righteous one, my servant;* Ps. 18, 4 *מִזְלֵל אֱלֹהִים תְּהִזְמִין The praised one I call, Jehovah.* On the other hand *רַבִּים many*, is sometimes placed before the substantive in the way of a numeral without any seeming intention to indicate appositional relation; comp. Ps. 32, 10, 89, 15, Neh. 9, 28 (in Ps. 146, 7 *בָּ* is a governing substantive).—Rare and mostly poetic is the form of expression *לְבָנֶיךָ אֲקִינִים smooth ones of stones* for *smooth stones* 1 Sam. 17, 40, Ez. 7, 24, Is. 35, 9, and with a collective noun instead of the plural, *אֲקִינִי אֲדָם the poor of men=the poor* Is. 29, 19, Jer. 49, 20, Zech. 11, 7, Hos. 13, 2. Similar is the Lat. *canum degeneres*. However in all these cases the adjective treated as *nomen regens* has a great stress and amounts almost to a superlative.

2. When substantives of the feminine gender take *two* adjectives, the feminine form sometimes appears only in the one which stands nearest the substantive; as נָכְרַתִּית בְּשָׂמֶן תְּלֵאֹת 1 Sam. 15, 9, קְרֵבִתִּים בְּשָׂמֶן תְּלֵאֹת 1 K. 19, 11, Ps. 63. 2. Comp. § 147, Rem. 1.

3. In regard to *number*, it is first to be noticed, that the nouns in the dual take the adjectives or participles in the plural, as עֲנָקִים מִזְרָחִים *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17, Ps. 18, 28, Job 4, 3, 4, Is. 85, 3. Comp. § 88, 1. Moreover, the *constructio ad sensum* is frequent; so that collectives are construed with the plural of the adjective or participle in 1 Sam. 13, 15, Is. 9, 1, Jer. 28, 4; but the *pluralis majestatis* (§ 108, 2, b) on the contrary with the singular, as אֲנָשִׁים צָדִיקִים Ps. 7, 10, Is. 19, 4 (but with the plur. in 1 Sam. 17, 26).

2. An adjective often has its meaning more nearly defined by a substantive, which then follows it in the genitive case, as אָרֶךְ־פָּנִים *beautiful of form* Gen. 39, 6, נְקִיִּים *pure of hands* Ps. 24, 4, אֲנָגָם רַגְלֵי נְפָשָׁת *sorrowful of spirit* Is. 19, 10 (comp. L. *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*). In the same manner are often construed the *participles* and *verbal adjectives*, if they are not accompanied by the accusative (as the case belonging to their verb); see § 135.

3. On the adjective as predicate of the sentence, see §§ 144—148.

§ 113. APPOSITION.

By this is meant the placing together of two substantives, so that one of them (commonly the second¹) serves to limit or qualify the other, as אֲשֶׁר אָלָמָה *a woman (who is) a widow* 1 K. 7, 14, נִצְרָה בְּתוּלָה *a damsel (who is) a virgin* Deut. 22, 28, אֲמִתָּה אֱמִרִים *words (which are) truth* Prov. 6, 12, 22, 21, Job 20, 29, 27, 13. On cases where the first of the two substantives (before a following *constr. st.*) has the form of the *constr. st.*, see § 116, 5. Elsewhere, substantives which might be expected to be in apposition, stand also in a relation of subordination, e. g. פָּרָא אָדָם *a wild ass of a man*; comp. Prov. 15, 20, 21, 20.

¹ The first only in certain formulas, as דָּבָרְךָ שְׁלֹמֹחַ קִידְרָן חַלְלָךְ like the Ger. *der König David*, Eng. *the king David*, where the arrangement קִידְרָן דָּבָרְךָ שְׁלֹמֹחַ 2 Sam. 18, 39, is of rare occurrence.

Also two adjectives may stand in apposition, in which case the first modifies the sense of the second, as בָּקָרֹת כְּבָרִית pale white spots Lev. 18, 39, in verse 19 בָּקָרָת לְכָנָת אַרְמָלָת a white red (bright red) spot.

See more on apposition in § 118, Rem. b, § 118, 3, § 120, 1, 2, § 121, 3.

§ 114.

OF THE GENITIVE.

1. It has been shown above (in § 89), that the Hebrew regularly expresses the genitive-relation by making the noun in the genitive (*nomen rectum*) dependent upon, and closely connected with, the *nomen regens* in the *constr. st.* A genitive is regularly dependent upon only one governing noun.¹ The language avoids, also, letting a noun in the *constr. st.* be followed by several genitives connected by *and* (וְ), and prefers in that case to repeat the *nomen regens*; e. g. Gen. 24, 3 אלֹהֵי הָשָׁמָרִים וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ the God of the heavens and the God of the earth, Jer. 8, 1. But there may be formed a chain of construct states by one governed noun becoming again the governing noun of a genitive depending on it. Even then the repetition of the *constr. st.* has indeed often been avoided by means of a circumlocution (see § 115), however comp. יְמֵי שָׁנָי אֲבֹתֵי הַיּוֹם אֲבֹתֵי the days of the years of the life of my fathers Gen. 47, 9 שָׁאָר מִסְפְּרַקְשָׁת נְבוּרֵי בִּנְקָדָר 9 the residue of the number of the bows of the sons of Kedar Is. 21, 17.

In these examples (comp. also Is. 10, 12, Job 12, 24 and others) all the nouns except of course the last genitive are in the *construct state*. Yet we find also examples where a genitive in the midst of a chain stands in the absolute forming together with its governing noun a compound idea, from which (but principally from the governing noun) depends the following genitive. Thus, in Is. 28, 1 קָרְאָה שָׂדָה חַלְוָמָן בֶּן the fat valley (prop. valley of fatness) of the smitten of wine, 1 Ch. 9, 18, Ps. 68, 22.

¹ It would be quite unusual to say בְּנֵי וּבְנָוֹת דָּיוֹד the sons and daughters of David, which ought to be expressed by בְּנֵי דָיוֹד וּבְנָוֹתָיו the sons of David and his daughters. But see Ez. 81, 18, Is. 11, 2 knowledge (of Jehovah) and fear of Jehovah (compare the Biblical Greek in Mat. 6, 33 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ).

2. The governing noun may be followed not only by the so-called *subjective genitive*, indicating possessor, originator, etc., but also by the so-called *objective genitive*, e. g. Ez. 12, 19 חַטָּאת חִשְׁבִּים *the wrong which the inhabitants did*, but otherwise in Obad. verse 10 אֶחָד קָרְבָּן *the wrong against thy brother*¹ (comp. Gen. 16, 5, חַטָּאת *the wrong done to me*), Prov. 20, 2 אִימָתָה מִלְּאָקֵד *the dread of a king*, יְרָאָתָה יְהוָה *the fear of the Lord*, צִקְנַת סָדָם צָר *the cry concerning Sodom* Gen. 18, 20, שְׁמֻעָה צָר *the report about Tyre*, שְׁלָל אֲוֹרֵבָה *the spoil of (taken from) thy foes* Deut. 20, 14; further, דַּרְךָ עַצְמָה *way of (i. e. to) the tree* Gen. 3, 24, Prov. 7, 27, Job 38, 20; דַּרְךָ הַיּוֹם *way of (by) the sea* Is. 8, 23, זְבָחָרִים לְאֱלֹהִים *sacrifices of (pleasing to) God* Ps. 51, 19, שְׁבָצַת יְהוָה *an oath of (i. e. sworn by the name of) God* 1 K. 2, 43.

3. The genitive construction stands also frequently in place of apposition (§ 113), as נָהָר פְּרָת *river of Euphrates*; אֶרְץ כְּנָעָן etc. see more in § 116, 5.

Rem. 1. Between the noun in the *constr. st.* and the following genitive an insertion of a word seems to occur in Hos. 14, 3 (אַלְפָר after בְּלָגָה), 2 Sam. 1, 9 and Job 27, 3 (צִיר after בְּלָגָה). In truth, however, in all these three examples the construct state has been abolished by *hy-pallage* (for צִיד בְּלָגָה etc.) and therefore 2 Sam. 1, 9 may for instance be explained thus: *for as a totality my soul is still in me = my whole soul.*

2. As the genitive always gives a closer definition of the noun standing in the construct state, proper nouns cannot really stand in *stat. constr.* because by nature they are already defined. Combinations in which nevertheless proper nouns stand in *constr. st.* are based on breviloquence which suppresses the appellative idea contained in the proper noun. So especially with geographical names, as in אֶיְרָה קְשָׁרוֹת Ur (city) of the Chaldees Gen. 11 28, אֶרְם נְהָרָה Aram (the region) of the two rivers = Mesopotamia; so also אֱלֹהָה צְבָאוֹת Jehovah of hosts for Jehovah of hosts (2 Sam. 5, 10 et al.) comp. § 116, Rem.

¹ In Latin the genitive is similarly used after *injuria* (Cæs. B. Gall. I, 80), *metus* (like *metus hostium*, *metus Pompeii*), *spes*, and other words. Comp. Aul. Gell. 9, 12. In Greek compare εἴνοισα τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ, λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ 1 Cor. 1, 18.

§ 115

EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE BY CIRCUMLOCUTION.

Besides the indication of the genitive-relation by the *construct state* (see in § 89, and § 114), there are certain *periphrastic expressions*, chiefly by means of the preposition **ל**, which among others denotes the idea of *belonging to*, and this corresponds to the genitive relation. Accordingly, we find—

1. **ל**, used principally for the genitive of *possession*, as דָבָר אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיךָ Gen 29, 9, 47, 4 *the flock of her father* (prop. *the flock which to her father belonged*), and also where there would be several successive genitives (to avoid the repetition of the *constr. st.*, but see § 114, 1), as אֲבִיר דָּרְעִים אֲשֶׁר לְשָׂאֵל the *chief of the herdsmen of Saul* 1 Sam. 21, 8 שִׁיר הַשִׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשָׁלֹמָה the *song of songs of Solomon* Cant 1, 1 (an obvious effort to retain the usual juxtaposition of the two words שִׁיר הַשִׁירִים) 2 Sam 2, 8, 1 Chron 11, 10 and for reasons given § 114, Note, Gen 40, 5 (Hence came the Rabbinic sign of the genitive לְשָׁלֹמָה comp. Cant 1, 6, 3 7, in Aramaic, the simple relative יְ or יְ serves as sign of the genitive)

2. **ל** (*without נָשָׁר*), which also denotes the genitive of *belonging to* and of *possession*,¹ as נָטָל הַצֹּבָרִים לְפָנָיו the *scouts of Saul* 1 Sam. 14, 16. This is used particularly,—*a*) when the governing (or first) noun is expressly regarded as *indefinite*, e.g. בֶן לְשָׁאֵל a *son of Jesse* 1 Sam 16, 18 (whereas בֶן לְשָׁאֵל signifies *the son of Jesse*), שְׁעִיר עֲבָדִים לְשָׁמְצֵי two *servants of Shemei* 1 K 2, 39, אֶחָד לְיִרְדָּא a *friend of David* (was Hiram) 1 K. 5, 15, מִזְמָר לְיִרְדָּא a *psalm of David* (i.e. belonging to him as the author), and elliptically לְיִרְדָּא of David Ps 11, 1, 14, 1, cases like לְיִרְדָּא מִזְמָר (e.g. Ps. 24, 1) cannot be considered simply as an *hypallage*, but ל is an *epexegetis* to the generic word, omitted before לְיִרְדָּא. Altogether the introduction of the author, poet, etc. by the so-called **ל auctoris** is also customary in the other Semitic dialects, especially in the Arabic.—*b*) when several genitives depend on one substantive, e.g. חַלְקָה הַשְׁרָה

¹ Philologically considered, the Gascon says no less correctly *la fille à Mr N.*, than the written language *la fille de —*, the former expresses the idea of *belonging*, the latter that of *descent*. The Arabians distinguish a two-fold genitive, viz. one which has the force of **ל**, and one which has that of **לְ**. We have the latter conception of this relation in the *de* of modern languages, that are derived from the Latin (the Romance languages). In Greek we may compare the so-called σλημα Κοιοφωνιον, e.g. ἡ κεφαλη τῷ αὐθεράπω for τοῦ αὐθεράπου (see Bernhardy's *Syntax*, p. 88).

לְבַפְעָן the portion of the field of Boaz Ruth 2, 5, 2 K. 5, 9,
 לְקֹלֶכְרִי שָׁרָאֵל the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel 1 K. 15, 31,
 רַאשֵׁד הֲנָבוֹת לְמִתּוֹה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Josh. 19, 51, where the sets of more closely-connected nouns which form one conception (*chronicles, kings of Israel, heads of families, etc.*) are joined by means of the constr. state, while the ה stands between the sets to indicate a looser connection (yet comp. § 114, 1);—c) after specifications of number, e. g. בְּשִׁבְגַּת יְמֵי יְמִינָה וְיְמִינָה on the seven and twentieth day of the month Gen. 8, 14, 7, 11.

§ 116.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

The *construct state*, so far as it serves to put one noun in close connection with the following word or combination of words is, in the flow of speech, used not only for the genitive-relation, but also—

1) Before prepositions, particularly in the more elevated style, and oftenest when the governing word is a participle, e. g. before ב, as before בְּקָצֵר the joy in the harvest Is. 9, 2 (v. also verse 1), 5, 11, 19, 8, Ps. 2, 12; before ל, as before מִצְפֵּן לְעִיר לְנִימָה Is. 56, 10, 30, 18, Ez. 1, 27, Ps. 58, 5, Lam. 2, 18, Job 18, 2, 24, 5; before נִנְחָה Is. 14, 19; before בְּנֵי, as גָּמְרוּלִי מִחְלָבָה weaned from milk Is. 28, 9; before בְּלָי in Judg. 5, 10; before the *Nota Accus.* Jer. 33, 22.

2) Before the relative pronoun (or more correctly in genitive relation with the whole phrase introduced by אשר, see No. 3), e. g. מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר the place where—Gen. 39, 20, 40, 3, Lev. 4, 24, 33, 2 Sam. 15, 21, 1 K. 21, 19, Jer. 22, 12.

3) Before relative clauses with the אשר understood, e. g. קָרִית חַנְחָה רַדְעָה the castle where David pitched his tent Is. 29, 1, בָּקָרָה לְאַתְּ רַעַעַל the place of him who knows not God Job 18, 21, 29, 2, 1 Sam. 25, 15, Ps. 90, 15. Comp. § 123, 3, Rem. 1.

4) Rarely even before *Wāw copul.*, as חַכְמָת נָרְעָת Is. 33, 6, 35, 2, 51, 21, Ez. 26, 10.

5) In appositions (viz., as far as an actual genitive-relation does not take place, as in § 114, 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁה מַעֲלָת אֱלֹהִים a woman, mistress of a soothsaying spirit (comp.

παιδίσκη ἔχουσα πνεῦμα πύθωνος Acts 16, 16; so also in בָּתִילֶת בְּתַיּוֹן *virgin daughter of Zion* Is. 37, 22, comp. 19, 11; 23, 12, Gen. 14, 10; Deut. 33, 19, 2 Sam. 20, 19, 2 K. 10, 6, 17, 13 *Q̄ri Jer. 14, 17, 46, 9, Ps. 78, 9.*

Partly at least those places may also be explained in the following manner. There exists a real genitival relation, but the first *constr. state* has been left in suspense, in consequence of the insertion of a permutation in its place; elsewhere (Ps. 68, 34, Job 20, 17) probably there takes place a direct leaning on the following construct state.

6) Also in other cases of closer connection in the expression; thus, at times (even with small distinctives) we have אֶחָד *one* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 17, 22, Zech. 11, 7, Gen. 48, 22, Is. 27, 12. Compare besides the *constr. st.* in the numerals from eleven to nineteen (§ 97, 2).

Rem. When in the above cases the *absolute st.* could in general stand quite as well as the *construct*, there are yet other constructions where the *constr. st.* might be expected rather than the *absolute*. Thus, for example—

- a) In geographical names like אֵבֶל בֵּית מָצָח *Abel Beth-Ma'atḥah* (i. e. Abel of Beth-Ma'atḥah, to distinguish it from other places called Abel). Comp. on the contrary, § 114, Rem. 2.
- b) In some other cases, seemingly, where the connection is not close enough for the genitive-relation, so that the second noun must rather be considered as in apposition (§ 113) to the first. Here belongs Ps. 60, 5 קְרֵבָה לְבָנָן not *wine of reeling*, but rather *wine that causes reeling*, Ez. 47, 4 מָתָם בְּרֵבִים *water up to the knees*; Is. 30, 20 מְצֻמָּתָם *water of affliction*, i. e. *water in affliction* (in prison). Comp. 1 K. 22, 27, Is. 3, 24 and the thorough explanation of this specially Semitic locution by Fleischer in the treatise: „Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab. (Berichte über die Verhandl. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1862, S. 10 ff.).
- c) In the expression אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים צְבָאֹות *God hosts*, elliptical for אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים צְבָאֹות *God (the God) of hosts*, having here the value of a proper noun; so also the same ellipsis in יְהִי־צְבָאֹות (comp. § 114, 3, Rem. 2).

INDICATION OF THE OTHER CASES.

1. Since the Hebrew language has lost the living use of *case-endings* (§ 90), we must inquire what substitutes it

¹ So in English, *Bedford Street, Covent-garden*, for *near Covent-garden*. But in Latin the genitive is used in such cases, as *Augusta Vindelicorum*.

adopted for expressing the various case-relations of nouns in a sentence. The *nominative* is always to be known (as generally in English and always in Welsh) only from the syntactical construction. So also the *vocative*, which is really identical with it. On the modes of expressing the *genitive*, see §§ 114—116. Of the other cases for which the Indo-germanic languages have either throughout (as the Sanscrit) or at least in part, special forms of inflection, the *dative* is periphrastically indicated by **בְ** (*to*),¹ the *ablative* by **מִן** (*from, out of*), the *locative* and *instrumental* mostly by **בְּ** (*in, at, by*); but the Shemite regarded the nouns dependent on these prepositions as *genitives*, because the particles were themselves originally nouns; and in Arabic they have also the genitive-ending. Comp. § 101, 1.

On the use of the dative particle **בְ**, so far as it serves to express also our genitive, see § 115, 1, 2.

2. The *accusative*, when expressing *direction* or *motion* to a place, has still frequently its ending **הַ**— (§ 90, 2). Else it is, like the nominative, to be known only from the structure of the sentence. Yet we may often know it by the **את** or **אֲתָּה** (before suffixes also **תִּתְ** or **אֲתָּה**), put before it, which, however, is used only when the noun in the accusative is made definite by the article, the construct state, a suffix, or otherwise (Gen. 6, 2, 2 Sam. 13, 17, 18, 18), or is a proper name. Such is the usage in prose, but not so much in poetry; e. g. Gen. 1, 1 **את הָרָץ וְאת הָרָץ שָׁמִים** (on the contrary, **אָרֶץ שָׁמִים**; Gen. 2, 4), 2, 24, 6, 10.²

¹ Just as the Lat. preposition *ad* in the Romance tongues (Ital. *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Span. *á*) and *to* in Eng. are used to indicate periphrastically the dative.

² **תִּתְ** or **תִּתְנִ** (this form prob. used only before the so-called light suffixes, § 103, 1, Rem. 1), **תִּתְנֵ** (without the accent in close connection with the following word) and **תִּתְנֵ** (with a tone-long ē), Phoenician **תִּתְנֵ** (prob. *iyath*, the Punic also pronounce *yth*), Arab. before suff. *'iyāt*, Aram. *yāth*, *yāth*, was originally a substantive, which signified *essence, substance, self* (like the Syr. **ئَنْ**, **لَهُ**, comp. Heb. **תִּתְ** *a sign*), but in construction with a following noun or suffix it stands for the pronoun *ipse*, *autē* (comp. a similar usage in § 124, Rem. 3). But in common use it has so little stress, that it only points out a definite object. Its force is here as feeble as that of the oblique cases *άυτοῦ*, *άυτῷ*, *άυτόν*; *ιψε*, *ipsum*; Germ. *dieselben*, *dieselbigen*, *denselben*; and the Hebrew **בְּנֵי** *את הַצֹּדְקָה* prop. *אָבִיוֹתָן* *tōn* *וְעָרָבָן*.

Rem. The cases are rare in which **וְ** stands before an indefinite noun, but more are found in the loftier style, where the article also may be omitted before a noun that is definite according to the sense (§ 109), as Prov. 13, 21 וְאַתָּה־צִדְקִים, Is. 50, 4, Job 13, 25, Ezek. 43, 10; very few occur in prose, like 1 Sam. 24, 6 (where, however, the noun is made definite by the context), Ex. 2, 1 where perhaps the proper name (Jokhèbed) has been dropped after **וְ**.

§ 118.

USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE.

The accusative is employed—1) as the object of the transitive verbs (§ 138); but serves also—2) for what are rather adverbial expressions, where it is no longer governed immediately by the verb.

The second of these usages is undoubtedly derived from the first, and to this still belong several constructions in which the accusative is commonly supposed to be used adverbially (§ 138, 1, Rem. 3). But we are not therefore authorised at all to reject the adverbial use of the accusative.

Accordingly, the accusative is employed—

1. In designations of *place* (*accusativus loci*);—*a*) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion, as אֶצְבָּא דְּשֻׁרְהָ 'let us go out into the field' 1 Sam. 20, 11, אֶלְכָה תְּרַשֵּׁשׁ 'for to go to Tarshish' 2 Ch. 20, 36, Ps. 134, 2, Ex. 4, 9;¹—*b*) in

(comp. αὐτὴν Χρυσῆδα II. i. 143) *it, the heaven*, is not stronger than τὸν οὐρανόν.—That **וְ** may denote also the nominative, is from its original signification (see above) not of itself inconceivable, and it seems to occur so in Hag. 2, 17, Dan. 9, 13 (hardly however Eccl. 4, 3). Elsewhere (1 Sam. 17, 34 and with the bear) the preposition **וְ** with is rather meant, and in Josh. 22, 17, Neh. 9, 32 (both times after an idea of want) as well as 2 Sam. 11, 25, it may be considered as a loosely governed accusative, which it certainly indicates when connected with the passive (comp. 2 K. 18, 30) see § 143, 1, *a*.—The accusative actually precedes in Ez. 35, 10; 44, 3 (in both cases **וְ** has the sense of the Lat. *quod attinet ad*).—In Ez. 47, 17, 19 (comp. 43, 7) **וְ** stands for **וְנִ** and ought rather to be so emended in the text; comp. ver. 20; but the LXX already, which only in v. 18 have ταῦτα, know hardly any other reading than **וְ**, and this, therefore, in all these cases has to be considered as *Nota accus.*, dependent on some word which must be supplied, as *ecce* (LXX 43, 7: ἔργας) 47, 17 ff. perhaps as much as: *there hast thou.*

¹ So in the Greek, but only poetically, Il. i, 317 κνίσσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἦκεν; Lat. *rus ire, Romam profectus est*, and generally so in Sanskrit.

בְּקוֹת אֶבְיוֹן
in the house of thy father Gen. 38, 11, Is. 3, 6, סִתְחָה הַאֲרָל
in the door of the tent Gen. 18, 1. Then also—c) with reference to space and measure, in answer to the question *how far?* Gen. 7, 20 *the water rose fifteen cubits.*

In the cases *a* and *b*, especially the first, the accusative-ending מֵ—is often appended, on which see § 90, 2. The first relation may also be expressed by אֶל (as it commonly is with reference to persons), and the second by בְּ; but we are by no means to suppose that, where these particles are omitted, they must be supplied.

2. In designations of time;—*a)* in answer to the question *when?* as הַיּוֹם *the day* i. e. *on the day, then; or on this day, to-day or by day* (=יּוֹמָם); עָרֵב *at evening* (=לְעָרֵב); לִילָה *by night*; אַחֲרָיוֹם *at noon* Ps. 91, 6; תְּחִלָה קִצְרָר שֻׁעְרִים *at the beginning of barley harvest* 2 Sam. 21, 9 (*Kethibh*);—*b)* in answer to the question *how long?* שְׁנָה *twelve years (long)* Gen. 14, 4; שְׁשָׁת יְמִים *six days (long)* Ex. 20, 9; עַזְלָמִים *for eternal ages* 1 K. 8, 13; also with the article and אֵת in Deut. 9, 25 אֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַלְּלָה *the 40 days and the 40 nights (long).*

3. In other adverbial expressions, where we say *in regard to* or *respect to*, etc. as Job 41, 7 *in the manner of a closed seal*, Gen. 41, 40 רַק הַכְפָא אַגְדָל מִפְךָ *only in respect to the throne will I be greater than thou* (accus. of measure); 2 Sam. 21, 20 מִסְפָּר *in number* (comp. τρεῖς ἀριθμόν); Job 1, 5 *he brought burnt-offerings מִסְכָּר כָּלָם according to the number of them all*; 1 K. 22, 13 פֶּה אֶחָד *with one mouth* i. e. *with one voice* (acc. of instrument); comp. Zeph. 3, 9 *they served God עֲרוֹם שְׂכָם אֶחָד with one shoulder* i. e. *with one mind*; Job 24, 7 עֲרוֹם שְׂכָם אֶחָד *naked (acc. of condition) thy lodge*. With a following genitive, רִירָאת שְׁמִירָה *for fear of thorns (accus. of cause)* Is. 7, 25. Here belong also cases like מִשְׁנָה-דְּבָשָׁה *the double in money* Gen. 43, 15, יְמִים שְׁנָתִים וְמִים *two years' time* Gen. 41, 1; on the other hand אֵיכָה שְׁעָרִים *an ephah of barley* Ruth 2, 17 may rather be taken as a case of apposition (§ 113).

Similar cases of a more free use of the accusative in connection with verbs are explained in § 138 and § 139. By the same process, carried still farther, many substantives have come to be distinctly recognised as adverbs (§ 100, 2, *b*).

Rem. Similar reference to place, time, etc., may be denoted by a noun when it is connected with **בָּ** (*as, according to, after the manner of*), this prefix being originally a substantive, comp. the Lat. *instar*. Thus,—*a) of place; בְּכָבֵד as in their pasture* Is. 5, 17, 28, 21, *בְּרִישׁ as in attire* Job 88, 14; *בְּחַלְמֹת as in a dream* Is. 29, 7, comp. 28, 15;—*b) of time, especially in the forms קְרוּבָּ as the day=as in the day* Is. 9, 3, Hos. 2, 5; *בִּימֵי as in the days of*—, Hos. 2, 17, 9, 9, 12, 10, Amos 9, 11, Is. 51, 9;—*c) with another reference, as in Is. 1, 25 I will purge away thy dross כְּבָר as with lye; Job 28, 5 כְּמוֹ אֶשְׁׁלָה after the manner of fire=as by fire; קְאָבֵן after the manner of the stone, i. e. as into stone (the water is gathered in freezing) Job 88, 30; 29, 23 כְּבָשָׂר as for the rain (they waited for me).*

Rarely a preposition is used after such a **בָּ**, e. g. בְּרִאשֵׁנָה Is. 1, 26, 1 Sam. 14, 14.

In all the above cited cases the **בָּ** must be considered as an adverbial accusative; however a substantive with **בָּ** may, by virtue of the substantive signification of the latter stand either for the accusative or for the nominative relation.

§ 119.

HOW TO EXPRESS THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.¹

1. The *comparative* is expressed by the adjective followed by the particle **מן** (**מִן**) *from* prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 בְּבָרָךְ מִכָּלְדָּעָם taller than (lit. tall in distinction from) *all the people*, Judg. 14, 18 מִרְבָּה מִתְּחִזְקָה sweeter than honey; so also after verbs, especially those denoting an attribute, as **וַיַּגְּבַהּ מִכָּלְדָּעָם** and he was taller than all the people 1 Sam. 10, 23; מִכָּלְבָּרִיר more than he loved Joseph more than all his (other) sons Gen. 37, 3, Job 4, 17, 7, 6.

Upon the same signification of **מן** (referring originally to space indicating the starting point, and a separation from something) is

¹ There exists in Arabic a special form of the adjective for the comparative and superlative, which would be like **أَقْرَبُ**. Perhaps of this origin are **אֲכִילָה** cruel, **אֲכִילָבָה** deceptive (of a drying up brook), and its opposite **אֲמִינָה** (contr. from 'aihan) constant, perennial. However these forms are also used without any perceptible emphasis and might, at most pass for isolated remainders of a former comparative and superlative formation, in the same way as the Lat. comparative disappears in the Italian, and still more in French, and its place is supplied by circumlocution (with *più*, *plus*).

based also its use in expressions like בָּרוּךְ מִן Job 7, 15, מִן eminence over Ec. 2, 13; comp. Deut. 14, 2, which the Hebrew conceived as a separating from, marking out. (Compare the Latin ablative with the comparative, also the etymology of the Latin words *eximus*, *egregius*, and in Homer ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα Il. iv. 96, and simply ἐκ πασέων xviii. 431). Hence the signification *more than* connects itself with the fundamental signification *out from*.

The adjective upon which מִן logically depends must sometimes, by virtue of a pregnant use of the מִן, be supplied from the connection, e. g. Is. 10, 10 פְּסִילִיָּהֶם מִירִישָׁלֵם their idols are more numerous (mightier) than those in Jerusalem, Micah 7, 4 מִמְשִׁילָהּ (sharper) than a thornhedge, Job 11, 17 מִצְחָרִים clearer than noon.

The correlative comparatives, such as *greater*, *less*, are expressed simply by *great*, *little*, Gen. 1, 16.

2. The several modes of expressing the superlative, amount all to this, that, in all of them the *positive form*, by means of the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive, is made to designate an *individual* as preeminently the possessor of the quality expressed (comp. Fr. *le plus grand*); e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 (חַצְעָרָה), 17, 14 and David was הַקֹּטֹן the small (one), i. e. the smallest, and the three great (ones), i. e. the greatest, etc., Gen. 42, 13, Jon. 3, 5, מִנְדָּלֶם וְעַד קָטָן from the greatest among them. (lit. *their great one*), even unto the least among them (lit. *their little one*), 2 Ch. 21, 17 קָטָן בְּנֵי רֹאשׁ the youngest of his sons; prob. also Gen. 9, 24.

Rem. To the periphrasis of the superlative belongs also the connecting of a noun with the following partitive genitive of the same word in the plural as: קָדוֹשִׁים קָדוֹשׁ the holiest of all, prop. holiness of holinesses; שְׁירָה שְׁירִים the song of songs (the choicest song i. e. the Canticles). Comp. Gen. 9, 25 (the lowest servant) Num. 8, 32 the same with a participle Jer. 6, 28 and with the gen. sing. Hos. 10, 15. So sometimes an adjective combined with a partitive genitive has a superlative signification; comp. Judges 5, 29, 1 Sam. 9, 21, Job 30, 6 (=in the most frightful valleys) 41, 22. Comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 1.—Finally belongs here the placing together of two substantives, being related either etymologically, or at least by sound, as Ez. 6, 14; 33, 29, Nah. 9, 11, Zeph. 1, 15, Job 30, 8.

§ 120.

SYNTAX OF THE NUMERALS.

1. The numerals from 2 to 10 (originally abstract substantives, § 97, 1), may be connected with substantives in three different ways. They may stand either,—*a*) in the *constr. st.* before the substantive (the object numbered being accordingly in the genitive), **יְמִימִים שְׁלֹשָׁה** *three days*, prop. *triad of days*, **שְׁנַי הָנָשִׁים** *the two men*; or—*b*) in the *absol. st. before it* (the thing numbered being then considered as in apposition), **שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים** *three sons* (prop. *a triad viz. sons*), **שְׁנַי אֲנָשִׁים** *two men*; or—*c*) in the *absol. st. after it*, as in apposition with the object numbered e. g. **בְּנוֹת שְׁלֹשָׁה** *three daughters* 1 Ch. 25, 5; the latter especially in the later books, because the substantive conception of the numeral yielded more and more to the adjective.

Accordingly, the constructions **מֵאָה שָׁנִים** (Gen. 17, 17) and **מֵאָה שָׁנִים** (25, 7, 17) *hundred years*, are equally common.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 are joined, with very few exceptions (e. g. 2 K. 22, 1) with the plural. But the tens (from 20 to 90) when they precede the substantive, are generally joined with the singular (in the accusative), and when they follow it in apposition, they take the plural, e. g. Judg. 11, 33 **עָשָׂר עָשָׂרִים עָרֶך** *twenty cities*; on the contrary, **עָשָׂר עָשָׂרִים עָשָׂר** *twenty cubits* 2 Ch. 3, 3, seq. The plural *may* be used in the first case (Ex. 36, 24, 25), but the singular never occurs in the second case, which is altogether rarer.

Rem. The numerals from 11 to 19 are generally joined to the singular form (in the accusative) only with certain substantives, which there is frequent occasion to number, as **יּוֹם** *day*, **שָׁנָה** *year*, **אִישׁ** *man*, **בָּנָה** *tribe*, also **בָּקָר** *collective cattle*, etc. (comp. our *four year old*, *a thousand man strong*); e. g. **אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם** prop. *fourteen day* Ex. 12, 6 (comp. however Deut. 1, 28, Josh. 4, 2). With this exception, they are joined to the plural; and then, especially in the later books they stand after the substantive (Num. 7, 87, 1 Ch. 4, 27, 25, 5).

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21 or 62) take the object numbered either after them in the singular (in the accusative), as **שְׁנָטוֹרִים וְשְׁשָׁצִים שְׁנָה** *two and sixty years*

Gen. 5, 20 (according to No. 2, שָׁנַת having special reference to the preceding tens); or before them in the plural, as especially in the later books (Dan. 9, 26); or the object is repeated, with the units in the plural (acc. to No. 1), with the tens (acc. to No. 2) and hundreds in the singular, as in Gen. 12, 4 מֵאֹת שָׁנָה חַמְשׁ שָׁנִים וּשְׁבָעִים שָׁנִים seventy-five years, Gen. 23, 1 מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וּשְׁבָעִים שָׁנִים one hundred and twenty-seven years; comp. Gen. 5, 6.

4. The *ordinals* beyond 10 have no peculiar forms, but are expressed by those of the cardinals, which then stand either before the object numbered, or after it, as בָּשְׁבָעָה עֶשֶׂר יוֹם in the seventeenth day Gen. 7, 11; בָּאֲרָבָנִים שָׁנָה in the 40th year Deut. 1, 3, 2 K. 25, 27 with the repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K. 6, 1, or בָּשְׁנִית עֲשָׂרִים וּשְׁבָעַ בָּשְׁנִית in the year twenty-seven 1 K. 16, 10. In the latter case, the word שָׁנָה is likewise frequently repeated, as in Gen. 7, 11, 2 K. 13, 10.—In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are used frequently also instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בָּשְׁנִית שָׁנִים in the year two, בָּשְׁנִית שָׁנִים in the year three 1 K. 15, 25, 2 K. 18, 1 בָּחַצְצָה לְחַדְשָׁה on the ninth of the month, בָּאַחֲרָה לְחַדְשָׁה on the first of the month Lev. 23, 32, Gen. 8, 13.

Rem. 1. The numerals take the article when they stand without immediate connection with the thing numbered, referring back to a preceding substantive, as תְּחִלָּתָה the three 1 Ch. 11, 20, 21 comp. 25, 19 the twelve; (with the tens) Gen. 18, 29, 31, 32. Such a case as תְּזִבְעָה the seven days (Judg. 14, 17) is to be explained on the principle stated in § 111, 1.

2. Certain substantives employed in designations of *weight*, *measure*, or of *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals; e. g. Gen. 20, 16 שְׁבָעָה a thousand (shekels) of silver; so also, before gold 1 K. 10, 16; Ruth 3, 15 שְׁשָׁה six (Ephah) of barley; 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֲשָׂרָה ten (loaves) of bread. Thus יָמִין is omitted in Gen. 8, 5, and שְׁנָה in 8, 13.—The number of *cubits* is often stated thus, קָדוֹת בְּאַהֲרֹן a hundred cubits, prop. a hundred by the cubit Ex. 27, 18.

5. Distributives are expressed either by repetition of the cardinals, as מִלְּגִילִים שְׁשָׁה two by two Gen. 7, 9, 15. Comp. שְׁשָׁה שְׁשָׁה six by six 2 Sam. 21, 20 or periphrastically by a following לְ, אַחֲרָה Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 (לְאַחֲרָה) after the

repetition of the words *six wings*). *One time, once*, is expressed by **פעם אחת** (prop. *a tread*), comp. **הפעם** *this time*, **两次** **פעמיים** *two times, twice*, **三次** **פעמים שלוש** *thrice* (also **שלוש פעמים** *three times* Num. 22, 32). The same may be denoted also by merely the *fem.* forms of the cardinals, as **אחד** *once*, **שתיים** **פעמיים** *twice*, **שבע** **שבע פעמים** *seven times*, comp. also **בפעם אחת** *once* Num. 10, 4. The ordinals too are employed in the same way, as **שנית** **פעמיים** *second time* Gen. 22, 15, Jer. 13, 3. Comp. L. *tertium consul.*

CHAPTER II.

SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 121.

USE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.

1. When a personal pronoun is the subject of a sentence, like a noun in the same position, it does not require for its union with the predicate a distinct word for the copula (§ 144), e. g. **I אֲנִי** *the seer* 1 Sam. 9, 19, **פְּנֵים אַנְחָנוּ** *honest* (are) **we** Gen. 42, 11, **אתֶת** **תְּמִימִים** *upright* (*wast thou*) Ez. 28, 15, **כִּי עִירְמִים** **הֵם** *that naked they* (*were*) Gen. 3, 7, **חֲלֹוּם אֲחֵד** **הִיא** *one dream it* (*is*) Gen. 41, 26.

2. The pronoun of the *third* person frequently serves to connect subject and predicate, and is then a sort of *substitute* for the copula; to speak more exactly: the predicate is joined in the form of an independant nominal sentence (§ 144, *a*), e. g. Gen. 41, 26 *the seven cows* **רָתָה** **שְׁבַע** *seven years* (*are*) **they**, Ec. 5, 18 **זֶה מַקְהַט אֱלֹהִים** **חִיא** *this a gift of God it* (*is*). Sometimes such a pronoun in the *third* person refers to a subject which is of the *first* or *second* person, e. g. Deut. 32, 39: **כִּי אֲנִי הַוָּא** *that I, I (am) he*; Ps. 102, 28 (*thou art the same*); 1 Chron. 21, 17; comp. the French: *c'est moi, c'est vous*. Of a different kind however are cases like:

וְתַתִּיאָךְ thou art my king Ps. 44, 5, where **אתה** at the same time points to the predicate and makes it prominent (prop. *thou art he, my king*); comp. Is. 43, 25, Neh. 9, 6, 7, and in Aram. Ezr. 5, 11.

3. To the general rule (§ 33, 1), that the *separate pronouns* are in the *nominative* and the *suffixes* in the *oblique cases*, there is but one seeming exception, viz. when the personal pronoun in an oblique case is to be repeated for the sake of emphasis (*me, me; thy, thy*), it is expressed the second time by the separate form of the same person. But this stands by no means in the oblique case, but is to be considered as the subject of an independent phrase, whose predicate may be completed from the connection. Thus to strengthen the *accusative* suffix of the verb, Gen. 27, 34 בָּרוּךְנִי גַם אֲנִי *bless me, even me*, really: *also I want to be blest*, comp. Zech. 7, 4, Prov. 22, 19; and even by placing the separate pronoun before, Gen. 49, 8; more frequently to strengthen the *genitive* suffix of the noun, e. g. אֶת-דָּםךְ גַם אַתָּה (prop. *sanguinem tuum, utique tui*), Num. 14, 32, 1 Sam. 20, 42, Ez. 34, 11, Prov. 23, 15, Ps. 9, 7. In the same way the separate pronoun may strengthen a suffix which is governed by a preposition (i. e. standing in the genitive, according to § 101, 1), as Hag. 1, 4 בְּלֹכְבֵד אַתָּתָּם *for you, you*, 1 Sam. 25, 24 בְּאַנְרֵי *in me, me*, 1 Sam. 19, 23 בְּלֹכְבֵד הַאֲנָה גַם הַאֲנָה *also on him*; 2 Chr. 35, 21 לֹא עַלְיוֹן אַתָּה *not against thee*. On the same principle is to be explained Gen. 4, 26 גַם הַרוֹא לְשֹׁת *to Seth, even to him*, (not גַם הַרוֹא) Gen. 10, 21.

4. The *suffix to the verb* is properly always in the *accusative* (§ 33, 2, a, § 57), and is the most common form of expressing the accusative of the pronoun governed by a verb (see however Rem. below). In certain cases, however, it is used through an almost inaccurate brevity of expression for the *dative*, as Zech. 7, 5 הַצְמַח־ךְ did ye fast for me? i. e. to my advantage, for **ךְ** Job 31, 18 נִדְלֵנִי כָּאֵב *he (the fatherless) grew up to me as to a father*, Is. 44, 21, Ez. 29, 3, comp. verse 9.

Rem. The accusative of the pronoun *must* be indicated by **תְּ** (§ 117, 2),—a) when the pronoun, for the sake of emphasis, precedes

the verb, as **תָּמַתְּךָ תִּמְתַּחֲדֵךְ** *thee had I killed* Num. 22, 38;—*b)* when the verb has two pronouns in the accusative, only one of which can be a verbal suffix, as **אָזַרְתָּנִי אֶתְּנָתַן** *and he will make me see it* 2 Sam. 15, 25; it is found, also in other cases, as in Gen. 4, 14, (where **תִּתְבֹּהֵר** alone might signify: *that he might not smite*) 15, 13.

5. The *suffix to nouns*, which are properly *genitives* (§ 33, 2, *b*) and supply the place of *possessive pronouns*¹, express, like nouns in the genitive (§ 114, 2), not only the subject but also the object; e. g. **חַטָּאתِي** *my wrong* (i. e. done to me) Jer. 51, 35, Gen. 16, 5, Job 20, 29, 23, 14 and 34, 6, **ירָאָתוֹ** *his fear* (i. e. caused by him) Ex. 20, 20.

6. When one noun in the *constr. st.* is so connected with another in the genitive, as together to express periphrastically an adjective by means of the second substantive (§ 106, 1) then the suffix which really refers to this complex idea is appended to the second of the two nouns (compare the analogous position of the article, § 111, 1), e. g. Ps. 2, 6 **תְּהִרְכֵּשְׁי** *the mount of my holiness*, i. e. *my holy mount*, **עִירְכָּתְשָׁמֶן** *the city of thy holiness* (i. e. *thy holy city*) Dan. 9, 24, **אַלְיָלוֹרִי בְּסָמֶן** *his silver idols* Is. 2, 20, 31, 7, **צְדִירְאָנוֹ** *his firm steps* Job 18, 7.

Only seeming exceptions are constructions like **מִבְּרִכָּךְ וּמִבְּרִכָּה** in Ez. 16, 27 *thy conduct*, (*thy*) *lewdness*, or *thy conduct in lewdness* (*thy* being in apposition or in adverbial accusative), Ps. 85, 19 **אֵין־שָׁקָר** *my enemies for a falsehood* i. e. *without real cause* (**שָׁקָר** adverb. acc., cf. **שָׁנָא חָם** in parallel clause). Comp. Ps. 71, 7, 2 Sam. 22, 33, Prov. 23, 29.

Rem. 1. Through a certain inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language to that of books, *masculine* pronouns are sometimes used in reference to *feminine* substantives, Gen. 81, 9; 82, 16; 41, 23, Exod. 1, 21; Amos 4, 1 (comp. in regard to the masc. as the more common gender, § 107, 1, Rem.).

2. The accusative of the pronoun, as object of the verb, is often omitted, where it can be easily supplied from the context, specially the accusative *it*, after verbs of saying as **יִדְעָה** *and he told (it)* Gen. 9, 22; but also after other verbs, e. g. Gen. 38, 17 *till thou send (it)*, 24, 12 *let (it) meet me*.

¹ The possessive pronoun may be expressed by circumlocution, after the manner of the Aramaean, as in Ruth 2, 21 **בְּנֵי־עֲשֵׂרִים אֲנָשָׁר** *the youths who (are) to me*, i. e. *my servants*; especially after a substantive, which is followed by another in the genitive, as in 1 Sam. 17, 40 (comp. the analogous circumlocution for the genitive, § 115).—In this case there is sometimes a pleonastic use of the suffix, as **בְּנֵי־עֲשֵׂרִים אֲנָשָׁרִים** prop. *his palanquin, Solomon's*, Cant. 8, 7, comp. 1, 6.

3. There is, on the contrary, a redundancy of expression, when the noun, for which the pronoun stands, is itself employed in apposition after it, e. g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the child*, 1 Sam. 21, 14, Prov. 5, 22. Similar are the cases in which, to a nominal suffix is joined its corresponding substantive (with or without the article) as an explaining permutative, e. g. Ez. 10, 3 בְּבֹאוֹת חַיִשׁ when he went in, *the man*, Is. 17, 6, Prov. 13, 4; 14, 13. So also Gen. 2, 19 נֶשֶׁמֶת חַיִת . . . וְלֵאמֹר to them, *the living creatures*; and with repetition of the preposition Josh. 1, 2. Of another kind are the cases where the permutative with its own suffix is, in a certain way, a correction to the preceding suffix, e. g. Is. 29, 23: *when he*, or rather, *his children see*; comp. Ps. 83, 12, perhaps also Job 29, 3.

4. In some instances the force of the nominal suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak, that it has almost ceased to be felt; e. g. אָדָני my Lord (prop. *my lords*, see § 108, 2, b), namely in addressing God (Gen. 15, 2, 18, 3, Ps. 35, 23), but then without regard to the pronominal suffix, *the Lord*, meaning God¹ (always with Qāmēq to distinguish it from אָדָני my Lord, yet never,—on account of its original signification,—with the article). A similar rigidity of the suffix signification is seen in יְהֹוָה (prop. *his* or *its conjunctions=he, it together*), e. g. פָּלָחָעַט יְהֹוָה Ex. 19, 8, then even after the first person, without regard to the suffix, as אָנֹה יְהֹוָה 1 K. 3, 18, comp. Is. 41, 1, after the second person in Is. 45, 20. Thus we find in 1 K. 22, 28, Mic. 1, 2 *hear, ye nations* בְּלָדֶךָ; and sometimes even by placing בְּלָכֶם before, Job 17, 10.

§ 122.

OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The personal pronoun of the third person הָיָה, *sem.* הָיָה, plur. הֵיָה, *sem.* הָיָה (L. *is, ea, id* or *ille* etc.; *ii, eae, ea* or *illi* etc.) is also used as a demonstrative pronoun. In connection with a definite substantive it has then (by virtue of its adjectival use, § 111, 2) regularly the article (see exceptions § 111, 2, b), הָיָה הַחֲזִיר that man, בַּיּוֹם הַחֲזִיר in that day (on the other hand: הָיָה הַכְּבָד this is the word, which etc. Gen. 41, 28). — הָיָה stands sometimes almost enclitic, to emphasize the interrogative pronoun (like זֶה No. 2, Rem.) e. g. מַرְאֵה זֶה who indeed is this king of glory? Ps. 24, 10.

¹ See *Gesemi Thesaurus Linguæ Hebrææ*, p. 329. Comp. the Phœnician name of the idol *Adonis* (אֲדָנוֹן), also the French *Monsieur*, *Monseigneur*, *Notre Dame*, Eng. *Our Lady* (the virgin Mary).

The demonstrative **זה** is to be distinguished from **הוּא**; for **הוּא**=**הוא**, L. *hic*, always points to a (fresh) person or thing present, but **זה**=**այսօք**, *is, ille, ἐξείνος* indicates (like the article, § 109) a person or thing already mentioned or known. The distinction is clearly seen in Judges 7, 4, *of whom I say to thee, „this (זֶה) shall go with thee“, that one (այսօք) shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say to thee, „this (זֶה) shall not go with thee“, that one (այսօք) shall not go.* Hence **היום** **הזה** *this day*, means the day in which any one speaks or writes (Gen. 28, 33), but **היום** **הזה** (*that day*) means the day or time, of which the historian has just made mention (Gen. 15, 18, 28, 32), or the prophet just predicted (Is. 5, 30, 7, 18, 20), and goes on to relate or to predict.

2. The demonstrative **זה** (also **זוֹ**) occurs in poetical speech, also (**זֶה** even habitually) for the relative **אשר**, as in English *that for which*; e. g. Prov. 23, 22 *hearken to thy father* **זה יולדתך** *that begat thee*; Ps. 104, 8 *to the place* **לְהַמֵּה** *which (prop. this which) thou hast appointed for them.* **זה** may in such a case be still more nearly defined by a following pronominal suffix (like **אשר**, § 123, 1); e. g. Ps. 74, 2 *Mount Zion בְּזָה שָׁכַנְתָּךְ* *in which thou dwellest (prop. this thou dwellest in it).* Comp. Luther's *da du auf wohnest*); for the plural, Job 19, 19.

The Aram. **הַיְ**, **הַיְ**, which corresponds in sound to **הַיְ** is always relative.

זה is used adverbially,—*a)* in reference to place, *there*, Ps. 104, 25 **זה** *the sea there*, **זה** **זה** *see there!*—*b)* in reference to time, for *now*, as **זה** **בָּזְמִינָה** *now (already) twice Gen. 27, 36, Zech. 7, 3* **בָּזְמִינָה** **זה** *by this time*; *c)* to emphasize words of interrogation of all kinds e. g. **מי זה** Job 38, 2 *who darkeneth there* (also **בָּזְמִינָה** **זה** *what there?*, Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that?* (Judges 18, 24); **מי** **לְפָנֶיךָ** *why then?*; comp. also Gen. 27, 21 **אָתָּה יְהוָה** *whether thou be my son Esau or not.* (Analogous to the **מי** etc. is the enclitic use of **nam** in *quisnam*; comp. likewise *quis tandem*).

3. The interrogative **מי** *who?* is used in reference to *persons* (male or female Cant. 3, 6), to a *singular* or to a *plural*, as **מי אַתָּה** *who are ye* Josh. 9, 8, **מי אַתֶּם** Gen. 33, 5, Num. 22, 9 (for which, however, **מי** **וְמִי** is also used in Ex. 10, 8), also in reference to *things*, yet only when the idea of persons is implied, e. g. Gen. 33, 8, and already bolder, with the repetition of a personally used **מי** 1 Sam. 18, 18, 2 Sam. 7, 18.—**מי** may also stand in the genitive, as **בַּת מִי** *whose daughter*

art thou? Gen. 24, 23, 1 Sam. 17, 55, 56, 58, *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28, 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative, as **אֲתָּה מִי** *whom?* 1 Sam. 28, 11, Is. 6, 8; and with prepositions, as **בְּמַרְךָ** 1 K. 20, 14; **לְמַרְךָ** Gen. 32, 18, **אַחֲרֵי מַרְךָ** 1 Sam. 24, 15.—**מַה**, **מָה** *what?* stands as nominative and as accusative (see examples in § 37), as genitive (Jer. 8, 9), with prep. e. g. **עַל־מַה** *upon what?* Job 38, 6; **עַד־מַה** *till when?* Ps. 74, 9.—Both **מַרְךָ** and **מָה** stand in a direct and in an indirect question (according to the Ind.-Germ. logic of the language, for acc. to the Semitic that distinction does not exist) and at times also as indefinite pronouns *whoever* and *whatever* (Lat. *quis quis*, *quodcunque* or *quicquam*), as in Judg. 7, 3, 2 Sam. 18, 12, **מַרְךָ** placed after = *whoever it be*; likewise **מָה** = *anything else* Job 13, 13, 2 Sam. 18, 22. 23, comp. **דְּבַר מָה** Num. 23, 3 *whatever*. For the neuter *quidquam*, *anything whatever*, the language has besides the word **מְאֹנֶה**.

§ 123.

RELATIVE PRONOUN AND RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. The indeclinable **שֶׁן**¹ often serves merely as a *sign of relation*, i. e. to give a relative sense to adverbs or pronouns; e. g. **שָׁם** *there*, **שָׁם** *where*; **שָׁבֵר**—**שָׁבֵר** *thither*, **שָׁבֵר**—**שָׁבֵר** *whither*; **מְשֻׁם**—**מְשֻׁם** *thence*, **מְשֻׁם**—**מְשֻׁם** *whence*. In the same manner, the Hebrew mostly forms the *oblique cases* of the relative pronoun, *who*, *which*, viz.—

Dative, **לְךָ** *to him*, **לְהֶם** *to whom*; **לְךָם** *to them*, **אֲשֶׁר לְחָנָן** *to whom*.

Accusative, **אֲשֶׁר אָצַח** *him*, **אֲשֶׁר אָצַז** *her*; **אֲשֶׁר אָתֹה** *whom*.

With prepositions, *in him* or *in it*, **בְּאֲשֶׁר בְּ** *wherein*, **מִמְּפָנָיו** *from him* or *from it*, **מִמְּפָנָיו** *wherefrom*.

¹ **שֶׁן** is probably a substantive (comp. Arab. 'atar, Aram. **אֲתָּה** *trace, place*; according to others it is really a demonstrative, or a composition from several pronominal roots. Comp. Sperling „Die Nota relationis im Hebraischen“ (Lpz. 1876), but at present it serves as *Nota relationis*, or (as sometimes also v. § 122, 2) directly a *relative pronoun*, often even including the demonstrative (v. No. 2). By virtue of its original sign character (as simple *nota relationis*) **שֶׁן** may relate to persons as well as to things.

Genitive, whom לְשֹׁנָךְ אֲשֶׁר whose language Deut. 28, 49.

The accusative *whom* (Lat. *quem, quam*) may, however, be expressed by **אֲשֶׁר** alone, as in Gen. 2, 2.

Rem. 1 The Hebrew is able in this way, to give a relative sense to the pronoun of the first and second persons in the oblique cases, e.g. Gen 45, 4 אַתָּה אֲשֶׁר, Num. 22, 30 בְּנֵי יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר, Is 41, 8 Jacob יְהוָה בְּנֵךְ (thou) *whom I have chosen*, Hos 14, 4 In the nom of the 1st and 2nd persons, this is admissible also in German, e.g. *der ich, der du, die wir*, where *der* stands for *welcher*, and (like the Heb **אֲשֶׁר**) receives its definite sense from the following pronoun

2 The word **אֲשֶׁר** is commonly separated by one or more words, from the pronoun or adverb to which it gives a relative sense, as בְּשָׂם where was Gen 13, 3 Only seldom are they written closely together as in Deut 19, 17, 2 Ch 6, 11

2 The pronoun **אֲשֶׁר** often includes the demonstrative which in our construction precedes the relative as *who* for *he who* or as *qui* in Lat stands for *us qui*, e.g. Num 22, 6 לְאַשְׁר תְּאַרְבֵּן and (he) *whom thou cursest*, Is 52, 15 לא שָׁמַע (that) *which they have not heard* This is almost always the case where a preposition stands before **אֲשֶׁר**, the preposition being then construed with the supplied pronoun, and the relative taking the case which is required by the following part of the sentence, e.g. לְאַשְׁר (Lat *ei qui, que, quod, or ei quem, quam, etc., and us qui, quae, quae, etc.*) to him who, or to them who, from him who, from those who or which, בְּאַשְׁר prop. according to that which, but also according to the circumstance that, hence as just as (as conjunction before the verb at the head of comparative clauses, § 155, 2, h), אַתָּה בְּאַשְׁר *him, her who, that which, or those who*,¹ comp. finally, cases like בְּדַרְאָשֶׁר *in the hand of him, whom (thou hatest)*, Ez 23, 28.

To the relative sense lying in **אֲשֶׁר** sometimes the idea of place or time is also to be supplied, as בְּאַשְׁר in (that place) *where*, בְּאַשְׁר from (that time) *when* On **אֲשֶׁר** as conj. v 155, I, e

3. In all the cases treated under No 1 and 2 the relative can be expressed also, without **אֲשֶׁר** by a simple addition (subordination) of the relative clause (comp. the English,

¹ Very rare are the examples in which a preposition is connected immediately with **אֲשֶׁר** as a relative pronoun, viz. כִּי אֲשֶׁר Gen 31, 32 (Sept παρ' ω) for אֲשֶׁר *with whom* (44, 9, 10), בְּאַשְׁר Is 47, 12, for כִּי אֲשֶׁר כִּי in which.

the friend I met, the book I told you of). This omission (most frequent in poetry) takes place, when the שֶׁן would stand,—

- a) As a pronoun in the nominative or accusative; e. g. Gen. 15, 13 בְּאָרֶץ לֹא לִהְם *in a land (which belongs) not to them*, Ps. 7, 16 רַיֵּל בְּשַׁחַת וְפָעַל *and he falls into the pit (which) he makes*, Gen. 39, 4 כָּלִישָׁלָו all (which) was i. e. belonged to him (comp. vs. 5, where שֶׁן is inserted), Ec. 10, 5 (comp. 6, 1, where with the same words אֲשֶׁר is employed), Job 31, 12.¹
- b) As a sign of relation, e. g. Ps. 32, 2 *happy the man, לֹא יָחִשֵּׁב יְהִינָה לוֹ עָזָן to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity*, Job 3, 3, Ex. 18, 20, Is. 41, 2, 3, Ps. 49, 14. Frequently in specifications of time, when it would mean *when*, 2 Ch. 29, 27 בְּעֵת הַחֲלָה הַעֲולָה at the time (when) the sacrifice began, Jer. 36, 2 מִיּוֹם דְּבָרָךְ אֱלֹהִים from the day (when) I spoke to thee, Ps. 4, 8 עַת דְּגַנְּבָם וְחִרְזֹבָם רַבִּי in the time (when) their corn and their new wine are abundant, Ps. 49, 6, 56, 10 יוֹם אֲקָרָא in the day (when) I call, in v. 4 בַּיּוֹם the day (when) I fear, Ex. 6, 28 בַּיּוֹם דִּבֶּר יְהֹוָה in the day (when) the Lord spoke; Ps. 18, 1; with the utmost brevity in Is. 51, 1 *look to the rock חַצְבָּתָם (from which) ye were hewn*.
- c) Also as including the antecedent personal or demonstrative pronoun (No. 2); e. g. Is. 41, 24 תֹּועֵבָה וּבְחֵרֶב כְּמֵם an abomination (is) he who chooses you, Job 30, 13 (they) to whom there is no helper, Job 24, 19 Sheol (snatches away) חַטָּאֶר (those who) sin, comp. v. 9. The pronoun thus omitted may include the idea of place or time, as 1 Ch. 15, 12 אֲלִילָהכְּבִינָתוֹ לְזַה to (the place which) I have prepared for it (comp. however Ex. 23, 20); Job 38, 19.

Rem. 1. The substantive governing such a simply subordinate relative clause may, as with שֶׁן (No. 2 at the end) stand in the *constr.* st. so that the relative clause stands virtually in the genitive e. g. Ex.

¹ The Arabic omits the relative when the substantive to which it refers is indefinite, as above; but inserts it when the substantive is definite. In the latter case, the Hebrew commonly inserts it in prose (see Jer. 23, 29, Ex. 14, 13); though it is sometimes omitted (Ex. 18, 20), especially in poetry (Ps. 18, 3, 49, 13, 21, Deut. 32, 17, Job 3, 3).

4, 13 בְּ יָדֶךָ by the hand (of him whom) thou wilt send, Hos. 1, 2 בְּרִיחַתְּךָ the beginning (of that which) God spoke, Ps. 81, 6 בְּרִיחַתְּךָ the speech (of one whom) I knew not 65, 5, Job 29, 16, Lam. 1, 14, Jer. 48, 36. Comp. § 116, 3.

2. Relative clauses are joined on also by means of the *copula* (ג), e. g. Job 29, 12 *the orphan* וְלֹא־פָזֵר לוֹ and he that hath no helper, if it ought not to be translated. *and the thus helper-less orphan*; comp. Ps. 72, 12.

§ 124.

HOW TO EXPRESS THOSE PRONOUNS FOR WHICH THE HEBREW TONGUE HAD NO PROPER FORMS.

1. The *reflexive pronoun*, *se*, *sibi*, *myself*, *thyself*, *himself*, etc., is expressed,

- a) by the conjugations *Niph'āl* and *Hithpā'ēl*, see § 51, 2, § 54, 3;
- b) by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. (especially after prepositions),¹ e. g. Judg. 3, 16 לְאַחֲרֵךְ and Ehud made for him (himself) a sword, Gen. 22, 3 Abraham took two of his servants לְצַאֵן with him i. e. with himself, Gen. 8, 9 (אַלְיוֹן), 33, 17, 1 Sam. 1, 24 she took him up שָׁמֶן with her, for with herself; Jer. 7, 19 אֲוֹתָם themselves, Ez. 34, 2, 8, 10; also apparently pleonastic as a so-called *Dativus ethicus* Job 12, 11; 13, 1.—In the like manner is the pronoun *suus*, *sua*, *suum* expressed by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. with the noun, since *רוֹסֵךְ* signifies either *equus suus* (prop. *sui*, genit.) or *equus ejus*;
- c) partly by suffixes, אַתָּה, קָתָה, אַתָּהֶם, אַתָּהֶם (comp. under b above). partly by circumlocution with substantives, especially פָּנָה, e. g. לֹא אָקֻשׁ בְּפָנָה I know not myself (prop. my soul) Job 9, 21, Jer. 37, 9; בְּקַרְבָּה within herself (prop. in her inner part) Gen. 18, 12 Comp. Rem. 3.

As בְּקַרְבָּה in the last example, so also פָּנָה is nowhere (not even Is. 46, 2 אַתָּהֶם yourselves) a merely idle circumlocution, but points towards the mental substratum of the personality, which is affected by the actions, thoughts, etc. springing from it. The Arabic, in a similar manner, expresses the idea *self* by *soul*, *spirit*, and so the Sanskrit

¹ So also often in Luther's Bible, where *ihm*, *ihr*, stand for *sick*, and in the English Bible, where *him*, *her* stand for *himself*, *herself*.

(*âtman*), the Arabic also by *eye*, the Rabbinic by צַדֵּקָה, v below Rem 3, bone, *bôrîm* body, the Ethiop and Amharic by שְׁאַלְמָה head, the Egyptian by mouth, hand, etc Comp. middle High German *mîn lîp*, *dîn lîp*

2 The personal or demonstrative pronoun is generally included (comp. § 123, 2) in אשר in all the cases, both singular and plural. The use of the interrogative מה with a similar sense is based on a further weakening of the indefinite use of מה (§ 122, 3 at the end) and is already more like the Aramaic, as מַהֲשׁ that which Ec 1, 9, 3, 15 (Syr מַהְ)

Rem 1 *Each, every one*, with reference to a person, (and even to animals Gen 15, 10) is expressed by איש a man Gen 42, 25, Num. 17, 17, sometimes repeated איש איש Ex 36, 4, איש איש Ps 87, 5, with reference either to persons or things, by כל כל־בָּקָר every morning, also by the plural כל־בָּקָרִים every morning Ps 73, 14, Job 7, 18 (with so called נ distributive)

2. *Any one, some one, is expressed by איש Lev 1, 2, anything, something (especially in connection with a negation) by אֶלְמָם Lev 1, 2, בְּלֹא־בָּרֶב, בְּלֹא־בָּרֶב without the article, Gen 18, 14, Lev 5, 2, Num 31, 23 after a negative Gen 19, 8, Eccl 8, 5, comp אין־בָּרֶב Num 20, 19=nothing Comp also § 122, 3*

3 *Self is expressed (besides the way in No 1, c above), in reference to persons or things, by אֶלְמָנִי דָּוָתָה, הָיוּ אֶלְמָנִי דָּוָתָה, as אֶלְמָנִי דָּוָתָה the Lord he is the Lord himself Is 7, 14, the יהודים themselves Is 9, 1 — The same is done with the article, e.g. קָנִישׁ הָרוּאָה Job 1, 1 the same man, קָנִיתָ הָרוּאָה at the same time (but this signifies also that man, at that time, comp § 122, 1) In reference to things the noun עצם prop bone, body (in this case fig for essence, substance) is also employed as a periphrasis for the pronoun, e.g. בְּצַמְתִּים הַיּוֹם בְּצַמְתִּים on the self-same day Gen 7, 13, Josh 10, 27, Ezr 24, 2, Ex 24, 10 מְעֻצָּם דְּשָׂרִים מְעֻצָּם כְּבוֹדָה in his very prosperity (i.e. in the midst of his prosperity) Job 21, 23*

4 *The one—the other (alter—alter) is expressed by repeating זה (Is. 6, 3) or אֶחָד (2 Sam 14, 8, cf 1 Sam 14, 10), or by שָׁנִין one with אֶחָד his brother or with יָמִין his friend and where the feminine is required, by שָׁנָה woman with אֶחָדָה her sister or רִבְקָה her friend, both the masc and fem forms are used also with reference to inanimate things See the Lex under these words The same form is used to express one another, as Gen 13, 11 and they separated אישׁ צָלָא אֶחָד וְאֶחָד the one from the other (i.e. from one another), Ex. 26, 3 five curtains shall be joined תְּאַחֲזָה לְאַחֲזָה to one another*

5 *Some is often expressed simply by the plural form, as some יְמִינִים days Gen 24, 55, 40, 4, Is 65, 20, Dan 8, 27, some שָׁנִים years Dan. 11, 8, 8, and sometimes by אשר יְשַׁאַת (שְׁאַלְמָה=אֲשֶׁר oī, L sunt qui) Neh. 5, 2—4, or by אֲשֶׁר Gen 27, 44*

CHAPTER III.

SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

§ 125.

USE OF THE TENSES IN GENERAL.¹

From the poverty of the Hebrew language in the means of expressing the absolute and relative divisions of time (§§ 40, 48), we may naturally expect some *vagueness* in their use.

We are not to infer from this, however, that there was scarcely any well-defined and regular use of the two existing tenses; on the contrary, each of them has its distinct sphere, as already intimated in Note² on page 118, and as will be explained more in detail in the following sections. Besides this the Imperfect is especially used in a modified form (see § 48) for expressing the relations of the Optative, the Jussive, and the Subjunctive (v. § 128). We must further add the peculiarity of the Hebrew diction already mentioned in § 49, viz. that of joining by means of *Wāw consecutive*, Imperfects to a Perfect and Perfects to an Imperfect (§ 126, 6, § 129).

As examples where the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* stand in plainly expressed opposition of time, we refer to Josh. 1, 5 כִּי־בָּאַתְּ כִּי־מֵשֶׁה אֲחִיךָ כִּי־*as I was with Moses (so) will I be with thee* v. 17, Is. 46, 4 אָנֹכִי עֲשֵׂיתִךְ וְאָנֹכִי אֲשֶׁר אָשֶׁר אָנֹכִי אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי יִשְׁרָאֵל I have done it, and I will (still) bear (you), and v. 11 דִּבְרָה נִצְחָה יִשְׁרָאֵל I have spoken it, and will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and will accomplish it; Ex. 10, 14, Deut. 32, 21, 1 K. 2, 38, Joel 2, 2, Ec. 1, 9.

¹ Comp. Driver, A Treatise on the use of the tenses in Hebrew (Oxf. 1874), with the criticism on it by A. Müller in the Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol. 1877, I, S. 198 ff.

§ 126.
THE USE OF THE PERFECT.

The Perfect stands—

1. In itself and properly, for *absolutely* and *fully* past time (*Præteritum perfectum*), e. g. Gen. 40, 8 *וְהִלֵּם חֲלֹמָנִי* we have dreamed a dream, Gen. 3, 10, 11 *מַר הַגָּדֶל לְךָ* who has declared to thee? v. 13 *why hast thou done this?* Comp. verses 14, 17, 22. Hence it is used in reports and narrations of past things, Job 1, 1 *וְהִי־ּה כֹּהֵן הַחֲרָא אִישׁ הָרֶץ עִזָּת* there was a man in the land of Uz . . . and this man was, etc., v. 4 and they went (*וַיֵּלֶךُ*) . . . and made (*וְעִשָּׂו*) a feast; Dan. 2, 1 in the 2d year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed (*חָלַם*) dreams, Ruth 4, 7, Judg. 6, 3.

In this narrative style, the Perfect is commonly followed by the Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive*, see § 129, 1.

2. For an action completed in the past (the *Pluperfect*). So especially (as a matter of course) in relative clauses preceded in the governing clause by a tense relating to the past (*perfect* or *imperfect consecutive*) the *Pluperfect*, e. g. Gen. 2, 2 and he rested *כַּשְׁפֵּה אַשְׁר מְכֻלָּמָלָא כָּתוֹ* from all his work which he had done, v. 5 *the Lord had not yet caused it to rain* 7, 9, 19, 27, 20, 18, 27, 30, 29, 10, 31, 19, 1 Sam. 6, 19.

3. For our abstract *Present*, where this denotes,—*a*) a condition or attribute already long continued and still now existing, as *יְعַרְתִּי* I know (prop. I have discerned) Job 9, 2, 10, 18; *לֹא יְعַרְתִּי* I know not Gen. 4, 9 (yet also, acc. to No. 2, with a reference to the past, I knew not Num. 22, 34); *שָׁנָא חָרֵר* I hate¹ Ps. 31, 7; *צָדְקָה* I am righteous Job 34, 5; *תְּלִילָה* thou art great Ps. 104, 1; *תְּנִתְנָה* I am little Gen. 32, 11; or—*b*) a past but still ever recurring action (often in statements of general experience) e. g. *אָמַרְתִּי* I say (I mean) Ps. 31, 15, Job 7, 13; Ps. 1, 1 *happy the man who walks* (*בְּהַלְלָה*) *not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands* (*בְּשָׁמֶךָ*) *in the way of sinners, nor sits* (*בְּשָׁבֵב*) *in the seat of scorner*. 10, 3, 119, 40;—*c*) a present

¹ Similar in Latin are *novi*, *memini*, *odi*; in Greek οἶδα, μέμνημαι, δέδορκα, Σοικα, κέχραγα, etc., in N. Test. ἤλπικα, ἡγάπηκα.

action to which the idea of firm assurance is attached (comp. No. 4 below) e. g. נֶשְׁבָעֵנִי I swear Jer. 22, 5, רַקְיָמֹתָנִי I raise (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. 14, 22.

Here (in the sphere of our Present) the Perfect and the Imperfect meet together and are used with equal propriety, according as the speaker views the action or state expressed by the verb as already existing before, but still continuing or perhaps just now ended, or as then first about coming to pass, in progress, or perhaps occurring at the instant (comp. § 127, 2). Accordingly, we find in nearly the same sense לא יָכֹל (Ps. 40, 13) and לא אָכַל (Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35). In such cases the two tenses often stand side by side as interchangeable, e. g. Is. 5, 12, Prov. 1, 22, Job 3, 17, 18.

4. Even for our *Future*, in *protestations* and *assurances*, in which the mind of the speaker views the action as already accomplished, being as good as done. In German and English the Present is often used, in this case, for the Future. So in stipulations or promises in the way of a contract, Gen. 23, 11 *I give* (*תַּתֵּן*) *to thee the field*, v. 13 *I give* (*תַּתֵּן*) *money for the field*; particularly in promises made by God, Gen. 1, 29, 15, 18, 17, 20. Also in confident discourse (*Perfectum confidentiae*) especially when God is said to be about to do something (with reference to the divine counsel, where it is already present as an accomplished fact), e. g. פָּרֹחַת אָוֹתֵר יְהֹוָה thou deliverest me, O Lord (Ps. 31, 6); hence frequently used in lively representations of the future, and in *prophecies* (*Perfectum propheticum*), e. g. Is. 9, 1 *the people who walk in darkness see (אָרֶן)* *a great light*, 5, 13 *therefore my people goes into captivity (גָּלוֹת)*.

The Arabs likewise employ the Perfect, generally made still stronger by the particle **كَذِير**, in emphatic promises, etc. They say, *I have already given it to thee*, meaning, it is as good as done.¹—A similar usage is that of the Lat. *perii*, Gr. δλωλα, διέφθορας II. 15, 128.

¹ The assurance that something will happen, can also serve to express the wish that something may happen. So Gen. 40, 14 בְּמִצְדָּקָתְךָ נִמְצָדֵךְ וְרַיְבָּנָךְ and *do thou a kindness, I pray, with me* (prop. thou surely doest kindness with me, I hope), and make mention of me to Pharaoh. The addition of נִי makes this sense of the Perf. here unquestionable. In Arabic, likewise, the Perf. is employed in wishes and obstestations. In Heb. further, Job 21, 16 *the counsel of the wicked רַקְבָּתְכֶם be far from me!* 22, 18. Comp. the use of the Perfect consecutive when following the Imperative, in No. 6, c.

5. For the so-called *relative tenses*, in which the past is the principal idea, viz.—*a*) for the *Imperfect* or *Pluperfect subjunctive* (for which the *Imperfect* too can stand, § 127, 5), as in Is. 1, 9 *except the Lord of Hosts had left* (הָזִיר) *unto us כִּסְדֵּם* (הַיִּנְׁוֹן) *לְעַמְּךָ דְּמִינֵּנוּ* as *Sodom were we, to Gomorrah were we like*, Gen. 21, 7 *מַיְלָל who would have said?* (Quis dixerit?);—*b*) Num. 14, 2 *לֹא מִתְנַצֵּח would that we had died!* (*לֹא* with the *Imperfect* would be, *would that we should die!* § 136, 2), Judg. 13, 23, 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הָרַגְנָן) Job 3, 13, 10, 18, 19 *כִּאֲשֶׁר לֹא הָיוּתִי אֲזִיתָה I should be as if I had not been,* 23, 10, Ruth 1, 12, *if I thought*, etc.;—*c*) for the *Future Perfect* (*futurum exactum*) e. g. Is. 4, 4 *עַמְּךָ רְחַצֵּה if he shall have washed away*, prop. *if he has washed away*, 6, 11.—Gen. 43, 14 *כִּאֲשֶׁר שָׁבַלְתִּי שְׁבָלָתִי as I am bereaved* (for, if I shall be, *ubi orbus fuero*) *then I am bereaved* (the language of despondent resignation), Est. 4, 16.

* * *

6. In all the foregoing cases we have considered the *Perfect* independently of logical connection with preceding verbs. Not less diversified however is the use of the so-called *perfectum consecutum* which is joined to a preceding clause by ו (Waw consecutive of the *Perfect*); it is then coordinate with another *perf. consec.*, or represents a consequence from such actions as have preceded in the *Imperfect* or any of its equivalents (*Imperative, Participle*). The consequence may be an immediate and necessary one (consecutive in the stricter sense) or merely external, based upon the simple succession of time (v. examples). On the distinction in the form of the *perf. consec.* through the shifting of the tone v. § 49, 3.

This exchange of the *perf.* with the *impf.* or its equivalents, and vice-versa, the *impf.* with the *perf.* is a prominent peculiarity of the Hebrew *consecutio temporum*. It not only offers a certain compensation for the lack of tenses and moods, but it also yields to the Hebrew style, the charm of an important articulation, the action which is going on, coming soon to a quiet stop in the *perfect*, and later again continuing anew. The regularity of this change, it is true, belongs rather to the higher style, and even there it depends more upon the view of the speaker, viz. whether he considers an action as the logical consequence of the preceding one, or simply as coordinate. (In the latter case he would use the same tense).—The former custom of giving to the Wāw

consecutive the designation of *Wāw consecutive* (v. p. 118 Note 2) misinterprets the real nature of the Hebrew tenses. It is not the transformation of a preterite into a future, or vice-versa, but a logical sequence. Therefore a *perf. consec.* may belong to the sphere of our present or past (v. below, letter *d*).

The perfect consecutive represents:

a) Future actions or conditions as consequences of actions that have preceded in the imperfect (in the sense of our future), e. g. Gen. 24, 40 *the Lord will send his angel* וְרֹאשֵׁלִיתָךְ and *prosper thy way* (prop. *and thus he prospers = that he may prosper*; comp. v. 7, *that thou mayest take*), Judges 6, 16, 1 Sam. 17, 32, Job 22, 30. Likewise after a participle (as equivalent to the imperfect) Gen. 41, 29 ff., 1 Kings 2, 2, Ruth 3, 2 ff.

b) Actions conceived as possibly occurring in the future (*conjunctions praesentis* or *imperfecti*) after imperfects of a similar signification, comp. § 127, 3; e. g. Gen 3, 22 פָּרַד יְשֻׁלָּח וְאָכַל *lest he put forth his hand and take and eat* (prop. *and thus takes and eats*) 19, 19, 32, 12, Num. 15, 40, 2 Sam. 15, 4, Is. 6, 10, Ez 14, 13, 14.

c) Commands in connection with a preceding *Imperative* and as a further sequence from the same, e. g. Gen. 6, 21 נַעֲמָן . . . קַח־לְךָ take for thyself . . . and gather (prop. *and thou gatherest*) Gen. 27, 43, 44, 1 K. 2, 36. As with the announcement under letter *a*, so here the command passes over into a description of that which is to be done.

d) Present or past actions after *Imperfects* (or their equivalents) moving in that sphere of time, e. g. Gen. 2, 6, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 19, Amos 5, 19, Nahum 3, 12; after participles e. g. John 6, 13.

Rem. 1. The equivalent of an *Imperfect* which then is followed by a *Perf. consec.* may consist also in an abruptly stated expression of time, e. g. Ex. 16, 6, 7 שְׁבַב יְרַצְתָּם at even (prop. *when it will be even*) ye shall know, Ex. 17, 4 yet a little while וְסַלְפָנִים they will stone me, 1 Sam. 20, 18, 1 K. 2, 42, Ez. 39, 27, Prov. 24, 27.

The *Perf. consec.* stands likewise as logical sequence for our *fut.*, or in the sense of an *Imperative*, or *Optative* after antecedent clauses which imply,—*a*) a cause, or—*b*) a condition. Comp. for letter *a*, Num. 14, 24 because another spirit is with him וְהַבְּרִיאָתָנוּ and (therefore) I will

bring him; Gen. 20, 11 *there is no fear of God in the place* תְּרֵבֶשׂ, *and (therefore) they will kill me* (i. e. there is etc., so they kill me), 45, 12, 13, Ex. 6, 6. Comp. Ps. 25, 11 *for thy name's sake* תְּלִזְעָנָה *so forgive (or thou wilt forgive)*. For letter *b*, Gen. 33, 10 *if I have found favour* וְתַחֲזִקְתִּי *then take*; and without the conditional particle (§ 155, 4, a), Gen. 44, 22 *should he leave his father* וְכֹלֶב *then he (the father) would die*, verses 28, 29; 33, 13, 42, 38, 1 K. 8, 14.—Also to other very various specifications of the present we find appended those of the future by means of וְ with the *Perf.* (e. g. Judg. 13, 3 *thou art barren* וְתִּרְהִירְתָּה, *but thou shalt conceive and bear*, 1 Sam. 9, 8 *here is the fourth part of a shekel* וְנִנְתַּחֲזֵה *and I give it*), or commands and wishes (e. g. Ruth 3, 9 *I am Ruth* וְפִרְשָׁתִךְ *and spread thou*), or also of interrogation (e. g. Ex. 5, 5 *the people are many in the land* וְהַשְׁבִּתָם *and will you let them rest?* Gen. 29, 15, 1 Sam. 25, 10, 11).

2. A very frequent formula in prophetic language (like וְיִרְאֶה *and it came to pass* in the historic style) is וְיִהְיֶה *and it will come to pass*. This is found as well in coordination with other consecutive perfects, as after imperfects (or their equivalents, see Rem. 1), especially when a particular time is named, as Is. 7, 18 וְיִהְיֶה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִשְׁרָקֵן.

§ 127.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT.

Although the signification of the Imperfect is almost more comprehensive still than that of the Perfect, yet the language has here a more definite expression for certain modal relations which lie in the sphere of the *Imperfect*, inasmuch as it has (as shown, in § 48) a shortened and a lengthened form of the Imperfect, the former as the *Jussive* and the latter as the *Cohortative* (see § 128). The *Wāw consecutive* also has a very extensive and important influence on this tense (§ 129). Yet the shortening, as has been shown in treating of the verb (§ 48), is not obvious, at least orthographically, in all the forms; and in other respects, also, there is some uncertainty, so that the common form occurs occasionally in almost all the relations, for which the shortened form is especially designed.

The Imperfect forms, in general, the contrary of the Perfect, and expresses, accordingly, what is unfinished or just incoming, what is taking place and future, but also what re-

peatedly happens and is continued at any point of time, even of the past (see Note ² on p. 118).

Hence the Imperfect stands—

1. For *future time* simply Gen. 9, 11 *there shall not again be a flood*, Ex. 4, 1 *הַנּוּ לֹא־אָמִינְךָ לִי וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ בְּקֶלֶךָ כִּי יַאֲמִרְתִּי lo! they will not believe me nor hearken to my voice, for they will say, etc.*; Gen. 6, 1, 9, 5, 1 K. 1, 13, 24, 30 *יְמִלְךָ אַחֲרַי he will (or shall) reign after me*. Also in speaking of the future from some point of view in the past, as 2 K. 3, 27 *the first-born who was to reign (regnaturus erat)*, Gen. 43, 25 *they had heard that they should eat (אָכְלָה) there*, Ps. 78, 6 *so that sons who (in the future) should be born (qui nascituri essent, at the same time with the secondary idea of an action repeated in the future) should know it*. For *Fut. Perfect* only in connection with a Perf. in the same sense (§ 126, 5, b) Is. 4, 4, 6, 11.

2 For *present time* (very often), comp. § 126, 3, Rem. e. g. 1 K. 3, 7 *לֹא אָדַע I know not*, Is. 1, 13 *לֹא אָכְלָה I cannot bear*, Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35, 37, 15 *מַה תִּצְבָּקֵשׁ what seekest thou?* Gen. 44, 7, Ex. 5, 15, 1 Sam. 1, 8, Ps. 1, 2, 3.—In almost all these examples the *Imperfect* presents at the same time an action lasting to the present; this idea of an action continuing or constantly recurring is still stronger when permanent facts are concerned which take place now and always shall take place, or generally recognized experiences, e. g. Gen. 43, 32 *the Egyptians may not eat with the Hebrews*, Job 4, 17 *is man just before God?* 2, 4, Prov. 15, 20 *בֶן חִכְםָ יְשֻׁפֵּחַ אָב a wise son gladdens a father*; and very often so in Job and Proverbs. Comp also the phrase *לֹא־רְגֹזֶתֶה כֵּן it is not the custom to* (must not) *be done so* (v. No. 4, d), Gen. 29, 26, 34, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 12. More rarely also the *perfect* stands in the above cases. § 126, 3, a, b.

In the same formula we find at one time the *Perfect* and at another the *Imperfect*, but not necessarily without difference of meaning, e. g. Job 1, 7 *תְּבוֹאָה מֵעַדְךָ whence comest thou?* (because here the coming is conceived as being still in its latest stadium; on the other hand) Gen. 16, 8 *אָרַבְנָה בְּאַחֲרֵיכֶם whence art thou come?*

3. For a number of relations which in Latin are expressed by the *Subjunctive*, especially by the *Present Subjunctive*. In this way is expressed what is future or what is expected to occur, according to a subjective view such as the will of the individual or according to some other presupposition. It stands—

- a) For the Subjunctive in cases like Job 10, 18: **אָנוּעַ** *I should have given up the ghost*, etc.; vs. 19, **אָהִיָּה** *I should have become*. Then frequently after particles signifying *that, that not* (*ut, ne*), as **אֲשֶׁר**, specially **לֹמַעַן אֲשֶׁר** and **לֹמַעַן אֲשֶׁר** (*without that*), also **יֵצְנֵן אֲשֶׁר** *that, in order that*, thus in consecutive and final clauses;¹ e. g. Gen. 11, 7 **אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׂמְעוּ** *that they may not understand*, Num. 17, 5 **לֹמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָקְרַב** *that there come not near*, Deut. 4, 1 **לֹמַעַן חَווֹרִי** *that ye may live*, Ps. 78, 6, Ez. 12, 12 **לֹמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא וַיַּרְאֶה** *that he see not*; and after **פָּנִים** *that not, lest* e. g. Gen. 3, 22. Also after a simple **ר**, e. g. Lam. 1, 19 *they sought for themselves food* **וַיִּשְׁבֹּרֶךְ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם** *that they might sustain their life*.
- b) For the Optative. As a rule this is expressed by the *cohortative* (in the first person) or *Jussive* (2d and 3d person) § 128, 1, and to the latter word belong also all those examples in which the form of the *Jussive* is not distinguished from the usual form of the *Imperfect*. Sometimes the optative signification may be known then from the added particle **אֵלֶּה**² (§ 128, 1, 2); e. g. Ps. 7, 10 *O that might cease!*—Gen. 44, 18 **וְיִכְרְנָא עַבְדָּךְ** *might thy servant speak!* i. e. *let me speak*, v. 33 **וְיִשְׁבְּרָנָא** *may he now abide!* Yet, at times, the full form is employed, even when the shortened one might have been possible, e. g. **תְּהִיאָה** *let appear* Gen. 1, 9 (and so frequently with the Imperfects **הָלָל**, comp. 41, 34), **תְּשִׁירָה** Prov. 22, 17.
- c) For the Imperative, as soon as it would have to be joined to a negation (which acc. to § 46, 1 is impossible), there-

¹ When these particles have causal signification, the Perfect takes the place of the Imperfect; e. g. **בִּזְמָן** **בִּזְמָן** *because with the Perf.* in Judg. 2, 20, **בִּזְמָן** *because* in Gen. 34, 27.

² The particle **אֵלֶּה** (§ 105) gives to the optative the force of a modest request. On its use with the first person, see § 128, 1.

fore to express negative commands (prohibitions) then either **לֹא** is joined with the pure imperfect in the sense of a certain expectation (comp. Ger. *das wirst du nicht thun!* "that wilt thou not do!" as the strongest form of command) therefore especially with divine commands, e. g. **לֹא תִגְנַב** *thou shalt (prop. wilt) not steal* Ex. 20, 15 (also verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10); or **לֹא** with the *Jussive* in the sense of disuasion or of deprecatory wish, or (with the third person) opinion that something ought not to occur, as **אֲלֵהֶיךָ יִרְאֶה** *fear not* Gen. 46, 3. As in this example, so also elsewhere, the *Jussive* after **לֹא** coincides frequently with the usual form of the Imperfect (comp. above, letter b); however also here occurs sometimes the shortened form after **לֹא** especially after verbs (ל"ה) e. g. **אֲלֵהֶתְעַשָּׂה** 2 Sam. 13, 12; with the third person to express a negative wish Job 3, 9 **אֲלֵהֶרְאָה**; however also **אֲלֵהֶחְבִּיט** Gen. 19, 17; **אֲלֵהֶנְיָם** Ps. 121, 3 (comp. § 128, 2, b).—Finally belong here the cases in which the *Impf.* in the 1st person expresses an obligation or necessity of the action as Job 9, 29 **אֲרַשֵּׁעْ if I** (needs must) *be wicked*; 12, 4 **אֲהִיה** comp. 9, 15, 19, 16.

a) For the so-called Potential, where we use *may*, *can*, *might*, *could*, *ought*, etc.; e. g. Gen. 2, 16 **אֲכַל תִּאְכַל** *thou mayest surely eat*, Gen. 3, 2, 3, Prov. 20, 9 **מַرְאֵמֶר** *who can say?* Gen. 43, 7 **חִידְצַנְדָע** *could we really know?* Gen. 20, 9 **אָשָׁר לֹא יִعַשְׂנִי** (*deeds*) *that may (or should) not be done*; comp. with this No. 2 above, at the end.

4. Even within the sphere of the *past* the Imperfect has scope; and it is so used chiefly in these cases:—

a) After the particles **וְ** *then*,¹ **בְּ** *not yet* (*in not yet*) before; e. g. Josh. 10, 12 **וְיָדָבֶר וְהַשְׁעֵץ** *then spake Joshua*, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 21, 17, 1 K. 3, 16, Gen. 2, 5 **וְהִיה** *there was not yet*, 19, 4, 24, 45 (on the other hand, verse 15 *Perfect*) 1 Sam. 3, 7, everywhere in the sense of our *Pluperfect*; 37, 18 for our *Imperfect*; **בְּ** *before* **תִּזְאֶה** *before thou camest forth (priusquam exires)* Jer. 1, 5 (compare the use

¹ After **וְ** signifying *then* in respect to future time, the Imperfect has the force of our Future (Ex. 12, 48, Ps. 2, 5).

of the Perf. and Impf. in the same sentence after שָׁרֵךְ in 1 Sam. 3, 7).

- b) Often also of constantly repeated actions, of what is customary and habitual, like the Imperfect of the Latin and French. Repeated or customary action, as it involves the conception of something ever recurring or unfinished, is fitly expressed by the Imperfect; Job 1, 5 *thus did* (רַעֲשָׂה) *Job continually*, 22, 6, 7, 29, 12, 13, Ex. 1, 12, Judg. 6, 4, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 1, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 18 *for so the king's daughters used to clothe themselves* (חַלְבְּשָׁתָן), 1 K. 5, 25, Ps. 42, 5, 78, 40, Job 23, 11. No less belong here cases where the Impf. represents the longer duration of an action in the past, etc., e. g. Gen. 2, 6: *there went up* (continually) *a mist* (יְעַלָּה); Judges 2, 1, אֲעַלָּה (Is. 6, 4 אִטְלָה); Ps. 32, 4 תְּכַבֵּד), 18, 31 אֲרֹדוֹת (צְשָׁמֶן); Job 15, 8 צְשָׁמֶן.
- c) Of momentary actions, where the Perfect might be expected. This takes place, especially in poetry, on the same principle as we employ the Present tense in lively representations of the past (v. above letter b), e. g. Is. 51, 2, Job 3, 3, 11, 4, 12, 15, 16, 10, 10, 11, 15, 7, Ps. 18, 7; in prose probably 1 K. 3, 4 (רַעֲלָה).

5. For the Lat. Imperfect (or Present) Subjunctive, especially in conditional sentences (the *modus conditionalis*), in both the protasis (antecedent clause) and the apodosis (consequent clause), or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 . . . בְּפָרָאַלְךָ אַתָּה even if I should go . . . I should not fear, Job 5, 8 *I would apply unto God* (were I in thy place), 9, 20 אֵם אַזְכָּר if I were just, 3, 13, 16, 14, 14, 15, 23, 10, Ruth 1, 13 (after perfects in the antecedents, v. 12). However the imperfects of the examples will have to be taken in part as jussive forms. Comp. § 128, 2, c.

§ 128.

USE OF THE COHORTATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

1. The Imperfect as lengthened by the ending חַ— (the Cohortative, § 48, 3) is used almost exclusively in the first person; and is expressive of *resolve* or *endeavour*. Hence this form is employed,—

a) to express excitement of one's self, or a determination, spoken with some degree of emphasis; Ps. 31, 8 אָגִילְהָ נַעֲמֵךְ (come!) let me be glad and rejoice! 2, 3. נַעֲמֵךְ (come!) let us break asunder, Gen. 11, 3. With less emphasis, in soliloquy and simple expressions of will; Ex. 3, 3 אָסְרֹדְנֵא וְרָאָה I will turn aside now and see, Gen. 18, 21, 32, 21;

b) to express a wish, a request (for permission); Deut. 2, 27 אָעֶבֶרֶת let me pass through, Num. 20, 17 יְצַבְּרוּנֵא let us, pray, pass through;

c) when a purpose is expressed, the tense being then commonly joined by ו to a preceding Imperative; Gen 27, 4 bring it hither וְאָכַלְהָ and I will eat—that I may eat, 29, 21, 42, 34, Deut. 32, 1, Job 10, 20, Ps. 2, 8, 39, 14;

d) less frequently it stands in conditional sentences with if, though, expressed or implied, Job 6, 10, 16, 6 though I speak . . . and (though) I forbear; 11, 17, 19, 18, 30, 26, Ps. 139, 8; so perhaps also אָרְדֵּנְהָ 2 Sam. 22, 38: when I pursued, but comp. Ps. 18, 38;

e) moreover, it stands, frequently after *Wāw* consecutive (§ 49, 2)

2. The shortened Imperfect (the *Jussive*, § 48, 4) stands principally,—

a) in the expression of command, wish and request, as תְּפַזֵּר prof'erat Gen. 1, 24 (on the contrary, as Indicative תְּפַזֵּר prof'ert Is. 61, 11), יְקַם stabiliat Jer. 28, 6, Num. 6, 25, 26, Gen. 33, 9 קְרַב be it to thee, לְדֹבֶר utinam fiat Gen. 30, 34; also joined to a preceding Imper. by ו (comp. No. 1, c), as in Ps. 27, 14 חִזְקֵךְ וְיִאמֵץ לְבָךְ take courage and let thy heart be strong, Ex. 8, 4 intreat the Lord and may he take away—that he may take away, 10, 17, Judg. 6, 30, 1 Sam. 7, 3, 1 K. 21, 10, Prov. 20, 22, Est. 7, 2 חִזְצֵשׁ and it shall be done;

b) with a negative in prohibition, etc. Generally after לא, acc. to § 127, 3, c, e. g. אַל־תַּשְׂחַת Ex. 23, 1; in the tone of entreaty: אַל־תַּשְׂחַב אֶדְךָנִי destroy not Deut. 9, 26, אַל־תַּשְׂחַב אֶדְךָנִי turn not away my face 1 K. 2, 20, Ps. 27, 9, 69, 18, or of warning, as אַל־יַּאֲמַן let him not trust Job 15, 31,

be thou not Prov. 3, 7; sometimes in the sense of a negative assurance, the contents being put as something that must not happen e.g. Is 2, 9, Ps. 41, 3, 50, 3, 121, 3, Prov. 3, 3, 25, Job 5, 22, 20, 17. Rarely the *Jussive* stands also after נָלַךְ (Gen. 24, 8, 1 K. 2, 6), the strict command as originally intended having been softened subsequently by the *Jussive* (for נָלַךְ with the *Indic. Impf.*, comp. § 127, 3, c);

c) frequently in conditional sentences (like the Arabic usage) in both the protasis and the apodosis (comp. § 127, 5); thus in Ps. 45, 12 (*תִּחְאֹרֶה* *desnes he . . . then*), 104, 20 (*תִּשְׁתַּחֲנֵן* and *וַיַּהַי* *settest thou darkness . . . then it becomes night*), Hos. 6, 1 (*דְּגַם*), Is. 41, 28 (*וְאָרַא*), Gen. 4, 12 (*לֹא תִּקְרַב*), Ex. 7, 9 (*וַיַּהַי*), Lev. 15, 24 (*תִּהְרַבְּנָה . . . אָמָן*), Job 10, 16, 13, 5, 22, 28.

Undoubtedly the use of the *Jussive* in conditional sentences is based on its original signification of volition. something may be so and so, then this and that must occur as consequence. Examples however as Job 9, 33 *there is no arbiter between us who may lay* (*רִשְׁוֹת*, being plainly a subject=qui ponat) show that in such cases the voluntative has been weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and thus the *Jussive* serves to express such facts as may *eventually* occur. To this must be added frequent cases where the *Jussive* stands without any secondary meaning instead of the usual *Imperfect* and this occurs not only in the place where a mistaking of the form may spring from the defective writing (Ps. 25, 9, 47, 4, Job 18, 27, 20, 23b, 27, 22) but also in shortened forms as יְהִי Job 18, 12, 20, 23, 28 (*יְהִי*) This use of the *Jussive* can hardly come from a poetical license, but rather from rhythmical reasons. All the above cited examples show the *Jussive* at the head of the sentence (i.e. the farthest removed from the principal tone), others immediately before the principal pause (Job 24, 14, 29, 3, 40, 19), even in the pause (Job 23, 9, 11) as a pure shortening of sound in consequence of the intense attraction of the tone—Moreover as the *Jussive* in numerous cases does not differ from the usual form of the *Imperfect* (§ 48, 4. § 127, 3, b. c) it is frequently doubtful which of the two the author has intended.

§ 129.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), stands only in close connection with something preceding. Most commonly a narrative begins with a *Perfect*, and then goes

on in the *Imperfect* with *Wāw consecutive*; e. g. Gen. 4, 1 and *Adam knew* (אָדָם) *Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare* (וְתַלְדֵּת) *Cain*, 6, 9, 10, etc., 10, 9, 10, 15, 19, 11, 12—15, 27, 28, 14, 5, etc., 15, 1, 2, 16, 1, 2, 21, 1, etc., 24, 1, 2, 25, 19, 20, etc., 36, 2—4, 37, 2.¹

If there be, however, any connection however loose with an earlier event, the *Impf.* with *Wāw cons.* may even begin a narrative or a section of one; in which case we find a most frequent use of οὐδὲν (καὶ ἐγένετο) *and it happened* Gen. 11, 1, 14, 1, 17, 1, 22, 1, 26, 1, 27, 1.²

Representing a temporal or logical sequence the *Impf. consec.* may be placed after quite various antecedent clauses. Thus it stands—
 a) after a causal clause, e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 *because thou hast rejected the Lord's word* וְתִשְׁחַטְתָּ so *he too rejected thee*,—b) after an absolute noun, e. g. 1 K. 12, 17 *as to the children of Israel*, וְנַעֲמַל עַל־יִהּוּדָה וְרֹבָעָם *Rehoboam reigned over them*, 9, 21, Jer. 6, 19, Dan. 8, 22.³

The *Imperfect* with נ stands purely as a consecutive also after interrogative sentences like the following: Ps. 144, 3 *what is man* וְאֵיךְ תַּחֲזַק that *thou takest knowledge of him!* (comp. Ps. 8, 5, where יְהִי is used), Job 7, 17, Is. 51, 12 *who art thou* וְתִירְאֶה *that thou shouldest be afraid?*

2. As to the relations of time indicated by this *Imperfect of consecution*, we may remark that, in accordance always with the preceding tense, it may refer—

a) to the present time, as being a sequent, and continued representation of actions and conditions reaching down from the past (lasting in their effects), often with the secondary idea of an intended sequence. Thus after a

¹ The preceding *Perf.* is, at times, only implied in the sense, particularly in specifications of time, e. g. Gen. 11, 10 *Shem (was) 100 years old* וְיָצַר and *he begat*, 10, 1. So also in Gen. 22, 4 *on the third day* וְיָצַא אֶל־צְרִיכָה then (prop. and) *he lifted up his eyes*, which in full would be, *it happened on the third day that*—, 1 Sam. 4, 20, Is. 6, 1, 37, 19.

² This connection is customary when a specification of time is to be made, e. g. Gen. 22, 1 *וְיָהִי אַחֲרֵךְ וְדָבָרִים רָאשָׁה וְאַלְמָרִים נֶסֶת אֶת־אָכְרָה* and *it happened after these things, that God tried Abraham*, בְּיָהִי כִּי אָרְבָּה לו שֶׁם הַלְמָדִים קְפָשָׁת, 39, 13, 15, 18, 19; Judg. 15, 16, 25. See the numerous passages in *Gesenius*, Thes. Ling. Hebr. p. 372. Comp. οὐδὲν used of futurity (§ 126, Rem. 2).

³ On the sentences which begin with the *Infinitive* or *Participle*, and then proceed with this *Imperfect of consecution*, see § 132, Rem. 2, and § 134, Rem. 2.

Perfect, Gen. 19, 9 (*to judge continually*), Is 2, 7, 8, Ps. 7, 16, 16, 9, 29, 10, 33, 9, Job 7, 9, 14, 2; or an *Imperfect* (as a *Present*), Ps. 3, 5, 42, 6, Job 4, 5, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 29; or a *Participle* 2 Sam. 19, 2, Amos 9, 6, Nah. 1, 4, Job 12, 4; or after other equivalents of the present, as in Ps. 144, 3, Job 10, 22, Is. 51, 12; v. above No. 1, Rem.; b) less frequently to futurity, when preceded by a *Perfect consecutive* or prophetic (in the sense of a *Future*), Is. 5, 15, 16, 9, 10, 13, 22, 7, 8, Joel 2, 23, Mic. 2, 13, Ps. 120, 1; *unto Jehovah I call* (קְרָא־לִי) and *he hears me* (רֹעֵנִי), comp. Job 9, 16 *if I had called* (רָאָה־מֶלֶךְ־לִי) and *he had answered me* (רָאָה־לִי); also joined to a clause without a verb, e. g. Gen. 49, 15, or to an absolute noun, e. g. Is. 9, 11, or to introduce such future events as will result necessarily from facts just described, Is. 2, 9.

In the apodosis after אַתָּה utinam stand Is. 48, 18, 19 ff. so that were (=so will be); in a conditional clause אִם־כֵּן Ps. 139, 11 and (if) I should say (prop. did I speak in consequence); Ex. 4, 23 now if I speak to thee (מִתְּךָ) and thou refusest (מִתְּפַנְּךָ) behold I shall, etc. comp. § 127, 5.

§ 130.

THE IMPERATIVE.

1. The Imperative expresses not only command in the strict sense, but also exhortation (Hos. 10, 12), entreaty (then with נִזְקָדֵם 2 K. 5, 22, Is. 5, 3), wish (with נִזְקָדֵם as a more urgent form, instead of the Perf. or Impf. Gen. 23, 13), permission (2 Sam. 18, 23, Is. 45, 11). It is employed especially in assurances, strong promises (comp. thou shalt have it, which sounds like a command) Ps. 128, 5 thou shalt see (תִּשְׁאַרְךָ) the prosperity of Jerusalem, Gen. 45, 18, Is. 37, 30, 65, 18.¹

Rem. Very frequently, the Imperative is enlivened in expression by the addition of the particle נָא now! pray! (§ 105); this serves as well to soften a command, and to put it rather in the form of an entreaty

¹ Analogous to these assurances in the form of the imperative is the form of menace in the comic writers, *vapula* Ter. Phorm. V. 6, 10, *vapulare* *et jubeo* Plaut. Curculio, IV. 4, 12.

(v. above) Gen. 12, 13, 24, 2 as to strengthen an exhortation uttered in the form of rebuke or menace e. g. Num. 16, 26, 20, 10. In the sense of ironical permission we have נִפְנֵן only persist! Is. 47, 12, comp. Job 40, 10.

2. The above mentioned use of the Imperative for the expression of firm assurances occurs especially also in those clauses where an Imperative with וּ is joined to another, not in a mere coordination (as Is. 56, 1) but rather so that the first one imposes a condition, and the second announces a result of the fulfilled condition (like the Lat. *divide et impera*), e. g. a) with assurances Gen. 42, 18 זֶה עַשׂْר וְחִי this do, and (ye shall) live, Prov. 20, 13 keep thine eyes open (be wakeful, active), have (i. e. then shalt thou have) plenty of bread, Ps. 37, 3, 27, Prov. 4, 4, 7, 2, 9, 6, 2 K. 5, 13, Job 22, 21, Is. 36, 16, 45, 22, Amos 5, 4, 6; likewise after an Imperfect (Jussive or Optative) Gen. 20, 7, Job 11, 6, Ruth 1, 9; even after an Imperfect in a deliberative question 2 Sam. 21, 3;— b) where, a threat is expressed, the first Imp. ironically permitting an act, while the second denounces the consequences, Is. 8, 9 רֹעֵה עָמִים וְהִתְבַּא rage, ye people, and be ye (i. e. ye shall surely be) dismayed, Is. 29, 9. Instead of the second Imp. the Impf. stands when the 3d person is introduced Is. 8, 10. *Take counsel and it shall come to nought.*

Rem. 1. How far the *Perf.* and *Impf.* may be employed to express command or prohibition has been shown in § 126, 6, c, § 127, 3, c.

2. It is incorrect to suppose that the Imperative is used, as some grammarians maintain, for the *third person* (*let him kill*). Among the examples adduced of this usage is Gen. 17, 10 כִּם קָלְבָּךְ חֲזִיל every male among you shall be circumcised (in verse 12, יָצַל is used; but here is rather the Infinitive absolute comp. § 131, 4, b); In Ps. 22, 9 (בָּ), Gen. 31, 50, Judg. 9, 28, Is. 45, 21 we have actual Imperatives of the 2nd person.

§ 181.

USE OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

The Infinitive absolute (comp. § 45) is employed, when there is occasion to express the action of the verb by itself, neither connected with something following e. g. with the

genitive nor dependent on a preceding noun or particle.¹ Thus the infinitive absolute stands—

1. When it is governed by a *transitive verb*, and stands in fact as an accusative; Is. 42, 24 **לֹא אָבַר הַלְׁקָחֶת** *they would not go*, 1, 17, 7, 15 **לְדַעַת מְאֹום בָּרָע וּבְתוֹךְ בְּתוֹךְ** *until he learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good*; it is placed emphatically before in Is. 57, 20, Jer. 9, 4. Here, however, the *Inf. constr.* is oftener used, with or without a preposition, always according to the construction of the preceding verb, § 142, 1, 2.

In the same construction is Is. 22, 13 *behold! joy and gladness, רַגְלָה בְּקָר וְשָׂחוֹת צָאן וְגַם* the slaying (prop. to slay) oxen, the slaughtering sheep, the eating flesh, the drinking wine (where the Infinitives are mere accusatives governed by *behold!*), Is. 5, 5 *I will tell you what I do to my vineyard* (namely) **חַסֵּר מִשְׁׁקוֹתָיו . . . סְרִיצָה גְּדֹרָיו** take away its hedge, tear down its wall.

2. When it is in the accusative and used *adverbially*² (in Latin as *gerund* in *do*); e. g. **הַרְמָבָב** *well* (*bene faciendo* for *bene*), **הַרְבָּה** *much* (*multum faciendo* for *multum*). Job 15, 3 (in Num. 15, 35 such an adverbial *Infin. absol.*)—**רָגְבָמָ**, referred by Rödiger to 4, a,—takes afterwards its subject; v. No 4, Rem. 1). Hence—

3. When it stands in immediate connection with the corresponding *finite verb*:—

a) It then stands most commonly *before* the finite verb, to which it gives *strength* or *intensity* in various shades, e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 **נִפְלָא לִפְנֵי מִצְמָנִי** *he urgently besought of me*, Gen. 43, 3 *he strictly charged us* (**הָעֵד חֲצִיד**). A very clear example is in Amos 9, 8 *I will destroy it from the face of*

¹ After Prepositions the *Inf. constr.* is always used, because as original substantives they govern the genitive. But when several successive infinitives are to have a preposition, it is often written only before the first; and the second, before which it is to be supplied by the mind, stands in the absolute form, as **לְאָכֵל וְשָׂרֵוּ** *to eat and (to) drink* Ex. 32, 6; comp. 1 Sam. 22, 13, Jer. 7, 18, 44, 17. This case is analogous with that explained in § 121, 3. Comp. also No. 4, a, of this section.

² Of the accusative as a *casus adverbialis*, see § 118. In Arabic it takes, in this case, the distinctive accusative-ending. In general, the *Inf. absol.* answers in most cases (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, of this section) to the accusative of the Infinitive, to which No. 4 also is to be referred.

the earth, except that I will not utterly destroy (אֵלֶּא חַשְׁמִידָה) *the house of Jacob; Judg. 1, 28: הָרַישׁ לֹא־הַזְרִישׁ* he did not utterly drive them out. Its effect is often merely to give a certain prominence to the thought contained in the finite verb, which effect other languages produce chiefly by the tone of the voice or by particles, as in assurances, questions (such especially as express excitement in view of something strange and improbable), and contrasts, as in Gen. 43, 7 *could we* (then) *know?* 37, 8 *wilt thou* (perhaps) *rule over us?* verse 10, 31, 30 *hadst thou even gone*¹ (הָלַךְ הָלַךְ), since thou didst so earnestly long (הָסַבֵּב נְסַבֵּב) Judg. 15, 13 *we will bind thee, but we will not kill thee,* 1 Sam. 9, 6, *that cometh surely to pass* 2 Sam. 24, 24, Hab. 2, 3.

b) When the Inf. stands after the finite verb, this connection indicates either intensity as in letter a (v. Rem. 1; especially with Imperatives, for in this case the Inf. *absol.* always follows, Job 13, 17, 21, 2, 37, 2 = *listen attentively*) but especially *continued* or *lasting* action, as Is. 6, 9 שְׁמַעַת שְׁמַעַת *hear ye on continually*, Jer. 23, 17, Gen. 19, 9 טְבֻנַת טְבֻנַת *and he will always be acting the judge!* Two Infinitives absolute may be thus used, 1 Sam. 6, 12 הַלְכֵב הַלְכֵב *they went going on and loving*, i. e. *they kept going on and loving*, 1 K. 20, 37. Instead of the second Inf., a finite verb is sometimes used (Josh. 6, 13, 2 Sam. 13, 19), or a participle (2 Sam. 16, 5).

Rem. 1. This usage in regard to the position of the Inf. is certainly the common one, though not without exceptions. It sometimes follows the finite verb which it strengthens, when the idea of *repetition* or *continuance* is excluded by the connection, Is. 22, 17, Jer. 22, 10, Gen. 31, 15, (the Inf. *absol.* still more strengthened by וְ, likewise in 46, 4). In Syriac, the Inf. when it expresses intensity stands regularly *before*, and in Arab. always *after*, the finite verb.—When a negative is used it is commonly placed between the Inf. and the finite verb (Ex. 5, 23), seldom before them both (Gen. 3, 4, Am. 9, 8, Ps. 49, 8).

2. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations may be connected not only the Inf. *absol.* of the same conjugation (Gen. 17, 18,

¹ As much as to say, I understand well wherefore thou art gone, viz. from earnest longing. The Vulgate renders it, *esto, ad tuos ire cupiebas.*

40, 15), but also and oftener that of *Qdl* as the nearest and most general representation of the verbal idea (e. g. קָרְבָּן מִשְׁׁלֵךְ Gen. 37, 33, Job 6, 2), or at times of another of like signification (Lev. 19, 20, 2 K. 3, 23). Lastly the *Inf. absol.* may no less be replaced by a substantive of the same stem e. g. Hab. 3, 9, Job 27, 12 (differing from the so-called *figura etymologica*, treated in § 138, 1, Rem. 1).

3. In expressing the idea of *continuance* (letter b), the verb נִצְלַחֲנָה is frequently employed, with the signification to *go on*, to *continue on*, and thus denotes also *constant increase*. The principal idea is then added either in form of the second *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Gen. 8, 8: יְמִינְתָּה שָׁבוּ בְּלֹא ... תְּמִימָה . . . and the waters flowed off more and more; comp. v. 5, or in form of a *participle* or *verbal adjective*, e. g. 2 Sam. 8, 1, 5, 10; 1 Chron. 11, 8; 1 Sam. 2, 26: וְגַדְלָה טוֹב וְגַדְלָה טוֹב הַיּוֹצֵא לְבָנָה the child Samuel went on growing bigger and better. 14, 19; 2 Sam. 18, 25 (*he came always nearer*), Gen. 26, 13 וְגַדְלָה חֶלְקָה he became continually greater and greater. However in the last four examples נִצְלַחֲנָה etc. may be construed as *third pers. perf.* A similar mode of expression is found in the French, *le mal va toujours croissant*, *la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, i. e. *grows on and gets worse continually*.

4. When it stands in place of the *finite verb*. We must here distinguish the two following cases, viz.—

- When it is preceded by a finite verb. This is frequent, especially in the later writings, in the expression of several successive acts or states, where only the first of the verbs employed takes the required form in respect to *tense* and *person*, the others being simply put in the Infinitive absolute. So after several *Perfects*, e. g. Dan. 9, 5 וְסָדַרְנוּ we have rebelled and (we have) turned away (properly and a turning away took place; but even in this case the Infinitive may be construed as an accusative, depending on the general idea of *doing* contained in the finite verb). 1 Sam. 2, 28, Is. 37, 19, Jer. 14, 5, Hag. 1, 6 (four Infinitives), Zech. 3, 4, 7, 5; after *Perf. consec.* Zech. 12, 10; after *Impf. consec.* Gen. 41, 43 he caused him to ride in the second chariot וְנִזְהַר אֶתְּנָהָר and placed him; Ex. 8, 11, Judges 7, 19, 2 Chr. 7, 3, after pure *Impfs.* Lev. 25, 14, 32, 44 (three infinitives) they will buy fields for money. On Num. 15, 35, v. above No. 2.
- It may stand at the beginning of the sentence, without a preceding finite verb. The Infinitive absolute (as the pure abstract idea of the verb) may serve as a short and

emphatic expression for any tense and person, which the connection requires; e. g. it stands— α) for the *Perf.* in lively narration and description, like the Latin *Infinitus historicus*; Is. 21, 5 שָׁתַח צְפָה הַצִּירָה אֲכֹל שָׂתָח τ *to prepare the table, to set the watch, to eat, to drink* (sc. this they do), for *they prepare*, etc., 59, 4, Ez. 1, 14, Hos. 4, 2, Job 15, 35; also— β) for the *Impf.* especially in the sense of a Future, as in 2 K. 4, 43 אֲכֹל וְהַזֵּר אֲכֹל *to eat and to leave thereof* (sc. ye shall do) Job 42 in a question expressing rebuke; *he wants to contend . . . the faultfinder?* v. Rem. 1);— γ) most frequently for the emphatic *Imper.* (as in Greek) e. g. Deut. 5, 12 שְׁמֹר *to observe* (sc. thou art to, thou shalt); so Ex. 20, 9 זְכֹר *to remember* (shalt thou do); compare the full form, שְׁמֹר תִּשְׁמֹר Deut. 6, 17, זְכָר תִּזְכֶּר 7, 18;— δ) likewise (as exclamation) for the *Cohortative*, Is. 22, 13 אֲכֹל וְשָׂתָח *to eat and to drink!* sc. let us do (these *Infinitives* however stand perhaps for the finite verb parallel with the preceding ones; v. No. 1, Rem.) 1 K. 22, 30 *to disguise myself and go* (will I do).

Rem 1. The *Inf. absol.* instead of the *finite verb* is sometimes found in connection with the subject, as in Gen. 17, 10, Ps. 17, 5, Prov. 17, 12, Eccl. 4, 2, Job 40, 2, comp. Num 15, 35.

2. In a few examples the *Inf. constr.* is employed instead of the *Inf. absol.* to strengthen the verbal idea, thus Num. 23, 25 (כִּי in attraction with בָּא; likewise שְׁלֵמָה 50, 21, חַכְלָה Neh. 1, 7, everywhere in a rapid flow of speech (Ps. 50, 21, perhaps also out of repugnance to the hiatus תְּרִיבָה אֲדִירָה).

§ 132.

INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT

1. The *Inf. constr.* as a verbal substantive is subject to the same relations of case as the noun (§ 117), which are also indicated in the same way. This, it is found,— a) in the nominative as the subject of the sentence, Gen. 2, 18 לא מִזְבֵּחַ הַרוּחַ הָאָדָם לְבָדוֹ *not good* (lit. *the being of man in his separation*) *that man should be alone;*— b) in the genitive, Gen. 29, 7 נִקְבְּחַת הַאֲמָת tempus colligendi. Here also belong the cases where the *Infinitive* is dependent on a preposition (as being origin-

ally a noun), see No. 2;—c) in the accusative, 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא יְדַעَ צָאתْ וּבָאָתָּה I know not (how) to go out and to come in; prop. I know not the going out and coming in. (In this case the *Inf. absol.* may also be used, § 131, 1)

2. In translating the Heb. *Inf.* with prepositions (comp. the Greek ἐν τῷ εἶναι), in German and English we generally employ a finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Num. 35, 19 בְּגַעֲרָבוֹ when he meets him (prop. in his meeting with him), Jer. 2, 35 עַל אָמֵרְךָ because thou sayest (prop. on account of thy saying), Gen. 27, 1 his eyes were dim מִרְאָתָּה so that he did not see (comp. the use of מִן before a noun to express distance from, and the absence or want of a thing).

3. As to relations of time, the Infinitive construct may refer also to the past (comp. on the analogous use of the Participle, § 134, 2), e. g. Gen. 2, 4 בְּהַבְּרָאָם when they were created (prop. in their being created).

Rem. 1. לְצַדְקוֹתֶךָ (also לְצַדְקָה לְצַדְקוֹתֶךָ) signifies,—
1) he is about to do, intends or proposes to do, and he is intent upon, is eager to do (comp. Eng. he was to do something), as in Gen. 15, 12 וַיַּדַּעַת שֶׁבְּאָזְןָה הַשְׁמַנְיָה and the sun was about to go down. Hence, it serves (with a secondary idea of a lasting action) for a periphrasis of the *Impf.* 2 Ch. 26, 5 יְיָהוּרָה לְדַרְשָׁא אֱלֹהִים and he was seeking God, without הַשְׁמַנְיָה in Is. 38, 29 יְהִי תְּרוּמָה לְחַשְׁיוּנָרָה the Eternal saeth me 21, 1, Eccles. 3, 15 אֲשֶׁר־הַשְׁמַנְיָה what is future, Prov. 19, 8, comp. 16, 20.—2) It is to do for it must be done (comp. Eng. I am to give), Josh. 2, 5 יְיָהוּרָה לְשַׁעֲרָה סָאוֹר and the gate was to shut for was to be shut Is. 37, 28. More commonly without הַשְׁמַנְיָה 2 K. 4, 13 לְמִתְּפִלָּתֶךָ what (is) to be done for thee? 18, 19 לְחַפּוֹת (it was) to smite i. e. thou shouldst have smitten, Is. 5, 4, Ps. 32, 9, Job 30, 6, Hos. 9, 13, Amos 6, 10, 2 Ch. 19, 2. Also—3) He is able to do (comp. the Latin non est solvendo), Judg. 1, 19 לֹא לְהַזְוִירָה he could not drive out.¹

2. Very frequently, almost regularly, these constructions (described in No. 2) of an *Infinitive* with a preposition, are in a further continuation of speech replaced by the finite verb (i. e. an independent clause). The mind must then supply a conjunction answering to the preposition before the Infinitive. Thus, a Perf. follows in Amos 1, 11 עַל רַעֲבָוֹתֶךָ because he pursued him and stifled his compassion; verse 9; Gen. 27, 45; an Impf. with Wāw consec. Gen. 39, 18 יְיָהוּרָה קַוְלִי נָאָקֵרָה because he could not

¹ This sense is necessary from the context and the parallel passage Josh. 17, 12 אֲנֵין לְכַלְלָה לְחוֹזֵקָה Comp. Amos 6, 10 and the formula אֲנֵין לְ non licet mihi and the Syr. لَا لَا non est mihi, non possum.

and it was when I raised my voice and cried, Is. 80, 12, 88, 9; most commonly an Impf. with only י prefixed, as in Is. 5, 24, 10, 2, 13, 9, 14, 25, 80, 26. (Comp. the similar succession of the Participle and finite Verb, § 134, Rem. 2.)

§ 133.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE INFINITIVE CONSTR. WITH SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

1. The Infinitive may be construed with the case of its verb, and hence, in transitive verbs, it takes the *accusative of the object*; e. g. Num. 9, 15 **הַקִּים אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן** *to set up the Tabernacle*, 1 Sam. 19, 1 **לְהַמִּת אֶת־יְהוּדָה** *for to kill David*, Gen. 18, 25 **לְמִתְּרוֹד לְהַצִּוָּת צְדִיקָה** *for to kill the righteous*, 1 K. 12, 15, 15, 4, 2 K. 21, 8, Ez. 44, 30, Lev. 26, 15 **לְבַלְתֵּר עֲשָׂות אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתִיךְ** *not to do all my commands*, Gen. 19, 29 **בַּחֲפֵץ אֶת־הַדּוּרִים** *when he overthrew the cities*, 48, 11 **רָאָה פְנֵיךְ** *to behold thy face*, Prov. 21, 15 **עֲשָׂות מִשְׁפָט** *to do judgment*.¹ In like manner it takes the accusative of the pronouns, e. g. **לְמִצְןֵה קִים אֶת־ךָ** *in order to establish thee* Deut. 29, 12, **לְבִרְכֵנִי** *to bring me back* Jer. 38, 26, **לְהַרְגִּנִּי** *to slay me* Ex. 2, 14, **לְבִקְשֵׁנִי** *to seek me* 1 Sam. 27, 1, 28, 9, 1 Ch. 12, 17, Gen. 25, 26 **בְּלֹדֶת אֶתְּם** *when (the mother) bare them*, **לְדֹעַת אֶתְּךָ** *for to know me* Jer. 24, 7.—If the finite verb governs two accusatives, then they will be employed also with the Infinitive, as **אַחֲרֵי הָזַרְעָה אֶל־הָדֳּרִים אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲזֶה** *after God has shown thee all this* Gen. 41, 39.

This governing power of the word belongs also to such secondary forms of the infinitive (the so-called *nominum verbalia*) as otherwise passed completely as substantives, as **דַּעַת אֶת־יְהָוָה** *knowledge of the Lord* (prop. *the knowing the Lord*) Is. 11, 9, **לִידְרָאָה אֶתְּךָ** *for to fear me* Deut. 5, 26, Is. 30, 28, 56, 6.²

¹ In cases like the last, מִשְׁכָּן might be easily regarded as genitive of the object (§ 114, 2), which construction is common in Arabic; but since in other instances בְּנֵי (sign of the definite accusative) is used, and since a form like בְּקִירֶת never occurs in such connection, which form would decidedly mark the constr. state and also the genitive relation (so also לְדִין צְמִימִים Is. 8, 13, Ps. 50, 4, not לְדִין צְמִין), we must suppose that the Hebrew considered, at least as a general rule, *the object of the Inf. to be in the accusative*. Compare Nos. 2 and 3.

² For examples of an accusative of the object with the Inf. passive, see § 148, 1, a.

2. The *subject* of the action is commonly put immediately after the Infinitive, sometimes (where the Inf., according to form and signification, is regarded rather as a substantive) in the *genitive*, but mostly in the *nominative*; e. g. 2 Ch. 7, 3 שְׁבָת אֶחָד תְּהִיא אֶשׁ *the dwelling of brethren together*, Ps. 133, 1 גַם יְהִיד לְשֵׁת חֲמֹת הַצְמָחָה *there was no water for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people)*. The genitive relation of the subject is quite plain after Infinitives of feminine-ending, as in Gen. 19, 16 בְּחַנְמָלָה רִיחָוֹת עָלָיו *by the Lord's pity on him*, Is. 47, 9 בְּעֻצְמָתְךָ מֵאַד *although thy enchantments are very numerous*; and also when it is expressed by a suffix, as in בְּקַרְאִי *when I call* Ps. 4, 2, 4. On the contrary, the *genitive* is excluded, and the subject is to be considered rather in the *nominative*, in such cases as Ps. 46, 3 בְּהַמִּיר אָרֶץ *(not בְּהַמִּיר) when the earth moves*, Deut. 25, 19 בְּהַנִּיחָה יְהֹוָה לְךָ *when the Lord gives to thee rest*. By the lack of case endings,¹ the difference between the genitive and nominative construction, could not in very many cases, indeed, be made sensible (e. g. with infinitives like קְטוּל קִים etc.); even in cases like בְּהַמִּיר etc. the pretonic lengthening which belongs to the character of the form, may have maintained itself in spite of the following genitive (although with suffixes always הַמִּיר etc.); but when a prefixed ל with pretonic Qāməṣ stands before the infinitive, a nominative of the subject must in all cases be understood, e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשָׁוֹם הַפְּלַקְעָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ *that the king should lay it to heart*, also when the Inf. and the subject are separated, as in Judg. 9, 2 בְּכָמָת שְׁבָיעִים אִישׁ אִם־מְשַׁלֵּךְ בְּכָמָת אִישׁ אֶחָד *whether seventy men rule over you, or one man rules over you?* Job 34, 22 לְהַסְּתֵּר שָׁם פְּגַלְיָאָרָן *that the evil-doers hide themselves there*, Ps. 76, 10. See further in No. 3.

3. When both *subject* and *object* are connected with the Infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should come imme-

¹ In Arabic, where the case endings leave no doubt in regard to the construction, one may say: *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) *'Amran* (acc.), literally *the killing of Z. the 'A.* (i. e. Z. killing the A.), and also: *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), and even: *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) *'Amran*.

diate after the Inf., and then the object. When the latter is necessarily in the accusative, the subject is then put, as in N^o. 2, sometimes in the genitive, but chiefly in the nominative. The genitive (which predominates in Arabic) appears, e. g. in Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׁנְאָתְּ יְהוָה אַתֶּנוּ in the Lord's hating us, Deut. 7, 8 מִאֱהָבָתְּ יְהוָה אַתֶּכֶם because the Lord loves you, 1 K. 10, 9, Is. 13, 19 כְּמֵהָטָה אֲלֹהִים אֶזְדְּסָדָם as God overthrew Sodom, Is. 29, 18 וְרֹאָתָם אַתֶּיךָ קֹלִי their fearing me, Gen. 39, 18 כִּיהְרֹומִי שָׁבֵט as I lifted up my voice. But the nominative seems to stand (v. No. 2 above) in cases like Is. 10, 15 כְּהַנִּיף שָׁבֵט אַתְּדִּירִיךְ as if the rod could shake them that lift it up (where we should have בְּהַנִּיף, if שָׁבֵט were in the genitive), and so probably also in cases like 1 K. 13, 4 כְּשָׁמָעַ הַמֶּלֶךְ אַתְּדִּבֶּר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים as the king heard the word of the man of God, Is. 32, 7 בְּדִבֶּר לְהַסְּרֵר אֶבְרֹן מִשְׁפָט when the needy speaks justice, Job 33, 17 אֶקְדָּם מִעְשָׂה that man should avoid the deed, Gen. 13, 10, Josh. 14, 7. In Jer. 21, 1, etc. the subject stands separate from the *Infin.* and is then necessarily a nominative, v. No. 2 at the end.

Now and then the order of the words is different, the object being put immediately after the Inf., and the nominative of the subject coming next (as an after-thought), e. g. Is. 20, 1 בְּשַׁלֵּחַ אֶת־סַרְגִּין when Sargon sent him 1 K. 9, 8 בְּתַחֲאֵר צִנְיָרִים אֶלְהָרִין that our God enlighten our eyes, Josh. 14, 11, Is. 5, 24, Ps. 56, 1.

§ 134.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. The Participle has distinct forms for the *active* and the *passive*, yet not for the different *tenses*, but the Participle of all conjugations can apply to every tense, just as the context may require, as מֹתֵה dying (Zech. 11, 9), *he who has died* (*mortuus*), *dead* (very often so used always when a substantive), *he who shall die*, *moriturus* (Gen. 20, 3); נִפְלֵא *he who falls*, *has fallen*, 1 Sam. 5, 3, *will fall* Is. 30, 13; עַשְׂתָה *faturus* (Gen. 41, 25, Is. 5, 5), נָולֵד *natus* and *nasciturus* (Ps. 22, 32 comp. נָבָרָא *creandus* 102, 19); yet it most frequently stands for our *Present*. Only the passive (קְטוּב) answers nearly always to a Lat. or Greek *Part. perf. pass.*, as בְּתוּב *scriptus*, γεγραμμένος

(but see § 50, Rem. 2).—The *passive* Participles stand sometimes also for the Latin Participle in *-ndus*, e. g. נָרָא (metuendus) *terrible* Ps. 76, 8, נְחַמֵּד desirable Ps. 19, 11, אָחַלְל (laudandus) *worthy to be praised* Ps. 18, 4.

2. The Participle, when it stands in place of the finite verb as predicate of the sentence, denotes—

a) Most frequently our *present*,¹ especially in nominal sentences (v. § 144, a) which describe established facts and conditions, e. g. Ecc 1, 4 זֹרֶה חַקְקָה וְזֹרֶה בָּאָה one generation goes, another comes and the earth stands (כָּמוּת) for ever vs. 7 בְּלִת־חַלְלִים הַלְכִים all the rivers go, or of actually occurring present events Gen. 4, 10. If the subject is a personal pronoun, it is either written, in its separate form, in immediate connection with the Participle, as יְאָחַרְךָ I fear him Gen. 32, 12, אֲנָחָנוּ וְרָאִים we are afraid 1 Sam. 23, 3, or it is appended as a suffix to the word יְשָׁאֵב (is), as Judg. 6, 36 אִם יְשָׁאֵב מִשְׁעָן if thou savest. In the same manner it is appended to אִין in negative sentences, e. g. אִם אַרְנָךְ if thou send not away Gen. 43, 5.

b) Our *future* (conceived of as present, comp. § 126, 4), Is. 5 5 *I will tell you* אַתְּ חַדְשָׁה אַגְּרֵב what I (at once) do, for *I will do*, Gen. 15, 14, 19, 13, 41, 25, 1 K. 1, 14.

c) Also the *past*, especially in clauses representing actions or situations which have taken place simultaneously with other past actions Job 1, 16 צָד זוּ מְדֻבָּר יוֹהָבָא the one (was) still speaking, and another came, vs. 17, Gen. 19, 1, 42, 35, Judg. 13, 9, 1 Sam. 17, 23, 1 K. 1, 22. But it is also used in independent nominal sentences, e. g. Deut. 4, 8 צִינִיכֶם קָרְאוֹת your eyes that have seen² Gen. 39, 22 (עִשְׂתָמָה), 23, Ex. 2, 6, 1 K. 1, 5.

With the verb חַדְשָׁה it serves to express our Imperfect,³ Job 1, 14 חַבְקָר תְּהִירָה the oxen were ploughing (again with the secondary idea of an action having *lasted* simultaneously in the past), Gen. 39, 22, Ex. 8, 1, Judg. 1, 7, 18, 21.

Rem. 1. In all the three cases alluded to above, a, b, c, חַדְשָׁה is employed before the Participle for awakening special attention; e. g. for our *present* חַדְשָׁה behold! thou (art) with child (Gen. 16, 11, 27, 42), for our *future* (Gen. 6, 17, 20, 3, Ex. 31, 11, Is. 3, 1, 7, 14, 17, 1), for the *past* (Gen. 37, 7, 41, 17).

¹ In Aramaic, it is more frequently used for the *Present* than in its proper signification as a Participle.

² For the use of the article here before the predicate, see § 110, 3, Rem.

³ In Syriac the participle with נְגַנֵּן (=חַדְשָׁה) serves regularly to express the *Imperf.*, as the participle with the personal pronoun (lit. a) expresses the *present*.

2. By a change of construction, the Participle often passes over immediately to a finite verb; when the pronouns *that*, *who*, etc. (*נִשְׁאָר*) implied in the Participle, must be mentally supplied before the verb. So *Part.* and *Perf.* in Is. 14, 17 *that made* (*הָבָדָד*) *the world as a wilderness*, and *(who) destroyed* (*הָשִׁיבָה*) *the cities thereof*. Also *Part.* and *Impf.* (*Present*), e. g. Is. 5, 8 *הַזֹּאת נִגְנִיאֵת בְּלֹה בְּלֹה שָׂדָה* *woe to those who connect house with house* (and *who*) *join field to field*, 1 Sam. 2, 8, Prov. 10, 26. Also with *Wāw consec.* e. g.- Gen. 27, 33 *וְצִידָה צִידָה וְצִבָּבָה צִבָּבָה* *that hunted game and hath brought it*, 35, 3, Ps. 18, 33. (The case is strictly analogous when the Inf. is replaced by the finite verb, § 132, Rem. 2).

3. The personal pronoun, which might be expected as the subject of a participial sentence, is often omitted (see above letter *a*) at least the pronoun of the 3d person (*הֵם*, *הֵם*); comp. Gen. 39, 22 (*עֲבָדָיו*), Is. 26, 3; 29, 8; 40, 19, Ps. 22, 29, 55, 20; Job 12, 17, 19 ff.; 25, 2; the pronoun of the 2d person (*תְּ*) seems to be omitted in Ps. 7, 10 (with *עַמְּךָ*) and Hab. 2, 10 (with *עַמְּךָ*); the pronoun of the 1st person (*נוּנָה*) Hab. 1, 5 (with *לְ*) and Zech. 9, 12 (with *אָנוּ*).

§ 135.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. When Participles are followed by the object of the action which they express, they are construed in two ways; either—*a*) as verbal-adjectives (in the absol. state) with the accusative or a preposition, just as the verbs to which they belong may require, e. g. 1 Sam. 18, 29 *אִיָּב אֶחָדָיו בְּגַם* *they who rule the people*, Ps. 5, 5 *רַשָּׁע חַנְעָן* *loving wickedness*, Ez. 9, 2 *לְבִישָׁה בְּדִים* *clothed with linen garments*; or—*b*) as nouns (in const. state) followed by a genitive (§ 112, 2); e. g. Gen. 22, 12 *רִא אֱלֹהִים* *one fearing (=a fearer of) God*, Ps. 84, 5 *לְבִישָׁה הַבְּדִים בְּרוֹתָךְ* *inmates of thy house*, Ez. 9, 11 *לְבִישָׁה הַבְּדִים* *the one clothed with linen garments*, 2 Sam. 13, 31 (*קְרֻעֵי בְּגַרְבִּים*) *lacerati vestibus* *those who have rent garments*; and with poetic colouring, as in *יְרֻדֵּי בָּזָר* *those who have descended to the pit* Is. 38, 18, *קְנָרֶת שְׁכָבֵי קְנָר* *those who lie in the grave* Ps. 88, 6, *מְשֻׁרְעָתָךְ עַל* (*levatus culpâ*) *he whose transgression is forgiven* Ps. 32, 1; rarely also like *מְשִׁירָה אֶחָר* *(—)* *who serve me* Jer. 33, 22 (*מְשִׁירָה* in preceding verse).

This latter construction with the genitive is properly confined to participles of transitive verbs (§ 138). The Participle of בָּאֵן to enter in, is also construed thus, as this verb stands with the accusative (comp. *ingredi portam*); e. g. Gen. 23, 10 שְׁנַצְרָר בָּאֵר those who enter in at the gate. But there are also examples of the Participle taking a genitive (a suff. pron.), even when the verb to which it belongs is construed only with a preposition; e. g. קָרְבָּר בָּאֵר those who rise up against him,—against me, for קָרְבָּר בָּאֵר Ps. 18, 40, 49, Deut. 33, 11 שְׁבָר מִשְׁעָן those who turn from wickedness Is. 59, 20; Micah 2, 8.

2. The distinction explained in No. 1, of verbal and nominal government, holds also in regard to the connection of participles with suffixes. After the first method (with accus.) we have עֲשֵׂר he who made me, even with the article הָעֲשֵׂר he who made him, Job 14, 19; after the second (with genit.) עֲשֵׂי my maker, כָּל-מַצְאֵי every one who finds me Gen. 4, 14.

§ 136.

EXPRESSION OF THE OPTATIVE.

Besides the expression of the Optative by the *Impf.* (especially in the form of Jussive or Cohortative, with the particle אֶ, § 127, 3, b) it may also be periphrased in the following ways, viz.—

1. By questions expressive of wish, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 מִירְשָׁמְנִי שָׁפְטֵת who will make me judge? i. e. would that I were made judge! Judg. 9, 29 מִרְיָצֵן אֲזֹדְהָעָם הַזֶּה בַּידִי would that this people were placed in my hand! Ps. 55, 7, Job 29, 2. In the phrase מִרְיָצֵן the proper force of the verb (*to give*) is often excluded, and nothing more is expressed than *would that!* Lat. *utinam!* In this signification of a particle expressing wish מִרְיָצֵן is construed—*a*) by an accusative, as Deut. 28, 67 מִרְיָצֵן שְׁרֵב would it were evening! prop. who will give evening? Ps. 14, 7, Job 11, 5, 31, 35; with suffix Is. 27, 4 etc—*b*) by an Infinitive, as Ex. 16, 3 מִרְיָצֵן מוֹתָמָה would that we had died!—*c*) by a finite verb (with or without נ), Deut. 5, 26 מִרְיָצֵן וְרוּחַת לְבָבֵם זֶה לְחַם would that they had this heart! Perf. without נ Job 23, 3; *Impf.* with נ Job 19, 23; without נ 6, 8, 13, 5, 14, 18.—With a still greater weakening of its original mean-

ing מִשְׁמָרֶת stands directly in the sense of a negation e. g. Job 14, 4 *who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

2. By the particles סֵא, לוּ if' (si, O si'), *would!* (*utinam*), especially by the latter The *Impf* follows, Ps. 81, 9, 139, 19 (after סֵא); Gen 17, 18 (after לוּ); the *Part* Ps 81, 14 (after לוּ), the *Imp* Gen 23, 13 only by power of an *anacoluthon* (see § 130, 1) When לוּ is followed by the *Perf*, it expresses a wish that something had happened (§ 126, 5, b), as in Num 14, 2 לֹא יָעַנְנוּ *would that we had died,* 20, 3 לוּ נָעַנְנוּ *would we had expired!* Comp however Is 48, 18, 63, 19

§ 137

PLRSONS OF THE VERB

1 In the *personal affixes* of the verb frequently an *enallage* (exchange) of gender takes place, the masc (as the gender lying nearest and more general) being placed in reference to feminines, e.g. יְדַעַת Ez 23, 49, עֲשִׂירָה Ruth 1, 8, *and thou* (fem) *hast made* (a league) Is. 57, 8, Judg 4, 20 (עַמְּדִי), comp Je 3, 5, Joel 2, 22, Am 4, 1, Cant 2, 7. (See the anomalous uses of the personal pronoun, § 121, Rem 1.)

2 The third person is often employed impersonally, most commonly in the *masc*, e.g. וַיְהִי *and it happened*, זָר לוּ and זָרָה (lit. *it was strait to him*) *he was in trouble* 1 Sam 13, 6, Gen 32, 8; חָם לָהֶם *it is warm to them*, i.e. *they are warm*, Ec 4, 11; but also in the *fem*, e.g. 1 Sam 30, 6 *וַיָּחֹרֶב לְדוֹד* *and David was in trouble*, Ps 50, 3, Jer 10, 7, 19, 5.

The Arabic and Ethiopic commonly use here the *masc* and the Syriac the *fem* form

3 The indeterminate third person (where the Germans use *man*, the French *on*, and we say *they, one*) is expressed,—
 a) by the 3d pers singular *masc*, e.g. אָרְאָה *they* (prop. *he*) *called* Gen. 11, 9, 16, 14;—b) often by the 3d pers. plural, as Gen 41, 14 וַיִּרְאֶה *and they brought him in haste*, for *he was brought*, 1 K. 1, 2;—c) by the 2d pers. singular *masc.*, e.g. Is 7, 23 לֹא תָבוֹא שָׁמָה (prop. *thou shalt not go*) *there*

shall no one go thither, comp. **בְּאַתָּה עַד בָּאֵת** *until one comes* (prop. *until thy coming*);—*d)* by the passive voice, as Gen 4, 26 **לִקְרָא תִּחְווֹל** *then they began* (prop. *it was begun*) to invoke¹

Rem 1. Instead of the simple 3d pers sing (letter *a*), **הָאָרֶשׁ** (as we say *men* for *they*) occurs, 1 Sam 9, 9 **כִּי יְמִינֵי שָׂרָאֵל כִּי אָמַר** *Formerly they said thus in Israel*. Sometimes *one* (or rather *someone*) is also expressed by the participle of the same verb, e g Is 16 10 **לֹא־תֵּרֶד תְּלָךְ** *the treader shall not tread, for one shall not tread* 28, 4, comp v 24 Ez 33, 4 Amos 9, 1, Num 6 9, Deut 22 8. So also not uncommonly in Arabic

2 When the pronoun is to be expressed with emphasis, (*I spoke*) it is written separately before the corresponding verbal form, e g **אַתָּה גַּנְתָּה** *thou, thou hast given* Judg 15, 18 1 K 21 7 Ps 2 6 139, 2, also after the verbal form, Judg 15 12, but this occurs in the later writers without any special emphasis as **דְּבָרֵיךְ אַנְתָּה** Ecol 1 16 (beginning), 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 8, 15 Comp Delitzsch, Cant and Ecol

3. In the poets and prophets, there is often, in the same sentence, the sudden transition from one person to another, Is 1, 29 **כִּי רַבְשׁוּ מְאַלְּמִים נִשְׁאַר חֲמִידָתָם** *for they shall be ashamed of the groves in which ye delight,* where both the third and second persons are employed with reference to the same subject, Mal 2 15 Deut 32 15, 17—in Job 18, 28 the third person is probably employed *deictically* for the first, compare also 6, 21 (according to the reading **זֶה**)

§ 138

VERBS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

All transitive verbs in general govern the *accusative* (§ 118). On this rule we remark—

1. There are many verbs which are construed both *without* an object (i. e. absolutely), and *with* one (in this latter case the verb in German and English often takes the prefix *be*); e. g. **בִּכְרָה** *to weep* and *to be-weep*, **יָשַׁב** and **שָׁכַן** *to dwell*, and *to dwell in, inhabit*; **יָצַא** *to go forth*, and also *depart*, as in *to depart this life*, like the Lat. *egredi in egredi urbem* (Gen. 44, 4).

¹ Sometimes, on the contrary, the impersonal active must be understood as strictly the passive, Job 7, 3 *nights of pain have they appointed me, for are appointed me* (sc. by God), 4, 19, Prov. 2, 22. So in Aramaic very frequently (Dan. 2, 30, 8, 4, 5, 3), and in Syrac.

Here notice specially:—

Rem. 1. Several verbs of this kind often complete the objective idea by a substantive of the same stem, as יָדַעֲנָה Ps. 14, 5, יָדַעֲנָה 1 K. 1, 12, תְּבִיאֵנָה Lam. 1, 8, like βούλεύειν βούλάς Il. x. 147; most frequently with a farther qualification of the idea (as also in Greek), e. g. Gen. 27, 34 וַיַּזְקַר נָרְבָה וַיַּזְקַר he cried a loud and bitter cry, vs. 33, Ez. 32, 31, 1 Sam. 13, 15, 36, 2 K. 13, 14, (acc. w.-תְּבִיאֵנָה) Jon. 4, 6 תְּבִיאֵנָה נָרְבָה שְׁמַשְׁנָה, Zech. 1, 14, 1 Ch. 29, 9. Comp. νοεῖν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην (Matt. 2, 10), magnam pugnare pugnam, tuitionem vitam vivere, etc.

2. Verbs which signify to flow, to stream, etc. take in the poets an accusative of that with which something flows or overflows Lam. 3, 48 בְּלֹא מִלְּפָנֶת חַרְדָּת עַרְנוֹת my eye flows down streams of water, Joel 4, 18 the hills flow milk. So בָּלַע to run, to flow Jer. 9, 17; בָּשַׂךְ to distil Joel 4, 18; and בָּשַׂךְ to gush forth, to flow abundantly (hence, to bear along in a torrent) Is. 10, 22. Similar, but more bold, is Prov. 24, 31 בְּלֹא כָּלָח בְּלֹא קְמַשְׁנִים and behold it (the field) has all gone up in thorns, Is. 5, 6, 34, 13. Compare in Greek, προρέειν ὅδωρ, δάχρυα στάζειν. The above verbs belong to the verba abundandi of which more below, No. 3, b.

3. With verbs like to speak, to cry, to do, to save etc. the mode of action is often (especially in poetical speech) more closely defined by naming the instrument or member by means of which the act is performed (accus. instrumenti). This is best illustrated when this accus. has an adjective, as in קָרְרָה יְצַק to cry a loud voice (comp. Rem. 1), for to cry with a loud voice Ez. 11, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 23; or when it has a noun in the genitive (as periphrasis of the adjective; comp. § 106, 1), as in Ps. 12, 3 they speak חַלְקוֹת רַמְפָּה with smooth lip; with a lying tongue קְרַבְתָּן שְׁמָךְ Ps. 109, 2, Prov. 10, 4 working קְרַבְתָּן רַמְפָּה with slack hand as it were to work a slack hand analogous to the German: eine schöne Stimme singen, to sing a fine voice; Schlittschuhe laufen, to run skates, i. e. to skate; more loose is the connection of the accusative with the verb in cases like Ps. 3, 5 קָרְרָה אֶקְרָבָה with my (whole) voice I cry, (i. e. aloud) 27, 7; 142, 2; Is. 10, 30; Ps. 68, 17 בְּלֹא קְרַבְתָּן with my (open) mouth I cry: so, they speak with their mouth Ps. 17, 10, help with thy sword חַרְבְּךָ, with thy hand יְדֶךָ Ps. 17, 13, 14, 44, 3 thou with thy hand יְדֶךָ hast driven out the nations, 60, 7 save with thy right hand יְדֶךָ בְּרִיחָךָ, 108, 7. (On the other hand in 1 Sam. 25, 26, 38, we have יְדֶךָ and יְדֶיךָ as subject-nominative to the Inf. בְּשַׂרְתָּה, see § 133, 2). In the same cases הַ instrumenti is also used, e. g. I praise with my mouth בְּשַׂרְתָּה Ps. 89, 2, 109, 30; I supplicate him with my mouth Job 19, 16.¹

¹ The Hebrews used also, on the other hand, the הַ instrumenti where we have the accusative. They used indifferently, as we also may, the constructions to shake the head (Ps. 22, 8), and to shake with the head (Job 16, 4, Jer.

2. Many verbs govern the accusative by power of their original meaning or in consequence of a peculiar turn given to the latter, when the corresponding verbs in German are construed with other cases or also with the preposition; e. g. **צָנַח** to reply to (like ἀμείθομαι τινα, prop. to answer one); **רָבַב** causam alicujus agere (prop. to defend before the court); **שָׁרֵךְ** to bring good news to one, to cheer him; **נָאַפֵּךְ** to commit adultery with one (comp. adulteras matronam); **עָרַב** to become surety for one (to bail him).

Rem. 1. Also in transitive verbs, and even the passive and reflexive conjugations *Niph.*, *Hoph.*, *Hithp.*, may by a peculiar turn of their original meaning, take the accusative; **צָפֵךְ** to be favourable, mostly with **לִי**, but also with the acc. (as if to wish, to will something or somebody) Is. 1, 11, **נָבֵךְ** to prophesy Jer. 25, 13, **צָבֵךְ** to surround (prop. to place themselves around) Judg. 10, 22, **דְּרַגְנֵל** to plot against Gen. 37, 18, **תְּהִבֹּוּךְ** to consider Job 37, 14.

2. In very common forms of expression the accusative after such verbs may be omitted without injury to the sense (in elliptical usage), as **כָּרַת בְּרִית** for **כָּרַת בְּרִית לִי** to make a covenant 1 Sam. 20, 16, **שָׁלַח** to stretch forth (i. e. the hand) 2 Sam. 6, 6, Ps. 18, 17. Comp. the German *nach etwas langen*, to reach after something.

3. Whole classes of verbs which govern the accusative are,

- a) those which signify to clothe and unclothe, as **לְבִבֶּל** to put on a garment, **לְפִשְׁתַּר** to put off a garment, **עֲרַבְתָּ** to put on as an ornament; also poet. as in **לְבִשְׁתִּי כָּרִים הַצָּאן** the pastures are clothed with flocks Ps. 65, 14 (comp. also 14, b), 104, 2, 109, 29;
- b) those which signify fullness or want, as **מִילָּא** to be full, **צָרַפְתָּ** to swarm (Gen. 1, 20, 21), **שָׁבַע** to be satiated, **פָּרַץ** to overflow (Prov. 3, 10, v. above No. 1, Rem. 2), **חָסַר** to want, **לְכַלְתָּ** to lose (children); e. g. **וְהַפְלֵלָה הָאָרֶץ אֶתְּם** and the land was filled with them Ex. 1, 7, **וְחָסַרְוּן תִּמְשִׁירִים הַצְּדָקָם** **אַוְלֵי וְחָסַרְוּן חִמְשִׁירִים הַצְּדָקָם** lit. perhaps the fifty righteous will want five (i. e.

18, 16); to gnash the teeth (Ps. 35, 16), and to gnash with the teeth (Job 16, 9), where head and teeth may be regarded as the object of the verb and as the instrument. But there is a deviation from our mode of expression in these phrases, viz. **פָּרַץ בְּלֵבָבִי** to open the mouth Ps. 22, 8, Job 18, 10 (prop. to make an opening with the mouth), **פָּרַשְׁת בְּרַדְתִּם** to spread out the hands Lam. 1, 17 (prop. to make a spreading with the hands), **וַיַּדְרַם בְּמִקְנָה** he lifted the staff Ex. 7, 20, comp. **נָתַן קָול בְּלֵבָבִי** and **נָתַן קָול**.

perhaps there will be lacking five of the fifty) Gen. 18, 28,
אַתָּה בְּנֵיכֶם (why) should I lose even both of you? Gen.
 27, 45;

- c) several verbs of *dwelling*, e. g. נָרַר, יִשְׁבַּן, not merely *in a place* (Judg. 5, 17, Is. 32, 16, Gen. 4, 20), but also *among a people, with any one* (Ps. 5, 5, 120, 5);
- d) those which express *going or coming to a place* (*petere locum*); hence בָּזָק with the accus. of the person, *to come over some one, attack him*. Comp. with this the *accus. loci*, § 118, 1.

§ 139.

VERBS WITH TWO ACCUSATIVES.

Two accusatives are governed by—

1. The causative conjugations (*Piel* and *Hiphil*) of all verbs which in Qāl govern one accusative; e. g. מִלְאָתָרוֹ רָוחַ חֲכָמָה *I have filled him with the spirit of wisdom* Ex. 28, 3, וַיְלַבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ בְגִנְעָלֶשׁ *he clothed him in (caused him to put on) garments of fine linen (byssus)* Gen. 41, 42. And so also אָזַר *to gird one with* Ps. 18, 33, בָּרַךְ *to bless one with* Deut. 15, 14, חָפַר *to cause one to lack and עַצְרָה to crown one with* Ps. 8, 6.

2. A numerous class of verbs which have even in Qāl a doubly-causative signification; such as, *to cover or clothe one with anything* (Ps. 5, 13, Ez. 13, 10; hence also *to sow, to plant* Is. 5, 2, 17, 10, 30, 23, Judg. 9, 45; *to anoint* Ps. 45, 8); *to fill, to bestow, to deprive* (Ez. 8, 17, Gen. 27, 37, Prov. 22, 23); *to do one an injury* (1 Sam. 24, 18); *to make one something* (Gen. 17, 5); e. g. וְעַשֵּׂיתָ אֹתוֹ שָׁמָן מִשְׁחָה קָדְשָׁה *and make thou it a holy anointing oil*¹ Ex. 30, 25.

As in the last example, so also elsewhere, the material out of which something is made frequently stands in the accusative (comp. the German *mache daraus, make out of it* holy anointing oil), e. g. 1 K. 18, 32 תָּבִיבֵה אֶת־הַאֲבָנִים מִזְבֵּחַ *and he built of the stones an altar, prop. built the stones (into)*

¹ On the passives of these verbs see § 149, 1.

an altar, Lev. 24, 5. Also a bolder construction in which the material is placed last, as Ex. 38, 3 כָּל־כָּלְיוֹן עַשְׂתָּה בְּתִשְׁתָּחֹת all its vessels he made (of) copper Gen. 2, 7 (in themselves these words could also signify all its vessels he turned into copper).

There is another use of the double accusative containing a closer definition of the first, by naming epexegetically the member or part of the object which is especially affected by the action, e. g. Ps 3, 8 thou hast smitten all mine enemies (upon) the cheek-bone (*נִפְנֵב*), comp. Deut. 33, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 27 לֹא נִמְלֶט *Let us not kill him*, prop. *Let us not smite him* (as to his) life, Gen. 37, 21, and so too with *נִזְבֵּח* Gen. 8, 15. Comp. the analogous ways of using the accusative § 118, 3.

§ 140.

VERBS WITH PREPOSITIONS

Those modifications of the verbal idea, which other languages indicate by composition of the verbal stem with prepositions, are expressed in the Hebrew either,—*a*) by appropriate verbal stems, as בָּרָא to go-in, יָצַא to go-out, שׁוּב to re-turn; or—*b*) by prepositions written after the verb, as in English, e. g. קָרָא to call, with לְ to call to, with בְּ to call upon, with אַחֲרָי to call after; נָפַל to fall, with עַל to fall upon and also to fall off to, with לְפָנֵי to fall down before; הַלֵּךְ to go, with אַחֲרֵי to go after, to follow.

It is the province of the Lexicon to show the use of the several prepositions with each particular verb. Whole classes of words, as construed with this or that particle will be found in § 154, 8.

§ 141.

CONSTRUCTIO PRÆGNANS.

The so-called *constructio prægnans* occurs in Hebrew particularly when a verb, which in itself does not express motion towards something is nevertheless construed with prepositions (or the accus.) of direction. In such a case for the clearness of sense another verb of motion must be mentally supplied, to form the connection with the preposition; e. g. נִשְׁתַּבְּחַת to turn in astonishment to one Gen. 42, 33, comp. 42, 28

לְקַרְשׁ אֶל to turn questioning towards somebody. Is. 11, 10, comp. 41, 1 וַיָּמִלֵּא לְלַכְתָּא אֲחֹרִי for אֲחֹרִי he filled up to follow me (i. e. he obeyed me fully), Num. 14, 24, Ps. 22, 22 מִקְרָנִי רְמִים thou hearest (and savest) me from the horns of the buffaloes, Is. 14, 17 אֲסִירָיו לֹא פָתַח בֵּיתָה his prisoners he did not release (and send) home-wards, Ps. 89, 40.

§ 142.

CONSTRUCTION OF TWO VERBS TO EXPRESS ONE IDEA.

When one verb which expresses a so-called verbal idea (one that requires an object) is more closely defined by a second verb, the latter is construed as follows, viz.—

1. It stands in the *Inf.*, either the *absol.* (§ 131, 1) or (more commonly) the *constr.*, e. g. Deut. 2, 25, 31 אָחֵל חַת I begin to give; verse 31. Gen. 37, 5 עָזָז אָתָּה וַיָּסְפִּי וְעַזְעַז still to hate him (hated him still more), Ex. 18, 23 וַיַּכְלֵל עַמְדָה and thou canst endure, Is. 1, 14 נִלְאֹרֶרֶת נִשְׁאָה I am weary to bear.

2. But still more frequently it stands in the *Inf.* preceded by הַ, as Deut. 3, 24 הַחֲלֹותָ לְהָרֹאֹתָ thou hast begun to show, Gen. 11, 8 וַיַּחֲלֹדֵב לְבָנוֹתָ and they ceased to build, 27, 20 מַהְרָה לְמַצֵּא thou hast hastened to find, i. e. thou hast quickly found, etc.

These two are the usual constructions in prose after verbs signifying to begin (חָלֵל חָזֵיל), to continue (חָזֵק), to hasten (חָרֵךְ), to cease (לְזַעַן), to finish (כָּלֵךְ); so also to make good (חָרִיטֵרֶב), to make much or many (חָרְבָּה), and the like modality of action (expressed, for the most part, by Hiphil); so also with to be willing (אָבֵה), to refuse (אָמַרְתָּ), to seek, to strive for (שָׁבֵךְ), to be able (כָּלֵךְ), כָּלֵךְ, the latter signifying to know how to do), to learn (שָׁמֵךְ), to permit (לְזַעַן).¹ It is to be remarked, however, that in poetry the הַ is often omitted where it is used in prose, as אָבֵה to be willing with the הַ Ex. 10, 27, with the mere *Inf.* Job. 80, 9, Is. 28, 12, 30, 9.²

¹ To permit one to do a thing, is expressed by לְשַׂרְתָּהָם, and אָמַרְתָּהָם, prop. to give or grant one to do a thing; Gen. 20, 6 אָמַרְתָּהָךְ לֹא גַּעַגְתָּהָךְ I have not permitted thee to touch.

² So after nouns which include a verbal idea, e. g. לְבָזָן it is not permitted to enter in Est. 4, 2, רַקְעַן (poet.) there is nothing to be compared Ps. 40, 6; טַזְבָּעַן ready, prepared, commonly with הַ, without in Job 3, 8.

3. Both verbs may be in the finite form; and they are then construed—

a) With ו before the second verb, which then agrees with the first in tense (however see Rem.), gender and number (comp. our expression, *he was pleased and went*, for *he was pleased to go*); Judg. 19, 6 הָלַא וְלִין be pleased now and lodge, Gen. 26, 18 וַיֵּשֶׁב יִחָרֵךְ and he returned (repeated) and digged (i. e. he digged again), 2 K. 1, 11, 13, Is. 6, 13, 25, 1 he added and took a wife (i. e. he took again); Cant. 2, 3.

The construction can also begin with the *Impf.* and proceed in the *Perf.* (according to § 126, 6), as in Est. 6, 8, Deut. 31, 12 *that they may learn (Impf.) and fear (Perf.) for to fear*, Hos. 2, 11, Dan 9, 25; or on the contrary, it may begin in the *Perf.* and proceed in the *Impf.* Josh. 7, 7, Job 23, 3, Eccl. 4, 1, 7.

b) ἀσυνδέτως, i. e. without the ו and so that the union of the two verbs is more an exterior one; they are of the same tense, gender, and number (as under letter a); Deut. 2, 24 בְּחַל רָשֶׁת begin and take possession, Hos. 1, 6 לא אֹסִיף אֲרַחֵם I will not go on and have pity (i. e. I will no longer pity), 1 Sam. 2, 3 אל תַּרְבִּי תְּדַבֵּר do not multiply and speak (=speak not much), Lam. 4, 14 בְּלֹא יוּכְלֵי וְגַעַר so that they could not touch, Job 19, 3, Hos. 5, 11, 9, 9.

This last construction (being more lively and bolder) is rather the poetical one, which under letter a, is more usual in prose. Comp. e. g. חִטְבֵּךְ with ו following in Gen. 25, 1, 38, 5; but without ו in Hos. 1, 8, Is. 52, 1. Yet also in prose occur examples of asyndeton as in Neh. 3, 20, Deut. 1, 5, Josh. 3, 16, 1 Ch. 13, 2.

c) Likewise ἀσυνδέτως, but with the second verb in a close subordinate connection in the *Imperfect*, depending on the conjunction *that* implied; Job 32, 22 לא וְלֹעֲדֵךְ אֲכַפֵּה I know not to flatter, 1 Sam. 20, 19 וְשַׁפֵּתְךָ תַּרְדֵּךְ and cause on the third day (that) thou come down (i. e. on the third day come down), Is. 42, 21 חִפֵּץ וְנִגְדֵּל he desired to make great, Job 24, 14 רָקִים רֹצֶחֶת וְקִטְלָה the murderer arises to kill.

Rem. In Arabic and Syriac, this construction is very common,¹ in Hebrew rarer, but at least necessary in those cases where the second

¹ The Arab says *volebat dilaceraret* for *he would rend*; and so the Syrian, *nolebat tolleret* (Luke 18, 13), *he would not lift up*, but oftener with the conjunction *that* inserted. The Latin also may omit the conjunction in this

verb was to be distinguished from the first in person or number; Is. 47, 1 **לֹא תַּעֲדִיד יְקָרָא־לְךָ** thou shall not add (that) they shall call thee (i. e. thou shall not continue to be called), Num. 22, 6 **אֵתֶל נְפָרָה־בָּנָה** perhaps I may be able (that) we shall smite him, and I shall drive him out

4. The completion of the verbal idea may finally (as frequently in Syriac) consist also of a *Participle*, Is. 33, 1 **כְּחַרְמָה שׁוֹدֵךְ**¹ when thou shalt finish as a destroyer, i. e. 'to be a destroyer=to destroy' 1 Sam. 16, 16 (after Part.).

Instead of the participle stands the *verbal adjective*, 1 Sam. 8, 2 **בְּחֵזֶק הָבָרֵךְ** his eyes began to grow dim. On the other hand Gen. 9, 20 **אֵישׁ חַאֲמָרָה** is in apposition to **הָנָן** and the passage belongs therefore to No. 3, letter a (=Noah, the husbandman began to plant, etc.).

Rem. 1. In many of the above examples, the first verb only serves, in effect, to qualify in some manner the second, and hence we translate it by an *adverb*. Comp. further Gen. 31, 27 **עַל־חַבְרָתָךְ כִּי־חָמָתָךְ** wherefore hast thou secretly fled? 2 K. 2, 10 **בְּשִׁלְבָדְךָ** thou hast made hard to ask i. e. hast asked a hard thing. The verb which qualifies the other may also occupy the second place, but never without special cause; e. g. Is. 53, 11 **יְרָאָה יִשְׁבַּג** he shall see and be satisfied (with the sight) because the satisfaction follows the enjoyment and 66, 11 **תִּשְׁאַל וְיִשְׁלַׁחְךָ** that ye may seek and be satisfied (by that act); Jer. 4, 5 **קְרָא בְּזָהָר** call ye (and that) with full voice=call aloud.

2. Of another construction are the so-called *verba cordis* (verbs indicating some mental action) which take after them (in place of an accusative) an objective clause introduced by **כִּי** or **שֶׁ** that. Here belong especially expressions like *to see* (Gen. 1, 4, 10), *to know* (Gen. 22, 12), *to believe*, *to remember*, *to forget*, *to say*, *to think*, etc. On the omission of the conjunction before such clauses see § 155, 4, c.

§ 143.

CONSTRUCTION OF PASSIVE VERBS.

1. When a causative conjugation (*Pi'ēl*, *Hiph'îl*) has two accusatives (§ 139, 1), its passive (*Pu'āl*, *Höph'āl*) retains only one of them (the second or more remote object), taking the other (the nearest object) as the subject in the nominative.

case, *Quid vis faciam?* Ter.; *Volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cic. Brut. 84. So in German, *Ich wollte, es wäre*; *Ich dachte, es ginge* [and in English *I would it were, I thought it went*].

¹ For **בְּחֵזֶק** (§ 20, Rem.) *Inf. Hiph.* of **שׁוֹדֵךְ**.

This subject nominative may then consist either in an independent noun or pronoun, or (as pronominal subject) be included in the verbal form, e.g. Ps. 80, 11 **בְּשָׁרֶרֶת הַרִּים צֵלָה** *the mountains are covered with its (the vine's) shade*, Ex. 25, 40 **אֲשֶׁר־רָאָתָה מְرָאָת** *which was shown thee (prop. which thou wast caused to see)*; Job 7, 3.

Several striking phenomena in the construction of the passive are readily explained, if we regard it as an impersonal active (*dicitur=one says, they say*), just as, on the contrary, the impersonal active often supplies the place of the passive (see § 137, Note). This transposition is not merely an expedient, but has its foundation in the spirit of the Semitic syntax. At least according to the Arab grammarians a purely impersonal passive is inconceivable, in places where such one seems to stand, a hidden agent must be supposed. We may thus explain those cases in which —

a) The passive takes the logical subject in the accusative, Gen. 27, 42 **וְיִגְדֹּל לְרַבְכָּה אֶחָדָכְבָּרִי** *and they made known to Rebecca the words of Esau*, 4, 18 **וְיִגְלֹל לְחִנִּיךְ אֶחָדָעִירָד** *and it was born to Enoch I ad*, 17, 5 **וְלֹא יִקְרָא עוֹד אֶחָשָׁךְ אֶבְרָם** *they shall no more call thy name Abram*, Ex. 10, 8, **וְיִשְׁבַּב אֶחָדָמָשׁ אֶלְעָרָעָה** *and they brought Moses back to Pharaoh* Lev. 16, 27, Num. 32, 5, Josh. 7, 15, 2 K. 18, 30, Jel. 50, 20. So also with the *Inf.* of the passives, as in Gen. 21, 5 **וְאִזְרִיךְ בָּלְתָּל** *at (the time of) the being born (ἐν τῷ τεκεῖν) to him Isaak*, 40, 20 **יֹם חֶצְרָה אֶחָדָסְרִינָה** *the day when Pharaoh was born*

b) It does not agree (as often happens) in *gender* and *number* with the noun, even when preceded by it (comp. § 147), because the noun is, in this case, regarded not as the subject but as the object of the verb passive, comp., besides the above examples Is. 21, 2 **חַנְדָּלָה** *visionem dum nunciarunt mihi Dan* 9, 24 **שְׁבָעָגִינְתָּה שְׁבִיטָמָנָה** *destinarunt* (פְּנִים), 1 K. 2, 21, Is. 14, 3, Gen. 35, 26 Hos. 10, 6, Job 22, 9 **רְגִזּוֹת**, 30, 15.

2. The efficient cause (the personal originator), after a passive verb, most frequently takes **בְּ**, and is therefore in the dative (as in Greek), as **בָּרוּךְ לְאָדָם** *blessed of God* (τῷ Θεῷ) Gen. 14, 19, Prov. 14, 20. More rare, but equally certain, is the same use of **מִן** (prop. *from*, by which *origin, source*, in general, is often denoted) Gen. 9, 11, Ps. 37, 23, Job 24, 1, 28, 4, **מִבְּנֵי** *because of Gen. 6, 13; בְּ* by Gen. 9, 6, Num. 36, 2, Hosea 14, 4; sometimes there is no preposition, but the *accusat. instrumenti* is used (comp. § 138, 1, Rem. 3), as Is. 1, 20, **חַרְבָּה** *by the sword shall ye be devoured*, comp. Ps. 17, 13.

Rem. Many intransitive verbs are sometimes used as passive, in consequence of a peculiar application of their meaning; e. g. **לֹהֵךְ** to go down (spoken of a forest), to be felled Is. 32, 49; **לֹבֶשׁ** to go up for to be brought up (on the altar) Lev. 2, 12; to be entered (in an account) 1 Ch. 27, 24; **וּצַרְתָּ** to be brought out from Deut. 14, 22.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTION OF THE SUBJECT WITH THE PREDICATE.

§ 144a.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL SENTENCE.

1. Every sentence beginning with an independent subject (noun or separate pronoun) is called a *nominal sentence*. It is *a) simple* when the *predicate* consists also of a *noun* (substantive, adjective or participle); *b) compound* when the predicate is a finite verb. For, as every finite verb (v. below No. 2) bears already its subject itself and forms therefore for itself an independent sentence, therefore a phrase in which a *finite verb*, as predicate, follows the *subject noun*, is a combination of a *subject* with an *independent verbal sentence* (v. below).

Rem. Very frequently, especially in Hebrew, the *predicate* stands first in a *simple nominal phrase*; almost regularly so, when the *predicate* is an adjective, e. g. **יְהֹוָה יְמִינָךְ** Jehovah is just. If the *predicate* is a substantive, it stands first, at least when a special stress lies on it, e. g. Job 5, 24, 6, 12 (comp. § 145, 1, b).—On the use of *independent nominal sentences* as predicates in *compound nominal sentences* v. § 145, 2.

2. Every sentence, commencing with a *finite verb*, is called a *verbal sentence*. It contains in all cases its subject already in itself, under the form of a *personal pronoun* which is necessarily connected with the verbal form (as *tu* in *dicis*, thou sayest). This is not only true of those cases, where the subject has already been mentioned and thus defined more

closely, but also in cases where the subject has been added afterwards, so to speak, as an *epexegesis* to the subject which is latent in the verb. For where the idea of a neuter or neutral subject (Germ. *es*) is lacking entirely and where every verbal form must be conceived in connection with a personal, or at least with a generically definite subject, a phrase like **המלך אמר**, cannot be conceived, as in German: *es sprach der König*, but: *he spoke, namely the king.*

3. This distinction between the nominal and verbal sentence although it may seem quite mechanical, has been pointed out emphatically with good reasons by the Arabic grammarians. For

a) there exists really an essential difference between the predicate of a nominal and of a verbal sentence. The former always represents something *immovable, a situation, a being*, the latter something *movable, flowing, something which happens or which is doing.*

b) the *simple nominal sentence*, connected by *Wāw* with a verbal sentence, describes a condition or state which is always simultaneous with the chief action (not a *progress* of the action) e. g. Gen. 19, 1; *and the two angels entered into Sodom, whilst Lot was sitting* (**וילו שׁב ישב**), etc.

Also the *compound nominal sentence*, connected by *Wāw*, may serve to bring in afterwards an event that has preceded the principal facts of the narration. E. g. 1 Sam. 28, 3; *and Samuel was* (at that time already) *dead and Saul had driven away*, etc. (not as, e. g. the *Vulgate: and Samuel died and Saul drove away*) Job 21, 22. But there exist also examples, where the narrative continues even in form of a compound nominal sentence (comp. Gen. 1, 2, 3, 1). Even then the nominal sentence does not describe a new *occurrence* but a *state* which exists during the continuation of the event.

§ 144 b.

MANNER OF EXPRESSING THE COPULA IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCE.

1. The subject and predicate of the simple sentence (v. § 144, a, 1, a) are always placed together without the *copula*; e. g. 1 K. 18, 21 **יהוה האללים** *the Eternal (is) the true God,*

Gen. 2, 12 זֶה בְּהָר֔ץ הַהִוֵּא טֹב the gold of that land (is) good, Is. 31, 2 גַם הִיא חֲכָם also he (is) wise.—On the union of the subject and predicate by a separate pronoun of the 3d person (repeating and emphasizing more distinctly the subject idea). v. § 121, 2.

2. Less frequently the *copula* is expressed by the substantive verb *הָיָה* to be, become, and in that case rises a compound nominal sentence (§ 144, a, 1, b), e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *and the earth was* (הָיָה), *waste and empty*, 3, 1 *the serpent was* (הָיָה) *crafty*, vs. 20, Judges 1, 7. If on the other hand the union between a pronoun as subject and a participle as predicate is established by *וְשָׁנָה* or *אַיִן* (§ 134, 2, a) there arise simple nominal sentences, because *וְשָׁנָה* and *אַיִן* are properly substantives.

Rem. Instead of the adjective, the Hebrew often employs the abstract substantive as a predicate in the nominal phrase (§ 106, 1, Rem. 2); especially when there is no adjective of the required signification (§ 106, 1), e. g. Ez. 41, 22 קָרְרוּתִי עַץ his walls (are) wood=of wood, wooden. Sometimes the hardness of such combinations is softened by repeating the subject noun in the *constr. st.* before the predicate (קָרְרוּתִי עַץ). This full construction occurs Job 6, 12 אַם פָּנֶיךָ אֱבֻנִים בְּחֵרִי ^{as} my strength the strength of stones? Ps 45, 7, b. Comp. on the other hand the bolder terms in Cant. 1, 15 קָרְבָּךְ רַיִנִים עַזְתָּךְ thy eyes (are) doves' eyes (literally are doves) Ezra 10, 13 עַזְתָּךְ גַּשְׁמִים תְּעַזֵּבְךָ the time (is the time of) showers. So also especially with קָרְבָּךְ בְּגַת קָרְבָּךְ בְּגַת thy garments (are) like (the garments of) one treading the wine-press, Jer. 50, 9 חָצְבָּךְ קָנְבָּךְ his arrows as (those of) a hero.

§ 145.

POSITION OF WORDS IN A SENTENCE. ABSOLUTE CASE.

1. According to what has been remarked § 144, a, the natural position of words in the simple nominal sentence is: *Subject, Predicate*; in the compound nominal sentence: *Subject, Verbal Predicate* (i. e. verbal copula with the completing nominal predicate); in the verbal sentence: *Verb*, subsequently the *Subject* (if expressed) and then the *Object*. Adverbial designations (such as those of time or place) may stand either

before or after the verb; a negative stands almost always immediately before it.¹

Exceptions to the above stated natural position of words occur especially when a member of the sentence has to be rendered prominent by giving it the precedence. So stands:—

- a) in verbal sentences sometimes the *object* before the *subject*, e. g. Num. 5, 23, Ps. 34, 22; the *object* before the *verb* Prov. 13, 5: *thing of falsehood hateth a righteous man*; Gen 47, 21, Ex. 18, 23, Is. 49, 6. Very rare is the position: *Obj., Subj., Verb*, 2 K. 5, 13. Finally, there also occurs, although likewise very seldom, and only poetically the position: *Subj., Obj., Verb*, as Ps. 6, 10 יְקַח תִּלְכָּה; 11, 5, Is. 13, 18 (quite common however in Aram., e. g. Dan. 2, 7, 10. Comp. Gesen. Comm. on Is. 42, 24).
- b) in nominal sentences the *Predicate* before the *Subject* and so almost regularly when the *Predicate* consists of an *Adjective* (comp. § 144, a, 1, Rem.), because this one receives then by its quality as a predicate, a special emphasis. Jer. 10, 6 שְׁמָךְ אַתָּה וְגַדֹּל שְׁמֵךְ great thou (art) and great (is) thy name. The substantive predicate is placed first in Is. 18, 5, *ripening grape becomes the blossom*, Job 6, 12.
- c) The adverbial expression before the verb, especially (as natural) expressions of time, Gen. 1, 1. Some adverbs of time like תְּעַשָּׂ, אַתָּה, stand almost always at the beginning of the sentence (Josh. 10, 12, Judges 5, 22); others like עַתָּה, קָמִיד, as a rule after the verb.

On the absence of inflection in the predicate when put first, see § 147.

2. The strongest emphasis of a substantive (especially when it is the subject, but also when it is the object, or when employed by way of qualification of any kind) is produced by permitting it to stand, *absolutely*, at the beginning of the sentence, and then representing it, in the following independent phrase, by a pronoun (compare Fr. *c'est moi, qu'on a*

¹ Occasionally there is inserted between the negative and the verb the object (Job 22, 7, 34 23, Ec. 10, 10), the subject (Num. 16, 29, 2 K. 5, 26), or an adverbial expression (Ps. 6, 2, 40, 18, Jer. 15, 15).

accusé); e. g. Ps. 18, 31 הָאֱלֹהִים דְּרָכָו God, perfect is his way, for God's way is perfect. The whole forms a compound nominal sentence in which the predicate is not represented by a verbal sentence (§ 144, a, 1, b) but by another independent nominal sentence; likewise Ps. 104, 17, Job 21, 4, whilst in Gen. 24, 27, Ps. 11, 4 the predicate consists of a verbal sentence. Comp. also Ez. 33, 17; also in the examples: Ps. 74, 17 *winter and summer, thou hast made them, winter and summer* is not the object but the subject of the compound nominal sentence. The object stands absolutely first in Gen. 47, 21 אֲתַזְהָעַם *the people, he removed them,* 21, 13, comp. Jer. 6, 19.¹ The suffix may also be omitted (so perhaps Ps. 9, 7) and the connection indicated by ו (as sign of the apodosis), 2 Sam. 22, 41 (comp. Ps. 18, 41), Job 36, 26 מסֵעֶר שָׁנְיוֹ וְלֹא חֲקָר sc. לְהַן *the number of his years, even there is no searching* 4, 6, 23, 12, 25, 5, Gen. 3, 5, Num. 23, 3, Job 6, 14, 15, 17, 21, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 27, 2 Sam. 15, 34.

Sometimes the participle stands first in the above manner in the sense of a conditional sentence e. g. Prov. 23, 24 קֶתֶבְּךָמָן יְלַדְּךָמָן he who begets a wise son (i. e. when one begets, etc.), then he may rejoice in him, 1 Sam. 2, 13 קָלְאִישׁ וְבָתָח וְאָגַע רְבָתָן when any one brought an offering, then came the priest's servant, Gen. 4, 15, Job 41, 18.

§ 146.

RELATION OF THE SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

The predicate, as in other languages, conforms generally to the subject in gender and number. From this rule, common to all languages, there are many deviations, partly occasioned by regard to the sense rather than to the grammatical form of words (*constructio ad sensum*), partly by the position of the predicate before the subject.

In respect to the first cause, we remark that,

1. Collective nouns (singular in form), e. g. עַם *people*, נָשָׁׁׁי *nation*, בָּנָׁׁי *family*, and nouns used as collective, as אֲנָשִׁׁׁי *men*

¹ Such a case absolute may also be introduced by נִ (in respect to) before it, Gen. 17, 20, Is. 32, 1; comp. Ps. 16, 3(?), Eccl. 9, 4, 2 Chron. 7, 21.

(see § 108, 1), are apt to be construed, according to the sense, with the plural, as in Judg. 9, 55 וַיָּרֶא אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל and the men of Israel saw, 15, 10, 1 K. 20, 20 וַיִּגְסֹבֵר אֲרָם and Aram (the Syrians) fled, Is. 16, 4, Prov. 11, 26, 28, 1, Job 8, 19. So when the collective is itself *fem.* but represents only, or at least prevailingly, individuals which are of the *masc.* gender: e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 23 בְּלֹהָרֶץ בָּזִים the whole land (i. e. its inhabitants) wept,¹ Gen. 48, 6, 1 Sam. 2, 33, 17, 46, 1 K. 10, 24, Job 30, 12; and vice versa in Job 1, 14 הַבָּקָר הַרְשָׁוֹת the cattle (cows) were ploughing. For examples of the predicate in the singular with collectives, see Gen. 35, 11, Is. 2, 4 (comp. Micah 4, 3).

Particular examples of a bolder *Enallage* of number are Gen. 34, 30 וְאֵין מִתְּמֻכָּר whilst I (and my people) men of (inferior) number; Job 29, 15: eyes I have been to the blind (comp. Num. 10, 31).

Often the construction begins with the singular (especially when the verb is placed first, § 147, 1, a), and then when the collective is introduced, proceeds with the plural; Ex. 33, 4 וַיַּחֲבֹלֵל . . . וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם and the people heard . . . and they mourned, 1, 20.

2. On the other hand plural nouns with a singular meaning (§ 108, 2) are often construed with the singular, especially the so-called *pluralis excellentiae*; Gen. 1, 1, 3,² Ex. 21, 29 בְּצָלָמוֹ יִמְתַּח his owner shall be put to death. So feminine forms with a masculine signification are construed with the masculine, as in Ec. 12, 9 הַרְחִילָת חָכָם the preacher was wise.

3. Plurals which designate animals or things, whether they are *masc.* or *fem.* readily take the construction with the

¹ Sallust. Jugurth. 14, *pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt.*

² לְמִירָם is here and there construed with the *plur.* but only in the older biblical books, and in certain forms of expression which perhaps may be traced back to original polytheistic ideas, or at least to an adaptation to them, e. g. Gen. 20, 13 (in conversation with a heathen), 35, 7, Ex. 22; 8 (?), Josh. 24, 19, Ps. 58, 12. The later writers studiously avoid this construction, as if it were polytheistic; comp. Ex. 32, 4, 8, with Neh. 9, 18, and 2 Sam. 7, 23, with 1 Ch. 17, 21. See the Lexicons.

*fem. sing.*¹ (comp. the feminine form with collective meaning, in § 107, 3, *d*); Joel 1, 20 בְּהַמֹּת שָׂרָה הַצֹּרֶג the beasts of the field pine for—, Job 14, 19 הַשְׁטָף סְפִיחַת its floods wash away, Jer. 49, 24 חֲבָלִים אֲחֹזָה pains have seized upon her, 2, 15 *Kethibh*, Ps. 37, 31, Job 12, 7 Comp. also 2 K. 3, 3, Is. 35, 7, Jer. 36, 23, Ps. 69, 36 ff., Job 39, 15, in all of which cases the suffix of the *third sing. fem.* is related to plurals of animals or things.

4. Moreover, those plurals also which designate persons are construed with the singular, when, instead of the whole sum of individuals spoken of, the attention is directed to each one of them (comp. **כָל** for *omnes* and *omnis*); examples of this distributive singular are Gen. 49, 22 בְּנֹות אֲעֵדָה the daughters (branches) rise, Num. 24, 9 וְאָרְיוֹת אָרוּרָה blessed (be every one of) those who bless thee, and cursed (each of) those who curse thee, Prov. 3, 18 חַמְלִיכָה מְאַשֵּׁר happy (is every one of) those who retain her (the wisdom) 27, 16, 28, 1, Gen. 27, 29, Ex. 31, 14. Comp. also Job 6, 20: בְּשָׁי כִּירְבָּתָח; Is. 28, 20.

5. Dual substantives take their predicates in the plural, since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns have no dual form (§ 88, 1); as in Gen. 29, 17 וַיַּעֲנֵי לֵאָה רְכוּת and the eyes of Leah were tender, Ps. 18, 28, Is. 30, 20, 2 Sam. 24, 3, 1 Sam. 1, 13 רַק עַיִן שְׁפָתָיה נָעוֹת only her lips moving, 2 Ch 7, 15 עַיִן עַיִן תְּرִאֵנָה נָעוֹת my eyes shall see, Jer. 14, 6, Is. 1, 15, Job 10, 8, 20, 10, 27, 4, Ps. 38, 11. Rarely with the dual does the predicate stand in the singular feminine (v. above No. 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 15, Micah 4, 11.

¹ Perfectly analogous is the Greek construction, τὰ πρόθετα βάλει, where the Attics admit the plural only when by the neuter persons are designated, as τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἔλαβον τὸν ἄρτον. In Arabic, such a plural is called *pluralis inhumana* (i. e. not used of men), and is construed chiefly with the *fem. sing.* of the attribute or predicate, like all its so-called *pluralia fracta* (collective forms).

§ 147.

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

(Continued.)

Very frequently deviations from the general rule (§ 146) occur where the predicate stands first. The subject, to which it would regularly conform, not being yet expressed, it often takes its simplest and readiest form, viz., the *masc. sing.*, even when the subject, which comes after, is *feminine* or *plural*: the predicate in this case is not subject to inflection; e. g.—

- a) The verb; Is. 47, 11 **רָעָה** **בְּאֶלְקָה** *there comes upon thee evil*, Mic. 2, 6 **לֹא יַסֵּג כְּלָמֹות** *reproaches do not depart*, Ps. 57, 2, Deut. 32, 35, Est. 9, 23 **קָבַל הָרִוחַנִּים** *the Jews undertook*, 2 K. 3, 26 **חַזְקָה הַמְּלָחֶמֶת** *hard was the battle*, 1 Sam. 25, 27, Ps. 124, 5, Job 42, 15. Often the verb may here be regarded as impersonal. More seldom before the *plur. fem.* we find (at least) the *plur. masc.*; as in Judg. 21, 21 **אַסְׁדִּיבָאָר בְּנוֹת שְׁלֹמֹה** *if the daughters of Shilo come forth*.
- b) The adjective in the nominal sentence (just as in German): Ps. 119, 137 **יְשָׁרָם מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ** *righteous (are) thy judgments*, is not inflected, vs. 155 **רְשָׁוּעָת יְשָׁרָךְ** *far (is) salvation*. Cases like Job 24, 7, 10 **קָרְבָּן עֲרָבָה** *naked they go*, do not belong here. There **עֲרָבָה** is rather an accusative of condition (§ 118, 3)=*in the condition of a naked one*.
- c) The participle as substantive in the nominal sentence Gen. 47, 3 **רֹעֵה צָאן עַבְدָּךְ** *shepherds (are) thy servants*, if not merely an orthographical difference or a mistake for **רֹעֵךְ**.
- d) The copula **הִרְחָה** when it precedes the subject;¹ Is. 18, 5 **בָּסָר גָּמָל וְהִרְחָה נָצָת** *maturing grapes the blossom becomes*. In Gen. 31, 8 the **וְהִרְחָה** after the plural subject may be explained from the attraction towards the following singular predicate.

¹ Independently of this arrangement, the **וְהִרְחָה**, standing for the *copula*, is retained between *plur.* and *fem.* unchanged; Josh. 18, 14, **וְהִרְחָה אֲשֶׁר** . . . *the offerings of Jah . . . that is his inheritance*. Comp. Jer. 10, 8.

But if this construction is continued after the introduction of the subject, the verb must conform to it in gender and number; Ez. 14, 1 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים רֵישְׁבָי לְקָנֵי Gen. 1, 14, Num. 9, 6.

Rem. 1. In general, the language is at times sparing in the use especially of the feminine forms (comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 5), and, when a feminine substantive has more than one predicate, contents itself with giving to the nearest one the appropriate feminine form. The following are instructive examples; Is. 33, 9 עָזָן אֲכַלְלָה אָרְץ the land mourneth and languisheth, 14, 9 צוֹרֵךְ רְפָאִים שָׁאֵל מִתְּחִרְתָּה רְגִיתָה Sheol beneath is moved . . . it stirreth up the shades to thee. Comp. 1 K. 19, 11 and the striking change of gender in Gen. 32, 9. In Job 20, 26 in the subordinate phrase the masculine appears instead of the feminine: פָּאָר תְּאַמְּנוּן a fire not blown.—Of a different sort are cases like Lev. 2, 1, 5, 1, 20, 6 where שָׁמֶן (fem.) in the continuation of speech is changed into a male person.

Suffixes in a (distributive) singular are related to preceding plurals, e. g. Job 38, 32, Deut. 21, 10; 28, 48, 1 K. 6, 23, Is. 5, 26.

2. The cases in which the predicate follows the subject, without conforming to it in gender and number, are based partly on the construction of passives with the accusative (§ 143, 1, Rem.) and partly the predicate is a participle used as a substantive; e. g. Gen. 4, 7 בְּתַחַת חַטָּאת רֵבֶץ at the door (is) sin a lurker (i. e. a lurking lion).—Ec. 2, 7 בְּבִנִּים־רוּתִת דָּרָה by vernæ mihi erant. Similar is Gen. 15, 17 וְעַלְלָה הָרָה and darkness, there was) where the verb remains in the indefinite gender (masc.) although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis.

§ 148.

CONSTRUCTION OF COMPOUND SUBJECTS.

1. When the subject is composed of a nominative and genitive, the verb sometimes conforms in gender and number to the genitive (or the second noun), instead of the governing (or the first) noun, viz., when the word in the genitive expresses the principal idea. Sometimes however the agreement of the predicate with the genitive seems to have been caused merely by their juxtaposition, e. g. Job 32, 7 בְּשָׁנִים נְדוּעָה חֲכָמָה the multitude of years (i. e. many years) shall teach wisdom, 1 Sam. 2, 4: קָשָׁה גְּבִירִים חֲמִם the bow of the strong is broken; 2 Sam. 10, 9 (with the predicate preceding), מִלְחָמָה אֲלֹיו חָרְחָה there was the battle-front against him,

i. e. *the battle was turned against him*, Is. 2, 11, Job 15, 20, 21, 21, 29, 10, 38, 21. On the other hand, in Gen. 4, 10, Is. 52, 8, Jer. 10, 22 and others קֹל cannot be understood as subject, but as exclamation, so e. g. Gen. 4, 10: Voice of thy brother's blood which cries . . . ! as much as: *hearken! the blood of thy brother cries*, etc.

With the substantive **כָּל** (prop. *totality*) *the whole*, this construction is almost universal; e. g. Gen. 5, 5 נִמְרָיו כָּל־דָּמֵי אָדָם and all the days of Adam were, Ex. 15, 20, likewise with the singular abstracts of the numbers 3 to 10, 100 and 1000.

2. When *several* subjects are connected by *and*, their common predicate usually takes the plural form, e. g. Job 3, 5, Gen. 40, 1, especially when it follows them; Gen. 8, 22 וְעַד וְקֶצֶף וְקֶרֶב רְחֵם לֹא יַשְׁבֹּחַ seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease; and in the *masc.* even with subjects of different genders, as in Gen. 18, 11 אַבְרָהָם וָשָׂרָה זָקִינִים Abraham and Sarah (were) old, Deut. 28, 32. When the predicate precedes, it often conforms in gender and number to the first (as being the nearest) subject; as in Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו and there went in Noah and his sons, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 12, 1 וַיִּקְרֹב מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן and there spoke Miriam and Aaron, Gen. 33, 7, 44, 14, Judg. 5, 1, 2 Sam. 5, 21. The singular is more rare, when the predicate follows the subject; Prov. 27, 9 שְׂמָן וְקֶטֶרֶת יְשַׁחַדְלֶב unguent and perfume rejoice the heart (where at the same time the masculine has the preference). If the construction is continued, the plural of the predicate always follows, e. g. Gen. 21, 32, 24, 61, 31, 14, 33, 7.

CHAPTER V.

USE OF THE PARTICLES.

§ 149.

Of the particles, as connected with the system of forms and inflections (§§ 99—105), we have already treated in their etymological relation to the other parts of speech. We are now to consider the signification and use of these words. As elsewhere, so also in Hebrew they compose as it were the most delicate and subtle portions of the language and are of the highest importance for a clear perception of the sense and a deeper penetration into the spirit of the language. We shall present, in a general view, their most important peculiarities, leaving the more complete representation, and specially the fuller examples, to the Lexicons.

§ 150. OF THE ADVERBS.

The most important adverbs, classed according to their signification, are—

1. Adverbs of place; **שם** there; **זה**, **זה** and **בז** *hic, here;* **בז-הither**, **בז-ו-כה** *hither and thither,* **בז-הither** and **בז-הither** *here, hither, thither, farther on,* hence **בז-מך** *(away from thee and hither) on this side of thee,* and **בז-מך-ו-לא-הither** *(away from thee and farther on) beyond thee,* 1 Sam. 20, 21, 22, 1s. 18, 2; **לע**, **לע** more commonly **לע-מך** *above, לע-לע* *above, over something, מוך-לע* *below, מוך-לע* *upwards, but also above, מוך-לע* *downwards, but also below beneath, חוץ* *outside, מזרון* *on the outside, בז-בז* *and within, סנ-קיה* *before, on the east, אחור* *behind, backwards, אחורני* *backwards, נג-coram, over against, מימין* *to the right, on the right, מים* *on the west (prop. from the sea), סב-רב* *around, קוממיות* *upright.*

To many of these adverbs **מ** is prefixed, or the accusative-ending **נ** appended, indicating respectively whence and whither e. g. **מן** *there, מנה* *thence, מנה-בז* *thither; גוז* *outside, מוז-ו-* *outwards;* several adverbs never occur without the appended **נ**—, e. g. **מן-ו-**, **מן-ו-**. Both these additions, however, sometimes express also the relation of rest in

a place, as **בַּמִּזְמָרָה there** (not merely *thither*), **מִצְמָרֵן on the right** (not from the right). The **בְּ** is in both cases the accusative-ending (§ 90 2), and **בְּ** properly denotes *starting from* or *depending on* an object, like **ἐκ δεξιάς, a dextra, a sinistra, a latere, a fergo**, and in French *dessous, dessus, dedans, dehors*¹

2. Adverbs of time, these are in part the same with those of place (above mentioned), which are transferred to relations of time, as **שֶׁבֶת then** (of **אָזֶן**), **כִּי-זֶה till now**, **לְזֶה onward, henceforth**, **שֶׁבֶת and contracted שֶׁזֶה hitherto**

Exclusively adverbs of time are **עַתָּה at the time**, hence *at this time*, **at present, now** (also expressing consequence and transition, like **וְעַתָּה, וְעַתָּה!**), and **at times then, soon, חִיּוֹם (this day to day)**, **בָּתָרִים, בָּתָרָה** **at the time, now, חַמּוֹל, חַמּוֹל formerly, yesterday, שָׁמָמָה yesterday-evening, last night, שָׁלְשָׁוֹת day before yesterday (almost always in the expression 'yesterday and the day before), קָדָח to tomorrow (eras), in the future, מִקָּדָחָה on the morrow, רַיִם by day, יְלִילָה by night, בָּקָר and שָׁבָט in the morning, early, בָּלְתִּיחִים the whole day, then all the time, always, חַמְרִיד continually, always לְצָלָט, צָלָט for ever, נָגָה, נָגָה perpetually, אָזֶן then, with reference to both past and future (§ 127, 4, a), long since, formerly, לְפָנִים formerly, כָּבֵר long since, צָר again, repeatedly, commonly yet with a negative, no more, **אַזְּהָר** (as one) at once, together, יְהִיּוּ together, **רַאשִׁיּוֹת at first**, **כַּן (after so) afterwards, מְהֻרָה speedily, פְּרָאָם instantly****

3. Adverbs for other modal ideas, as—
a) *Of quality*, **בָּחָה בָּחָה** (from **בָּחַח**) and **so**, **רַיְרַי exceedingly, very, רַוְרַי more, too much, בָּהָה wholly, בָּאַנְטָב about or near nothing, about or within a little—wanting little) almost, אַזְּהָר so, so then (Job 9, 24), hence often used intensively in questions (see § 153, 2, last Rem.), **טוֹב** and **וְרִיטְבִּיב well****

b) *Of quantity*, **מְהֻרָה much, לְרַב abundantly, חָזָן riches enough**, **רַיְרַי** followed by the genitive (prop. sufficiency) **enough**, as **דָּאַן what is enough for thee, קָדָח much, enough, לְבָד (in separation) alone, the first also with suffixes, as **לְבָדִיך I alone, נְזָדָד** together.**

c) *Of asseveration*, **אָמֵן truly, אָמֵן certainly, indeed, אָמֵן yes, certainly, also rather, אָמוֹן, Gen 17, 19, 1 K 1, 43, אָמֵן perhaps**

The expression of asseveration may easily pass over into that of *opposition* (comp. *verum, vero*) and of *limitation*, and hence the above-

¹ Cant 4, 1 **לְלִשְׁתַּחַת מַדְרָךְ גְּלַעְד** they lie along the declivity of Mount Gilead, i. e. as if hanging from the side Comp Virg Ecl 1, 77, Soph Antug , 411, οὐθήμασθ' ἄσκρων ἐκ πάγων, Odyss xxi, 420, ἐκ διφοροῦ οὐθήμενος

² Probably **אָמֵלִי** is compounded of **אָמֵן** and **לְלִי**, comp Aram **אָמֵן** **לְלִי**, whether not, perhaps, μήποτε It is once employed in the sense of **לְלִי if not**, in Num. 28, 83, then **whether not (who knows whether not)**, consequently *perhaps*, expressing doubt, solicitude, and also hope.

mentioned affirmative particles are partly *adversative* and *restrictive*, as **גַם only**, **בְּאֵלֶּךָ לֹא** (both especially in later usage) *but*; **כִּי on the contrary** (the Sept. **וְעַלְיוֹן אֲלָלָה**) is strongly adversative, used almost exclusively in the Pentateuch and Job. Restrictive also is **כִּי** (like **גַם**) *merely*, i. e. *only*.

*d) Of reason, cause; bְּכָךְ, מִתְּחִילָה, therefore.—e) Of addition; כִּי also, and (more poetical, and expressive of increase) הַלְּאָה (adeo) *yea more, even*, both which, however, often pass over into conjunctions.*

4. Adverbs of negation; on these see § 152.

5. Adverbs of *interrogation* include all the former classes. On the pure interrogative particles **הַ**, **מָ**, see § 153; the question relating to *place* is asked by **אֵי אֵי where?** the first with suff. **אֵי אֵי where (is) he?** so **אֵי וְהַ** *where?* **אֵי אֵי whence?** *whence?* (**אֵי אֵי whither?**—*to time*, by **אֵי** *when?* **אֵי עַד until when?** *how long?* **אֵי** *how long?*—*to quality*, by **אֵי אֵי אֵי how?**—*to number* by **אֵי אֵי how much?** *how often?*—*to cause*, by **אֵי אֵי** (§ 102, 2, d) and **אֵי אֵי why, wherefore?**

Most of these interrogative particles are formed by prefixing **אֵי**, which in itself signifies *where* (comp. Germ. *wovon?* *wohin?*), but by usage becomes also a mere sign of interrogation before particles of *place*, *time*, etc.

In this manner, and by the application of the ending **מִן**, of the prep. **מִן**, and of the relative **שֶׁ**, are formed whole classes of correlative adverbs, as **זֹה here**, **זֹה כֵּן hence**, **זֹה כְּאֵי where?** **זֹה אֵי whence?** **זֹה מִן כֵּן whence (relative)**; **מִן there**, **מִן תַּחַת thither**, **מִן תַּחַת whence**, **שֶׁ where**, **שֶׁ אֵי whither**, **שֶׁ אֵי whence** (see § 123, 1).

§ 151.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADVERBS.

1. Adverbs not only serve to qualify the verb, but also the adjective, **טוֹב מְאֹד** *very good*, and even substantives (like **רַי χθὲς γῆμέρα**); in the latter case they stand either,—*a*) in apposition after it, as **אֲנָשִׁים מְעֻט a few men** (prop. *men in fewness*) Neh. 2, 12; **תְּבוּנָה הַרְבָּה** *very much wisdom* 1 K. 5, 9; or—*b*) in the genitive, as **קְלִלָּת הַזְּבָדָה** *a curse uttered without a cause* Prov. 26, 2; **עֵד חֲמָס** *עֵד חֲמָס a witness without a cause* Prov. 24, 28, where the adverb is treated substantively.

The adverbs also appear in the nature of substantives, when, as in the later writers, they take a preposition; e. g. **בְּכָךְ in the so-called** Est. 4, 16, **בְּלֹא prop. for in vain**, Ez. 6, 10 (comp. *in or ad irritum*).

2. The repetition of an adverb sometimes denotes stress or intensity, and sometimes continual accession; e. g. **מְאֹרֶךְ** exceedingly Gen. 7, 19, Num. 14, 7; **מְלֹאת מְלֹאת** lower and lower Deut. 28, 43; **מִצְמָעַת מִצְמָעַת** by little and little (peu à peu) Ex. 23, 30.

On the periphrasis of adverbial ideas by verbs, see § 142, Rem. 1.

3. In reference to the restrictive particles **שֶׁ**, **כִּי** as well as to the augmentative **כֵּן**, **כַּאֲזֶן** we should remark that they frequently affect (especially after interrogative particles) not the next following word, but the whole next following sentence, sometimes even (by skipping the antecedent) its consequent clause. Comp., as to **שֶׁ** 1 Sam. 22, 7, Zech. 9, 11, Job 2, 10; for **כַּאֲזֶן** Job 14, 3; for **שֶׁ** 16, 7, 23, 6; for **כִּי** Ps. 32, 6, Prov. 13, 10.—On a similar use of interrogative particles v. § 153, 2.

§ 152.

OF THE WORDS WHICH EXPRESS NEGATION.

1. The most important adverbs of negation are **לֹא** (*subst.* Job 6, 21)=*où not*, **לֹא־מִנְיָה** *that not*, **אַיִל** (*the opposite of יְיָ*) *there is not*, **שְׁרָם** *not yet*, **סְפָאָה** *no more*. Almost exclusively poetic are **בְּלֹא**, **בְּלֹא**, **בְּלֹא** *not*; negative conjunctions, **אַל**, **אַל־בְּלֹא**, **לֹא־בְּלֹא** *that not, lest*.

We subjoin a more complete view of the use of these words:—

אַל (like **où**, **oùx**) is used principally for the *objective, unconditional negation*, and hence it is commonly connected with the *Perfect* or *Imperfect* (as *Indicative*), on its connection with the *Imperfect* to express *prohibition* see § 127, 3, c.—In connection with **בְּנָה**, when the latter is not followed by the article and therefore means *any one, any thing*, it expresses the Lat. *nullus, none* (comp. Fr. *ne . . . personne, ne . . . rien*); Ex. 12, 16 **לֹא־שְׁמַעַת לְבָדָל אֲתָּה** *no labour shall be done*, Job 33, 13, usually in the position of **בְּלֹא . . . אַל**, Ex. 10, 15, 20, 4, & Ch. 32, 15, Prov. 12, 21, 30, 30. So also **אַיִל** with **בְּלֹא**, Ec. 1, 9 **אַיִל בְּלֹא** *there is nothing new*. But the case is different when **בְּלֹא** is definite, where it means *all, the whole*, as in Num. 23, 13 **אַל־בְּלֹא** *all of him (his whole) thou shalt not see* (but only a part). Comp. also cases like Gen. 3, 1 *You shall not eat of all the trees of the garden*, as much as to say of *no tree at all*. On the use of **אַל** in interrogative sentences, see § 153, 1.—**אַל** serves also absolutely for negative answer, *no!* Gen. 19, 2, Josh. 5, 14, Job 38, 6.

נֹבֶן put before a noun, either substantive or adjective, forms with it sometimes a kind of compound, as נֹבֶן־אֱלֹהִים a no-God (Germ. *Ungott*), i. e. who is no God at all Deut. 32, 21, נֹבֶן־לֹא a nothing (Germ. *Nothing*) Am. 6, 13, תְּמַסֵּד נֹבֶן impious Ps. 43, 1.

On the position of נֹבֶן in the clause, see § 145, 1, Note.¹

לֹא (like μή, Lat. ne) for the subjective and dependent negation is connected with the Imperfect (as Jussive); hence the phrase נֹכַח לֹא ne veniat means may he not come, or let him not come. See above, § 128, 2

Sometimes לֹא stands like נֹבֶן absolutely, without the verb (like μή for μή τοῦτο γένηται), nay I pray, not so, i. e. let it not be; e. g. Ruth 1, 18 וְנָתַתְּ לֹא not so, my daughters, Gen. 19, 18 (אֲנֹתָתְּ).—On the interrogative use of it, see § 153, 1.

לֹא (prop. constr. st. of לֹא non-entity) is the negative of שׁוֹן (he, she, it) is, and includes the verb to be in all its tenses; e. g. Num. 14, 42 אָזְרִיּוֹסְךָ בְּבִירָה אַיִן יְהֹוָה בְּקַרְבָּךְ Joseph was not in the pit. The same formulas are expressed positively with וְ, and negatively with לֹא, as Gen. 31, 29 וְרָאָה לֹא־שָׁמַע־שָׁמַע in my power (prop. it is i. e. it belongs to the power of my hand), Neh. 5, 5 אַיִן לֹא־רְדוֹת it is not in our power.—It follows, moreover,—α) that the personal pronouns, when they are the subject of the sentence, are appended to לֹא as suffixes; as אַיִן־לֹא I am not, I was not, I shall not be; אַיִן־לֹא, סְגִיר־לֹא, etc.—β) When the predicate is a verb, it almost universally takes the form of a participle, the verb substantive being implied in לֹא; Ex. 5, 16 וְלֹא־תִּתְּבֹּנֶן straw is not given, vs. 10 וְלֹא־תִּשְׁמֹר I do not give, 8, 17, Deut. 1, 32.—γ) As שׁוֹן sometimes signifies to be present, to be near or at hand; so אַיִן is used in the contrary sense, to be not present or at hand; גַּם אַיִן he was not present=was no more Gen. 5, 24. Quite anomalous stands לֹא Job 35, 15 before the perfect as an emphatic negation. Comp. Delitzsch *in loc.*

From לֹא (or אַיִן 1 Sam. 21, 9) is formed by abbreviation the negative syllable נֹא, employed in a few compounds; as in Job 22, 30 אָרְגַּנְקָרְנָא not-guileless. In Ethiopic it is the most common form of negation, and is there used even as a prefix to verbs.

לֹא־לְכָלָה (prop. constr. st. with the ending —, § 90, 3, a) from לְכָלָה want, non-existence (from verb לְכָלָה) is most frequently employed before the Inf. when it is to be expressed negatively with a preposition; as לֹא־לְכָלָה to eat, לֹא־לְכָלָה־אֲכֵל not to eat Gen. 8, 11. Rarely with a finite verb for that not Jer. 28, 14, or without that Ez. 18, 3.

לֹא a removing, an averting (from the stem לְמַנְפֵּל to turn) is the same as lest, that not (=Lat. ne forte), at the beginning of sentences indicating fear or apprehension, therefore especially after verbs signifying to fear, to beware (like δεῖσθαι μή, vereor ne) Gen. 31, 24, 31; but the expression of apprehension may have resulted already from the connection of speech, comp. Gen. 11, 4; 19, 5, and even Gen. 8, 22 וְלֹא־יַחֲזַקְתָּה now לֹא יַחֲזַקְתָּה and now, lest he stretch forth his hand.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence, instead of destroying each other, as in Latin and English, make the negation stronger, as in Greek¹ οὐχ οὐδείς, οὐχ οὐδαμῶς; 1 K. 10, 21 נֹהֶשׁ בְּאַתָּה לֹמַדְתָּה אֵין תִּסְתַּחֲבֵן כִּי נֹהֶשׁ בְּאַתָּה לֹמַדְתָּה silver was not at all regarded for any thing (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch 9, 20, נֹהֶשׁ is wanting), Ex. 14, 11.—In Zeph. 2, 2 בְּפִנְךָ מִלְּאִים לֹא־בָּאָתָּה lit. before there shall not come, where we drop the negative in Eng. and say before it shall come, Is. 5, 9 צָאן יֹשֵׁב prop. without no inhabitant (i. e. so that there is no inhabitant).²

3. When one negative sentence follows another, especially in the poetic parallelism, the negation is often expressed only in the first, while its influence extends also to the second; 1 Sam. 2, 3 multiply not words of pride,—let (not) that which is arrogant come forth from your mouth Ps. 9, 19, 35, 19, 38, 2, Job 28, 17, Is 23, 4.

§ 153.

OF INTERROGATIVE WORDS AND SENTENCES.

1. Interrogation may be indicated simply by the *tone* of voice in which the words or sentences are uttered; e. g. 2 Sam 18, 29 שָׁלוּם לֹא־גָוֹרֶךְ is it well with the young man? Gen. 27, 24 זֶה בָּנִי עָשָׂר אַמְתָּה art thou now my son Esau? 1 K. 1, 24. This is more frequent when the sentence is connected with a previous one by ; Jon. 4, 11 וְאָנֹר לֹא אָזְדוֹס and should I not spare? Judg. 11, 23, 14, 16, Job 2, 10; and also after the particles בָּזֶה (Zech. 8, 6). But negative sentences can still more readily be uttered, with the interrogative tone; e. g. with נִכְּנָה, when an affirmative answer is expected (*nonne?*), Ex. 8, 22, 2 Sam. 23, 5, Lam. 3, 38; once with בְּלֹא in expectation of a negative answer, 1 Sam. 27, 10 אַל־פָּשַׁתְּתָם חִירּוֹם ye have not then made an incursion at this time? (see however below).³

¹ Also in Welsh, as in *nid oes dim* (there is nothing, prop. there is not nothing).—Tr.

² See more on this use of two negatives, in Ewald's Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache, § 328, a.—Tr.

³ In the same manner are used οὐδὲ (monne?) and μή, the former (Hom. Il. x, 165, iv, 242) in expectation of an affirmative, the latter (Odyss. vi, 200)

2. Most commonly the simple question begins with *He interrogative* הַ (Lat. *num?*)¹—the disjunctive question with הָ (Lat. *num? utrum?*) followed in the second clause by אָנָה, Lat. *an?* פְאָנָה—הָ (=utrum—*an?*), as in 1 K. 22, 15 אָמַת־חִדּוֹל אָנָה.... קָרְבָּנָה whether shall we go.... or shall we forbear?

To be more particular:—

The הַ is strictly a sign of the simple and pure question, when the inquirer is uncertain what answer to expect; as Job 2, 3 *hast thou considered* (הִשְׁבַּתְתָּךְ אֶל־עֲבָדֵי) *my servant?* Often he may expect a negative answer (*num?*), which he may express in his very tone; Gen. 4, 9 הַיְדֵךְ אָחִיךְ אָנָה: כִּי am I the keeper of my brother? Job 14, 14 *if a man die, shall he live again?* Such a question may have precisely the force of a negative assertion; 2 Sam. 7, 5 בְּרוּךְ תִּבְנָה־לִי shalt thou build a house for me? (in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 17, 4 נָאַפְתָּח וְגַם תְּבִנָה not thou shalt not build a house for me) and, vice versa, the negative form of the question has the effect of an affirmation, נִלְבַּת nonne? is it not so? for הִנֵּה behold! 2 K. 15, 21, 20, comp. 2 Ch. 27, 7, 32, 32². On the other hand, the question may be so uttered as to show that the speaker expects affirmation and assent, when it corresponds, in effect, with the negative form of the question in English; compare the use of הַ γַּדְפָּה and הַ γַּדְפָּה oּ for *is not?* and of the Latin, *-ne* for *nonne?* Job 20, 4 הַיְדֵךְ רָאָתָּה dost thou (not) know this?—The rare instances in which a simple question seems to be introduced by פְאָנָה are based in truth on the suppression of the first member of a double question, as we say *or perhaps* (German *oder etwa*), Lat. *an*, as in Is. 29, 16, 1 K. 1, 27, Job 6, 12.

The disjunctive question (*whether—or?*) is usually expressed under the form פְאָנָה—הַ, also פְאָנָה—הַ, Job 21, 4; with emphasis on the first question פְאָנָה—הַ, 34, 17, 40, 8, 9; yet also, with הַ or before the second clause, Job 16, 3, Eccl. 2, 19. The use of this combination פְאָנָה—הַ does not, however, always require opposition between the clauses, but often stands in poetic parallelisms and in other sentences (Gen. 37, 8), where the same question is merely repeated in different words in the second clause, and thus made more emphatic, as in Job 4, 17

of a negative answer. But this analogy is not sufficient to gain a sense in the question 1 Sam. 27, 10 in connection with David's answer. But probably for פְאָנָה in 1 Sam. 27, 10 we should read בְּעָל after the Sept. אֶתְלִי רַיְמָה—בְּעָל.

¹ The omission of the הַ occurs especially before a following guttural (so plainly before הַ Job 38, 18) to avoid the hiatus.

² In a similar manner, הַיְתָּן what? [why?], spoken with indignation expresses prohibition under the form of reproach or expostulation; Cant. 8, 4 בְּנֵי־קָרְבָּנָה why do ye rouse? Job 16, 6, 81, 1. This negative force of הַיְתָּן is very frequent in Arabic.

is man just more than God, or (וְ) is a man pure more than his Maker? 6, 5, 6, 8, 3, 10, 4, 5, 11, 2, 7, 22, 3; hence וְ also stands before the second clause in such cases (instead of וְ), Job 13, 7, 15, 7, 8, or there is no particle at all to connect the clauses, as in Job 22, 4.—Now and then הָ stands again in the second member, as in Judg. 14, 15 (where there is actual opposition); but more usually in a continued, double question, as in 1 Sam. 28, 11; where however not a disjunction but connecting of two simple questions takes place. In Job 8, 12 וְ stands already in the first member of a double questions; followed by וְנִנְהַג (v. 13) in the third question.

In the so-called *indirect*¹ questions, after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining, the simple question takes either הָ (whether) Gen. 8, 8, or וְ Cant. 7, 18, 2 K. 1, 2; the disjunctive question (*whether—or*) וְ—וְ Gen. 27, 21, Ex. 16, 4, and also הָ—וְ Num. 18, 18 upon which again וְ—וְ follows.—The formula וְאֵין יְדֹעַ מָ (who knows if, i. e. whether or not) is also used affirmatively like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. 4, 14. .

For interrogative adverbs of place, time, etc., see § 150, 5.

The words הָןִי (§ 122, 2) and נִנְהַג now, then, (§ 150, 3), serve to give animation or intensity to a question (like ποτέ, tandem, Eng. *then, now*); as וְהָנִי אָתָּה what aileth thee now? quid tibi tandem est? Is. 22, 1; וְהָנִי אָתָּה where then? Job 17, 15.

As the other particles (§ 151, 3) so also the interrogatives affect sometimes, not the next following but only the second one of two co-ordinate sentences; so הָ Job 4, 2, נִנְהַג 4, 21, בְּרוּךְ Is. 5, 4; 50, 2.

3. The affirmative answer is given, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word of the interrogative sentence (the second person becomes the first in Gen. 27, 24, Judg. 13, 11) Gen. 29, 6, 1 Sam. 23, 11; the negative answer is נִבְדֵּל no Gen. 19, 2, see § 152, 1.

§ 154.

THE PREPOSITIONS.

1. The *simple*² prepositions, like the adverbs, originally denote for the most part physical relations, viz. those of

¹ It should be remarked that the difference between the direct and indirect question could not have been as clear to the Hebrews as it is, for instance, to the Latins or Germans. In Hebrew this discrimination was not made either by a change of mood or by the position of the words (as in German).

² Among these we reckon such forms as בְּפַנֵּיכֶם, בְּפַנֵּיכָם, which in themselves are indeed compound words, but as prepositions they express only one idea, and are thus distinguished from the compounds under No. 2, e. g. בְּפַנֵּיכָם from before.

space, and are then used for intellectual relations, as those of time, cause, etc. The prepositions of place originally denote either *rest* in a place, or *motion* from or to a place.

a) The most important prepositions of *place* are.—

- a) Of *state* or *rest*, בְּ in, at, by, בְּעַל upon and over, תְּנַתֵּן under, instead of, אַחֲרָי behind, after, קָרְבָּנִי before, נֶגֶד, בְּפָנָה before, opposite to אֶתְּנָא with, by, בְּלֵבָן on the side, by, near, בְּפָנָה (prop. in proximity to) behind, about (אֶמְוֹל), בְּפָנָה between, בְּפָנָה on the other side, beyond.
- b) Of *motion*, מִן from, לְ to, towards, עד unto, as far as; and also (from the former class) בְּ into, בְּעַל upon, towards
- b) Very many of the above-mentioned prepositions express also relations of *time*, as בְּ in, within, מִן, לְאֵלֶיךָ, etc.
- c) Of those which denote other relations we may mention, בְּ (Lat. *instar*) as, כִּי as often as, כִּי according to), עַמְּנָה together with, with, חַלְוָה without, besides, לְפָנָן, לְפָנָן on account of, כִּי (prop. as a reward) for, because.

2. The Hebrew language develops a great degree of dexterity and accuracy of discrimination in the *compounding* of prepositions. Thus, those of motion are combined with others denoting rest, so as to express not only a *change* of relation, but also the state which was existing before the change, or which is to follow as the result of it, as in French *de chez*, *d'autrêts*.¹ So—

- a) with מִן: מִן behind, מִבֵּין between, from upon or above, מִאתָן معם from with (Fr. *de chez quelqu'un*), מִתְּנַתֵּן under.
- b) with לְ (not so often): לְאַחֲרָי to behind or after; אַלְפָנָן (prop. to out from) even out from Job 5, 5; לְפָנָה without, i.e. on the outside of, לְאַל מִזְרָח forth without Num. 5, 3.

Adverbs also compounded with prepositions, take after them לְ (more seldom מִן), and again become prepositions; e. g. מִלְּאָל (adv.) above, לְמִלְּאָל (prep.) above, over, מִלְּתָבָר (adv.)

¹ When the Hebrew says, Is. 6, 6: *he took the live coal* בָּל תִּצְלַחַת *from upon the altar* (away from the top of the altar), he presents the idea fully; while it is but half expressed in the Fr. *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, the Germ. *er nimmt den Hut vom Tische weg* — the Eng. *he takes his hat away from the table*, the Fr. omitting one relation, the Germ. and Eng. another.

below, לְמִתְחַת (prep.) *below, under*, לְמִתְחַרְבָּה (prep.) *without, separately, aside*, לְבַדּוֹ (prep.) *aside from, besides*.

This accessory preposition may also precede the adverbial form; e. g. לְבַדּ מִן—*besides*, מִלְאָכֵל—*without*, Syr. حَلْمٌ مِنْ¹; rarely it is wholly wanting, as מִן (for לְמִנְתַּר) Job 26, 5.

3. We will now present a few prepositions (such as occur most frequently and have the greatest variety of meaning), with their principal significations, in order to explain their construction with verbs (§ 140), and the most important idioms connected with them.

a) בְּ, which, of all the prepositions, has the greatest variety of significations, denotes,—1) prop. rest *in* a place (בָּיִת), hence *in* with reference to time, and to state or condition, as בָּרוּךְ בְּעֵת אֲשֶׁר—*with* individuals, בְּמִלְאָכֵל—*with* reference to a company, or number of individuals, *among*, e. g. בְּגַם—*with* reference to bounds or limits, *within*, as בְּבָנָיוּת—*within the gates*, בְּבָנָה—*in the eyes*, i. e. in the reach of the eyes (בְּאַפְתָּחָלָמוֹת; Ibad I, 587);—of high objects, *upon*, as בְּסֶלֶת—*upon horses* Is. 66, 20 (at the same time transition to the idea of *clinging to* something v. below); but it has rarely all these significations after verbs of motion=εἰς (like *ponere in loco*).² The Hebrew says,—α) to drink *in* a cup (because a part of the face is in it) Gen. 44, 5 (so in Arabic and Aram., Dan. 5, 2, ἐν ποτηρίοις, ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνειν Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4, 3 Ezr. 3, 6, *in ossibus bibere* in Florus, French *boire dans une tasse*);—β) *in the manner*, *in the model or rule*, for *after the manner or model* (comp. ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, *hunc in modum*), as בְּקַדְבֵּר בְּ according to the command of, בְּרַצְנָה according to the counsel of any one, בְּצַלְמָנוּת קְדֻשָּׁתָנוּת in (after) our image, after our likeness Gen. 1, 26, (comp. vs. 27, and 5, 1) 5, 8 *Adam begat a son* קָדְשָׁנוּתָנוּת. Also in these examples the idea of *clinging to*, *attaching to* a model is mingled with that of being in a sphere; comp. also Gen. 21, 12 *in Isaac* (מִקְרָבְךָ) thy seed shall be called, i. e. it shall be attached to Isaac when Abraham's descendants are spoken of.—To the same category (of sphere, norm, etc.) belongs finally the so-called בְּ instrumentale e. g. בְּמַעַבְדָּה with the staff (Micah 4, 14); even of a person בְּךָ by thee (Ps. 18, 80). A kind of בְּ instrumentale is the so-called בְּ pretii (the price being considered a means of obtaining

¹ In the Syr. means *over*, as preposition, but above as adverb (see Hoffmanni, Gram. Syr. p. 280). The Hebrew in like manner says בְּמִן from (a starting point) *onward*, for בְּמִן, precisely the Lat. usque a, usque ex, comp. also inde.

² When the בְּ seems to stand for motion (בָּיִת), like εἰν for εἰς or Lat. *in* (as in the above example), the idea of *rest* (in which the motion ends) really predominates in the mind, e. g. בְּבָנָה בְּבָנָה.—Tr.

a thing). On the periphrasing of the object with the so-called **בְּ objecti** v. § 138, 1, Rem. 8, Note. Especial attention is due to the passages, where we have,—γ) **בְּ essentiae** of the grammarians, which everywhere means, as, *tanguam* (Fr. *en*), Ex. 6, 3 *I appeared to Abraham בְּאַתָּה כֹּחֶן כְּאֵלֶיךָ as God Almighty*; Is. 40, 10 *the Lord will come בְּמִצְרָיִם as a strong one*; Ps. 85, 2; 87, 20; 88, 5, בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה Jah is his name (comp. Is. 26, 4).—Job 28, 13 בְּאֶחָד בְּאֶחָד he is an only one (i. e. unique). In Arabic this idiom is frequent; see *Gesenii Thes. Ling. Heb.* p. 174, *Delitzsch* on Ps. 85, 2.—2) Nearness *at, by, on*; בְּרַקְעָנָה = בְּרַקְעָנָה on the river Ez. 10, 15. In this sense it more frequently indicates motion *unto*; it differs, however, both from בְּ to, towards (where the aim need not be attained necessarily) and בְּן as far as to (where the aim is reached). Thus it is used to express *touching at, joining, reaching as far as*, (therefore as above, clinging to); Gen. 11, 4 *a tower בְּשָׂמָמִים whose top shall be in* (i. e. reach to) *heaven*. Hence, after transitive verbs בְּ serves frequently to introduce the object where in Latin and German compounds with *ad, in* and *an* are used e. g. בְּחַזְקָה to take hold in (*anfassen*), בְּצַדְקָה to touch on (*anrühren*), בְּלָשָׁן to ask at, to consult (*anfragen*), בְּקָרְבָּן to call upon (*anrufen*), בְּרָאָה to look upon (*ansehen*), בְּעַמְפָּשָׁה to hearken to (*anhören*). The last two, often include the idea of sympathy, pleasure or (seldom) pain with which one sees or hears anything; comp. בְּרָאָה to see ones joy at something, and Gen. 21, 16 אַל-אֲרָאָה בְּמוֹת דָּבָר let me not look on the death of the child! The same fundamental idea of clinging to shows itself also in the construction of certain *verba cordis* with בְּ, e. g. בְּתַrust בְּתַrust to trust, to believe in, בְּרָחָבָה to rejoice in something, etc.—Finally belongs here also the *partitive* use of the בְּ, as בְּמַתָּבֵל to help to carry (an etwas mittragen) Num. 11, 17, Job 7, 18; 21, 25; 38, 17, Neh. 4, 4 בְּמַתָּבֵל to rejoice in something etc.

With the idea of nearness, that of society, accompaniment, readily connects itself; Gen. 32, 11 *with my staff* (בְּלִבְנֵי) I passed over this Jordan. It should be remarked that verbs of coming and going, with בְּ (to come, or go, *with*) express the idea of bringing of coming with something; e. g. Judg. 15, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid*, i. e. brought her a kid, Deut. 28, 5.

b) בְּלִיל signifies upon (ἐπὶ) and over (ὑπέρ, L. *super*); very frequently used of motion (down) upon or over—(up) upon or over a thing. In the sense of (resting) upon (coming) upon, it is used after verbs signifying to be heavy, i. e. burdensome, afflictive (prop. to lie heavily upon) Is. 1, 14, Job 7, 20, 28, 2,—to set or appoint over (to commission), as בְּלִיל—to pity, to spare, as בְּלִיל חַסְדָּה (prop. to look tenderly upon). With the primary idea is connected that of accession (conceived as a laying upon) and of conformity, after, according to (with reference to the rule or pattern, upon which a thing is laid to be measured or modelled), and of cause (ob quam), on account of (prop. upon something as ground or motive), although. In the signification over, it is often used with

verbs of *covering, protecting, by* כְּפָרֵךְ בְּלַעֲנֵךְ (prop. to place a covering, a shield, over); and so also with those of kindred meaning, as by תִּחְבֹּא to contend for one (i. e. to protect one), Judg. 9, 17. It is used for at, by, before, near, in cases where there is an actual elevation of one of the related objects above the other, conceived as an impending over as for instance the standing person reaching over the sitting persons (Job 1, 6), the tree on the brook reaching over the surface of the water (Ps. 1, 3) etc.; comp. also עַלְיָהָא עַלְיָהָא (Job 1, 14) near, on, on the side. Hence, it expresses the relation of motion to the object at which it terminates, to, towards (especially with hostile intent) so that in the later Hebrew style and in poetry it is often used for לְאָן and לְ; see Lex.

c) נֶגֶד (§ 102) indicates motion, removal, away from anything. Its fundamental signification is that of separation from a whole, derivation, descent. As constr. st. of a noun נֶגֶד part, it properly means part of, hence off, from, used at first with reference to the part which is taken from the whole, e. g. to give, to take part of=from. This fundamental signification appears plainest, when it expresses some (more rarely one) of, before the whole from which a part is taken, e. g. מִשְׁׂרֵר some of the princes of Israel 2 Ch. 21, 4, מִכְּם some blood (Fr. du sang). It has the same signification when (apparently pleonastic) it is connected with the words one, none, in the so often misapprehended idiom of the Hebrew and Arabic non ab uno, i. e. not any one, not the least, prop. not even a part, a piece, the least portion, of one; and so in Heb. without negation=Lat. ab uno for ullus, Lev. 4, 2, Deut. 15, 7, Ez. 18, 10.¹

In its most ordinary use, with reference to motion away from (from out of something, e numero, 2 K. 10, 24 and even absolutely: far, rid of, Job 19, 26) it forms the opposite of בְּלַעֲנֵךְ, and is employed not merely after verbs which express actual motion, as to depart (from), to flee (from), but also those of kindred signification, as to be afraid, to hide, to beware; comp. in Gr. and Lat. καλύπτω ἀπό, custodire ab. In its tropical use with reference to time, it may mean either from (a time) on, in which case the reckoning is to be made from the beginning, not from the end of the period specified (like ἀπὸ νυκτός, de nocte, from the setting in of night), as נֶגֶד יְמִינְךָ Job 38, 12 from the beginning of thy days onward; or it may mean (counted from the expiration of a term) next from, i. e. immediately after (εἰς ἀπίστου, ab itinere), as בְּנֶגֶד עֲקֵדָתְךָ Ps. 73, 20 immediately after awaking, Gen. 38, 24 בְּמִלְבָד חֲרֵשִׁים about after the expiration of three months, Hos. 6, 2; very often in the same way נֶגֶד from the end, i. e. after the expiration of.—On the idea of going out from is based finally the very frequent causative use, for, on account of, in consequence of (comp. the English that comes from....).

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus, II, p. 801.

For the use of it to denote *rest on the side* of an object, where the idea is that of near distance, of being just *off from* (the Lat. *prope abesse ab*, *pendere ex aliqua re*), see § 150, 1. For the use of **לְ** for expressing the comparative, see § 119, 1.

d) **לָלֶךְ** (prop. *region, direction*, hence *towards*) denotes *motion*, and also merely *direction towards* (with reference both to physical and to intellectual objects) whether that towards which the motion is directed is reached or not. In the former case it is equivalent to **לִי**, e. g. **אֵלַיְךָ** even unto his mouth Job 40, 28; when it means entering *into* a thing, it is equivalent to **לִי**, e. g. **בּוֹא אֲלִיהָרֶבֶת** to go into the ark.

Rarely, and only by power of pregnancy in the expression, regarding the motion which leads to the end instead of the end itself, **לְ** is sometimes employed to denote rest in a place at which one has arrived; Jer. 41, 12 they found him **אֲלַמְּדָס רַבִּים** by great waters. **לְ** at the place Deut. 16, 6, 1 K. 8, 30. Compare the Gr. εἰς, ἐστιν, for ἐν, e. g. δόμους μένειν Soph. Ajax, 80; so too in Acts 8, 40 εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀζωπον. The German use of *zu* in *zu Hause*, *zu Leipzig*, is quite analogous.

e) **לְ** is distinguished from **לָ**, of which it is an abbreviation, by the fact that it expresses *direction* (not *movement*) towards something in a more general way,¹ as well as by being more commonly used in the metaphoric senses.—From its fundamental idea of *inclining towards, direction towards*, may be explained both the use of **לְ** as *nota dativi* and as periphrasis of the *genetivus possessoris*, or *auctoris* § 115, 2 (the idea of belonging to) as well as its signification *with respect to, on account of, in behalf of*. The *dativus commodi* is used pleonastically (especially in the language of common intercourse and in the later style) after verbs of motion, as *to go, to flee*, especially in the *Imperative*, e. g. **לֹא־לֹא־לְ** go, get thee away, **לֹא־לֹא־לְ** flee (for thy safety); but also after other verbs, as **לֹא־לֹא־לְ** be thou like Cant. 2, 17.—It is a solecism of the later time (common in Aram. and Ethiop.) when active verbs are construed with **לְ** instead of the accusative, as **לְלִבְשָׁה** in Ezr. 8, 16, 2 Ch. 17, 7.

Very often also, it denotes *rest*, hence *at*, or *in*, with reference to place and time; as **לִימַנְךָ** on thy right, **לְעַתְךָ** at eventide.—On its use after passive and other verbs to denote the efficient cause or author, see § 143, 2.

f) **לְ** (prop. substantive, Lat. *instar*, as an adverb *about, nearly*), as a prep. *as, like to*; for denoting similarity it is doubled **לְ—לְ** as—so Gen. 18, 25, and also *so—as* in Gen. 44, 18, in later authors **לְ—לְ**; *according to, after*, from the idea of conformity to a model or rule; as a designation of time *at* (not *about*, especially Gen. 18, 10 **לְזַה** at this

- time—*at the same time*), the supposition of so-called *Kāph veritatis* is justified if only the correct idea is connected with it. According to the older grammarians such a *Kāph veritatis* stands pleonastically not to indicate similarity but the thing itself, in cases like Neh. 2, 7 *for he was* רָאשׁ שִׁירָאֵךְ; this is however not merely predicate=*a faithful man* but *as a faithful man* must be; 1 Sam. 10, 27; 25, 26, Is. 1, 7, Job 27, 7.—Comp. also פַּעֲמָאֵךְ in places like Ps. 105, 12= *very little* (*elsewhere almost easily*).

4. In the poetic parallelism, a preposition which stands in the first member may be omitted in the corresponding place in the second member; e. g. בְ, Is. 48, 14 *he will do his pleasure on Babylon* (בְּבָבֶל), *and his power on the Chaldeans* (בְּכָשְׂרִים for כָּשְׂרִים), Hab. 3, 15, Job 15, 3. So also הַ Job 34, 10, Is. 28, 6, עַד 15, 8, 48, 9, מִן Is. 30, 1, תְּהִזֵּת Is. 61, 7. Comp. § 152, 3.

§ 155.

THE CONJUNCTIONS

1. The Hebrew language, considered with regard to its conjunctions, and especially its ability to form them from most of the prepositions by the addition of כִּי and אֲשֶׁר (§ 104, 1, c), exhibits no small copiousness and flexibility, compared with its usual simplicity. But the writers have often neglected the means, which it furnishes for accurately expressing the relations of sentences and members of a sentence, contenting themselves with less perfect modes of connection¹; hence the various significations which certain conjunctions in frequent use (particularly וְ, כִּי, אֲשֶׁר) either actually have, or at least seem to require when translated into our Western languages, as these do not always permit us (see No. 3) to retain such a loose and indefinite connection.

Of the most extensive application is וְ (§ 104, 2);² it stands:

a) Properly and usually *copulative* (our *and*), connecting single words as well as whole sentences. When three or more words stand in connection, it is used either before every one after the first (2 K.

¹ Comp. a similar case in § 107, 1, Rem., § 147, Rem. 1.

² See fuller particulars on the use of *Wāw copulative*, in *Gesenii Thesaurus I*, p. 393 et seqq.

28, 5), or before the last only (Gen. 13, 2); rarely after the first only (Ps. 45, 9). In certain set-phrases it is commonly omitted, as *yesterday* (and) *the day before* Ex. 5, 8. The tone of animated description or narration may also occasion the omission of it (*constructio asyndeta*); as Judg. 5, 2 *at her feet he bowed, fell, lay*, Job 20, 19, Cant. 2, 11, 5, 6.

As connecting words, it is often *explicative* (like *isque, et—quidem*=Germ. *und zwar*; so-called *Wāw explicativum*), 1 Sam. 28, 8 בְּבָבֶן וְבִרְמֵה *in Ramah and (that is) in his own city*, 17, 4 (and in truth with the bear) 2 Sam. 13, 20, Amos 3, 11, 4, 10; also in a manner that the second idea could be subordinate as the genitive (the בְּשָׁם διὰ δυοῖν of the grammarians), e. g. Gen. 3, 16 וְחַדְרָךְ וְחַדְרָתְךָ תִּצְבֹּן thy pain and thy conception—the pain of thy conception (unless the וְ has an emphatic sense=and especially thy conception); perhaps also Job 10, 17 2 Ch. 16, 14 בְּשָׂפָטִים וְנִירִים *spices and sorts*, in the sense of *all sorts of spices*. A sure example of the so-called *Wāw concomitantiae* is Job 41, 12: *a boiling pot נַעֲמָל with (fire of) rushes*. In Arabic this *Wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

As connecting clauses or sentences, it denotes either *continuation* (for *then* or *that*), hence before the apodosis (like German *da, so*) and after absolute designations of time (see Gen. 3, 5, 27, 30, Ex. 18, 6, Josh. 2, 8, Prov. 24, 27 אַחֲרַ בְּנֵיתְךָ בְּרִיךְ afterwards, then build thy house) comp. § 145, 2; or *enhancement*, as in Job 5, 19 *in six troubles he will deliver thee, yea, in seven no evil shall befall thee*; or *rather ask immediately . . .* 1 K. 2, 22; or *comparison*, especially in the proverbial poetry when facts of the moral world are put in comparison with facts of the physical world. Compare Job 5, 7 *man is born to trouble, and so the sons of the flame fly on high*, for *just as these* (sparks, acc. to their nature) *fly high, so is*, etc., 12, 11, 34, 3; Prov. 17, 8; 25, 3; 12, 25. But the *Wāw* is also—

b) To introduce the subject of sentences expressing a state or circumstance (comp. on this kind of nominal sentence § 144, a, 3, b)=*while* e. g. 2 Sam. 4, 7 *they came into the house and (=while) he lay on his bed*, Gen. 19, 1, Judg. 13, 9; also if the circumstantial clause is at the same time adversative (e. g. *and yet, since however, while yet*), Judg. 18, 15 *how canst thou say I love thee אַתְּ לֹא־יָדַעַת and (yet) thy heart is not with me* (i. e. *while yet*)? Gen. 15, 2; 18, 13; 20, 3, Ps. 28, 8 *who speak peace with their fellows וְשָׁמַרְתֶּן גָּלְבָּתְךָ and (=while yet) mischief is in their heart*, Jer. 14, 15 *who prophesy in my name לֹא־שָׁלַחַתְּךָ וְאַתָּה: and yet I have not sent them*.

c) To introduce a causal clause Ps. 60, 13: *give us help from trouble and (because) vain is the help of man*, Job 23, 12.

d) *Inferential* (then, so then, therefore); Ex. 18, 32 *I delight not in the death of him that dieth וְלֹא־בְּמוֹתָה therefore turn ye*. In this sense it may stand even at the beginning of a sentence, when it implies an inference of some kind from circumstances already mentioned; 2 K. 4, 41

and he said וְיֹאמֶר then take meal, Ps. 4, 4 וְיִדְעָה then know ye, 2, 10, 2 Sam. 24, 3.

e) before phrases indicating a purpose or aim *in order that, so that*, in this sense chiefly with the *Perf. consec.* (126, b) cohortative or jussive (§ 128).

Of scarcely less extensive application are the two relative conjunctions וְשַׁנְאָ and כִּי (=δτι, *quod, quum, that, because*) which run almost parallel with each other in their significations, except that כִּ occurs as a conjunction far more frequently and in a great variety of senses, while וְשַׁنְאָ serves at the same time as *nota relationis* and often directly as a relative pronoun, and takes prefixes.

Both are prefixed (like *quod*) to a whole clause, standing as an accusative, governed by the preceding active verb as its object. וְשַׁנְאָ is even preceded in such a case by the accusative particle וְנִ; Josh. 2, 10 אָתָּה אֲשִׁיחֵנוּ וְשַׁנְאָ we have heard (id *quod exsiccavit*) that Jehovah hath dried up, (for which elsewhere simply וְשַׁנְאָ and still oftener כִּי וְשַׁנְאָ), 1 Sam. 24, 11, 19. Hence the following uses of כִּי:—
 a) it is employed especially before words of a *quotation*, like the Gr. δέτι (very seldom וְשַׁנְאָ 1 Sam. 15, 20);—b) as a *temporal conjunction*=δέτε, prop. (at the time) *that*, (at the time) *where*, therefore *as when*, sometimes sharply distinguished by the signification *ut, supposing that*, from the conditional מִן *when* (v. Ex. chap. 21, which is very instructive in this regard) at other times passing over to the conditional power of מִן *when=if*, Job 38, 5, comp. vs. 4 and 18 (seldom וְשַׁנְאָ, Lev. 4, 22, Deut. 11, 28);—c) *causal, eo quod, because*, fully כִּי בְּזַן, שְׁנָן, *propterea quod*, also *for=yāp*. Often the causal signification of כִּי passes over into that of a particle of assurance (*certain it is, that; yes, to be sure*), especially after other particles of this kind;—d) *adversative* (in which sense כִּי only is used) either,—α) after a negative, *but*, prop. *because*, e. g. thou shalt *not* take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites—*but* a Hebrewess, i. e. *because* thou shalt take a Hebrewess, the former being prohibited *because* the latter is to be done Gen. 24, 3; or,—β) where negation is only implied, e. g. after a question which involves denial (§ 153, 1, 2), when it may be rendered *no but, but no, for surely* (ἀλλὰ, γάρ), Mic. 6, 3 what (injury) have I done to thee? . . . *for surely I brought thee up*, etc. Job 81, 18 (*rather*). See on מִן כִּי below in No. 2, i,—e) also *final* (in which sense וְשַׁנְאָ alone is used)=*in order that*, (usually 'נִ' וְשַׁנְאָ v. No. 2, e) e. g. Gen. 11, 7. Deut. 4, 40, etc.

2. We now arrange the remaining conjunctions according to their significations, and in the case of those (very many in number) that have a variety of senses, exhibit together the different uses of each as it first occurs. We must, however, confine ourselves here to a brief general

notice, leaving the more complete view, with the references and proofs, to the Lexicons.

a) *Copulative* besides the *Waw*, the properly adverbial forms **בַּ** also, and intensive **בְּ**, *there is added, wholly, even, once combined* **וְאֶת-כָּל-** *and even also Lev 26, 44* **בְּ** is often used with a number to include *all*, e g **בְּשָׁנִים בְּ** both the two, **בְּכָל-** all together. It also merely gives emphasis to the following word, Gen 29, 30 *and he loved* **בְּאֶת-רָחֵל** *Rachel* (not, also *Rachel*) *more than Leah*, 1 Sam 24, 12 — **בְּ** is prop. add that, hence *not to mention*, or according to the connection, *much more, much less*

b) Disjunctive **אוּ** or (etym free will, choice, hence prop Lat *vel*, but also *aut* with an exclusive antithesis 2 K 2 16) Sometimes it stands elliptically for **אוּ כִּי** or (be it) *that*, or (it must be) *that*, when it may be rendered *unless that* e g Is 27, 5,—hence the transition to the conditional sense, *if, but if*, Ex 21, 36 (the Sept **אָתָּה** δέ, Vulg *sin autem*) (comp also in אַוְלֵר, § 150 3, Note Repeated **אוּ—אוּ** (sive-sive), it is the same as **אוּ—אוּ**, or **אוּ—אוּ**

d) *Causal* (besides and *אַנְךָ*, No 1, e) *because, but* *עַל* *כִּי* *אַשְׁר* (Gen 18, 5, 19, 8, 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Qərī*) and (*Job 34, 27*) *כִּי-עַל-**כֵן* (*Gen 34, 27*) signify everywhere *for therefore*, see *Ges W B* 8th ed under *כִּי*, *עַל אֲזָדְרוֹת אַשְׁר*, *עַל בְּרַאֲשָׁר*, *prop for the circumstances that=for this cause that*, and emphatically *for the very cause that*, *חִזְרָה אַשְׁר*, *חִזְרָה כִּי*, *חִזְרָה עַל-**כֵן אַשְׁר*, *בעַכְרָה אַשְׁר* *that, and like the preceding (prop as a reward that)*

e) *Final* בְּצִדְקוֹנָה אֲשֶׁר to the end that, בְּכַפֵּר אֲשֶׁר in order that (also causal), וְתֵהַלְתָּה that=in order that (see above), וְ (like the Arab *li*) according to the present reading 1 K 6, 19 With a negative force בְּלֹא, וְ that not, less (§ 152)

f) *Conditional* principally בָּאָדָם and בְּאָדָם (for which in the later books rarely בְּאָדָם בְּאָדָם) if The first (which is also a particle of interrogation, § 153, 2) is purely conditional, leaving it uncertain whether what is expressed by the verb is actually doing or actually done, or not, yet rather the former (as, if I do—have done—shall do) on the contrary, בְּאָדָם expressly implies that it is not so, is not done (if I should do—had done), at least that it is very uncertain and even improbable.¹ Hence

¹ Hence יְהִי serves also to express a wish, as in יְהִי רָצֶן would! we had died Num 14, 2, יְהִי רָצֶן יְהִי would! he may live Gen 17, 18, even with the Imper (§ 130, 1, § 136, 2) On יְהִי comp. Kohler in Geiger's Ztschr. f. Wissensch u. Leben, VI (1868), p. 21, ff (where however a good deal, especially the etymology should be modified).

בַּן may properly stand where הַבָּ is more accurately (Ps. 50, 12, 189, 8; Hos. 9, 12); but הַבָּ cannot be used for בַּן. Especially in solemn asseveration, conditional imprecation, בַּן is used; Ps. 7, 4—6 אֲתָּה שְׁמִינִי רֹאשׁ יְרֵךְ וְנֶגֶד if I have done this—(then) let the enemy persecute my soul, etc. One supposes as possible or real that one has committed something or other and demands the most fearful punishment if it is really so; Ps. 187, 5; comp. also Ps. 44, 21, 78, 15.

N.B. What has been said of בַּן and הַבָּ holds good, also, when they are connected with the negative, as in נֹאכַל, נֹאכַל, and נֹאכַל. It must be observed further, that בַּן, after forms of swearing, e. g. יְהִי רָאשָׁךְ as the Lord lives stands as a negative (and consequently נֹאכַל as affirmative), 2 Sam. 11, 11, 20, 20. This may be explained simply by the omission of the imprecation as principal clause to which the clause introduced by בַּן or נֹאכַל בַּן is subordinate. Sometimes this form is found complete e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 22; כִּי יְהִי רָאשָׁךְ וְכִי יְהִי רָאשָׁךְ so and more also do God unto the enemies of David if I leave, etc. (but instead of בַּן stands after this form also נֹאכַל קְרִיאָה e. g. 2 Sam. 8, 35 כִּי יְהִי רָאשָׁךְ לְעָשָׂר־לְאַלְמָנִים וּכִי יְהִי רָאשָׁךְ מִי נֹאכַל so may God do to me and more also if).—But בַּן and נֹאכַל do not stand simply in such forms as these after verbs of swearing and adjuring (=not Cant. 2, 7; 8, 5) but also absolutely as strong negations (בַּן Judges 5, 8, Is. 22, 14) or solemn asseveration (נֹאכַל בַּן truly e. g. Job 22, 20). On נֹאכַל, בַּן, as passing over into conditional particles, see above.

g) *Concessive*: בַּן, with the *Perf.* even if (=though) I am Job 9, 15, with the *Impf.* (though I were) Is. 1, 18, 10, 22; בְּלֹא אֲשֶׁר גַּל (for although Is. 53, 9, Job 16, 17 really add to this that—notwithstanding that); קְרִיאָה even when, although (also inverted בְּלֹא קְרִיאָה or בְּלֹא alone).

h) *Comparative*: בְּאֵתֶר as (quemadmodum), often with בְּלֹא in the second member, as—so, Is. 18, 4, 52, 14, 15; but בְּאֵתֶר may be omitted in the protasis, Is. 55, 9, Ps. 48, 6, and בְּלֹא in the apodosis, Obad. 15. Exact conformity is expressed by בְּלֹא בְּלֹא in all points as, Ec. 5, 15.

i) *Adversative*: (see on the adverbs). Decidedly here belong בְּנִסְכָּם כִּי only that—but, nevertheless, and the difficult combination בְּנִסְכָּם כִּי, prop. that if, for if, but if. In these cases both particles belong in reality to different clauses (בְּנִסְכָּם to the principal, בַּן to the conditional). Elsewhere both form together an inseparable idea, either but (especially after negations, or their equivalents, comp. בְּלֹא above No. 1 at the end), prop. but when, as may be clearly seen for instance Ps. 1, 2—or except when, except. In both significations בְּנִסְכָּם כִּי may stand before a verb as well as before a noun. Sometimes the clause to which בְּנִסְכָּם כִּי states an exception must be completed from the connection, e. g. Gen. 40, 14: (else I do not demand anything) except that thou remember me=only thou mayest etc. Micah 6, 8, Job 42, 8.

k) On the interrogative particles, see § 153.

1) On the optative particles, see on **וְ** above, under letter *f*, Note¹; on **אֲשֶׁר**—in § 105, 2, Note,² and § 126, 4, Note¹.

3. A certain brevity and incompleteness of expression (see No. 1) appears,¹ among other things, in this, that instead of the whole compound conjunction, by which the relation is fully expressed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other component part may be used. Thus, instead of the full form **בִּן אָנֹכִי** *on the account, that—because*, we have shorter **בַּן** or **בַּשְׂךָ**; instead of **בְּשֵׁךְ** *as* (conj.) we find simply **בְּשֵׁךְ** Ex. 14, 13, 1 K. 8, 24.

4. This brevity is carried still farther, when the conjunction which is required to show the relation of one sentence or clause to another, is omitted altogether. This is the case—

a) In conditional clauses; Gen. 33, 13 *drive they them* (the sheep) *hard, then they will die*, for, if they drive them hard etc., Gen. 42, 38. (In both cases however, the conditional relation of the first sentence to the second is sufficiently expressed to the Hebrew conception by the succession of two consecutive perfects.) Job 7, 20 (if) (*well now*) *I have sinned* — prop. *what could I do unto thee?* Job 19, 4.

b) In expressions of comparison; Ps. 14, 4 **אֲכֻלִי עָמֵרִי אֲכֻלֵי לְחֵם** *who devour my people (as) they would eat bread, prop. eating my people, they eat bread*, Job 24, 19 *drought and heat carry off the snow-water* **שָׁאֹל חַטָּאת** (so) *She'ol (carries off those who) have sinned* Jer. 17, 11.

c) In members which are usually dependent on the relative conjunctions (*oratio obliqua*); Gen. 12, 13 *say* **אֲזַהֲרָה**

¹ The cases where, on the contrary, a pleonasm (in the sense of an unnecessary accumulation of particles) was supposed, may be explained by more close observation. Thus for instance **בְּנָה** Ex. 22, 22 stands by no means pleonastically for **בְּנָה**; for with **בְּנָה** the discourse is abruptly interrupted and the particles signify also here *for when* (comp. Ger. *ja wenn*). There may be rather the question of a certain pleonasm in the Chaldee; e. g. **כָּל־קְבָלִי** (Germ. *alldieweil*) *wholly—for—that=because*, **כָּל־קְבָלִי־דָּבָר** *wholly for this—therefore*. Emphatic, not pleonastic, is the repetition of the conjunction in **בְּנָה בְּנָה** *because, even because* Lev. 26, 43; like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*.

thou art my sister, commonly אַחֲרִי אָתָּה כִּי, Gen. 41, 15, Ps. 9, 21 *that they may learn, they are men, Is. 48, 8 for I knew, thou art quite faithless, Ps. 50, 21.* In all these cases, the dependent clause stands properly for the accusative of the object; comp. § 142, 4, Rem. 2.

§ 156. OF THE INTERJECTIONS.

The interjections which correspond to our *ah! oh! alas!* *woe!* expressing denunciation as well as lamentation (*קָרְאָה*, *אָזֶן*, *הָרָעָה*; the latter two are really substantives), are connected with the object of the threatening or lamentation, by the particles *עַל*, *אֵל*, *לְ*, or they stand in the absolute, the object of lamentation standing in the vocative or rather in the *accusative of exclamation*. The former construction is found throughout with cries of woe (*væ tibi*) the latter with lament (comp. *væ te* in *Plautus*); as *אָזֶן לְנִנוֹ וּמְנֻנָּה וּמְנֻנָּה woe to us!* *הָרָעָה גְּדוֹלָה וּמְנֻנָּה woe to the people!* Is. 1, 4, *אַחֲרִי הָרָעָה גְּדוֹלָה alas, my brother!* 1 K. 13, 30.

On the construction of *הָרָעָה* with the *suffixes*, see § 100, 5.

INDEX I.

Abbreviations, 25.
Ablative, 101; how known, 289.
Abraham Ben Ezra, (Rabbi), 18.
Absolute, 218, 288.
Absolute case, 344.
Abyssinia, 1.
Abyssinian dialects, 3.
Accents, 51—55; prosaic, 52; rhythmical use of, 51; signs of intonation, 51.
Accusative, 101; adverbial, 291; of direction, 289, 290; of the object, 221; of time, 291; use of, 290.
Adjective, 197.
Adverb, 255; construction of, 354; of negation, 355; primitive, 257; repetition of, 355; syntax, 352; with *Nun epenthetic*, 257; with verbal suf. 257.
Afformatives, 111, 118, 119, 147, 187.
Agglutination, 97.
Aleph, consonantal power, 71; *prostheticum*, 61; quiescent, 71.
Alphabet, Hebrew, 23; order, 24; signs of number, 25.
American Bibl. Repos., 8.
Amharic dialect, 3.
Ancient case-endings, 219.
Anglo-Saxon, 28.
Anomalous verbs, 194.
Aphaeresis, 60, 159, 161.
Appellatives, 201.
Appoggiatura, 85.
Apposition, 283.
Apocopé, 61, 124.
Arabia, 1, 3.
Arabic, 2, 3, 12, 26, 81, 88, 47; vowel system, 88.
Aramaic, 16, 17.
Aramaicising forms of Hiph. and Hoph., 166; impf. 165.
Aramaisms, 16.
Aramean, 2, 14, 15, 22.
Archaic forms, 12, 18.
Arian, 3.
Armorican dialect, 5.
Article, 103; Arabic, 104; assimilation of, 104; in compound sentences, 280; indefinite, 278; omitted, 279; use of, 276.
Ascoli, 4.
Ashdod (Philistine) dialect, 16.
Aspirates, 28, 65.
Assimilation, 59, 112; of Nun, 160.
Assyria, 1.
Assyrian language, 3, 98, 200; character of, 21.
Asyndeton, 389.
Athnāch, 52.
Aym Aleph verbs, 183; — doubled verbs, 181; — guttural verbs, 155; — *Waw* verbs, 175; — *Jōdh* verbs, 181.
Azlā, 58, 54.
BBabylonia, 1, 15, 17.
Babylonian Punctuation, 36.
Baer-Delitzsch, Text of, 43, 49, 50.
Baer, S., 56, 57.
Bayer, F. P., 10.
Bedawin, 7, 31.
Beer, F. F., 22, 219.
Bertheau, 8.
Biblical Repository (Am.) 8.
Bibliotheca Sacra (Am.), 2.
Biliterals, 91, 92.
Bindseil, H. E., 26.
Birch, 3.
Blau, 2.
Bleek, F., 8.
Bohemian Tongues, 5.
Böhmer, 24.
Böttcher, 18, 19, 24, 259.
Breathings, *n* and *m*, feebleness of, 70.

Breton dialect, 5.
Brücke, E., 26.
Brugsch, 3.
Bunsen, 3.
Burckhardt, 7.
Buxtorf, John, 18.
Canaanites, 1.
Cardinals, 249; repetition of, 295.
Carpentras, stone of, 22.
Carthaginia, coast of, 1.
Cases, 101.
Celtic, see Keltic.
Chaldee, 2, 9, 15, 17.
Chatephs, 46.
Chinese, 3.
Chireq compaginis, 222; *magnum* and *parvum*, 41.
Chronology, Jewish, 25.
Chewolson, 22.
Clermont-Ganneau, Ch., 10.
Cohortative forms, 122, 126; syntax of, 315.
Collective nouns, 278.
Commutation, 59.
Composite, *Shewa*, 69, 85.
Comparative, 198, 292.
Conjugations, 108.
Conjunctions, 264; causal, 368; comparative, 369; concessive, 369; conditional, 368; copulative, 368; disjunctive, 368; final, 368; inferential, 368; syntax of, 365; temporal, 368.
Conjunctives, 53—55.
Consonants, 21—30; homogeneous, 29; homorganic, 29; pronunciation, 25; transposition, 29, 61.
Consonantal *H̄*, 185.
Constructio praeponens, 337.
Construction of compound subjects, 350; of two verbs to express one idea, 338.
Construct state, 217, 225, 226, 228, 288, 298; prepositions from, 258.
Contracted verbs, 159; *Pé Jödh* verbs 174.
Copula in nominal sentence, 343.
Coptic dialect, 5.
Cornish dialect, 5.
Cuneiform inscriptions, 2, 6, 31.
Daghesh, forte, 28, 48, 49; *affectuum*, 64; characteristic, 62, 160; compensative, 62; conjunctive, 62, 108; *dirimens*, 64; essential, 61; euphonic, 62; *fimmitivum*, 64; *implicatum*, 68, 89, 180; omission of, 64, 65; orthophonic, 63.
Daghesh lenš, 65, 66.
Därgā, 53.
Dative, 101; how known, 289.
Dead Sea, 9.
Dechi, 53.
Defective verb, 196; writing, 37.
Delitzsch, 14, 29, 42, 49, 63, 142. 252. 257.
De Luynes, 11.
Demonstrative pronoun, 102, 299.
Denominative nouns, 210.
Denominatives, 201; in *Hiph.*, 136; in *Hithp.*, 139; in *Piel*, 132; in *Qál*, 113.
Dentals, 29.
Derived conjugations, 128.
De Saulcy, 10.
De Vogué, 2, 6, 11, 22.
De Wette, 14.
De Wette-Schrader, 8, 213.
Dibon, 9.
Diestal, L., 8.
Dilatabiles (consonants), 24.
Diphthongal forms, 188.
Diphthongs, 30, 38.
Diptota, 219.
Distinctives, 52—54, 106.
Doric dialect, 8.
Doubly weak verbs, 194.
Duals, 215.
Dukes, L., 18.
Egyptian, 101.
Egyptian (old), 3.
Elamites, 1.
Elias Levita, 121.
Elision of *Wāw*, 169.
Ephraimites, dialect of, 16.
Epicene, use of *w*, 100, 270.
Erse dialect, 5.
Ethiopic language, 1, 3, 6, 31, 95, 99, 100, 140, 144, 169, 200, 250.
Euphrates, 1.
Ewald, 2, 3, 4, 14, 18, 36, 52, 110, 259.
Firkowitsch, 36.
Formæ auctæ, 201; *mixtæ*, 196; *nudæ*, 201.
Formation of feminine nouns, 240.
Formative letters, 92.
Friesic dialect, 8.
Furtive, Pathâch, 87.
Future, 110.
Gladites, 9.
Gaelic dialect, 5.
Galgal, 54.
Ganneau, Ch. Cler., 10.

Gāyā, 56, 57.
Geiger, *Abr.*, 32.
Gemara, 2, 17.
 Gender of nouns, 198, 269.
 Genitive, 101, 217, 284.
Gerāshim, 52.
Gērēsh, 52.
 Germanic languages, 3, 8.
 Gerund, 117.
Gesenius, 3, 6, 8, 9, 14, 16, 18, 32, 110, 144, 200, 213, 216, 259.
Gheez dialect (*Ethiop.*), 3.
 Gothic languages, 3, 7.
 Grammatical structure, 97.
 Grave suffix, 228.
 Greek language, 3, 28.
Grimm, 64.
 Guttural, 28; peculiarities of, 67; prefer Pathāch, 68; reject Dāghesh forté, 67; take Pathāch furtive, 68; take Sh̄wā compos., 69; verb, 151; virtual doubling, 67, 68.

Half vowel, 33.
Harkavy, *A.*, 36.
Hē, consonantal, 72; elision of, 72; interrogative, 358; quiescent, 72, 73; with Mappiq, 72.
 Hebrew, alphabet, 23; compass of literature, 16; gradual extinction of, 16; grammatical treatment, 16; historical survey of, 8; numerals, 25; mutes, 28; rhythm of poetry, 14; sibilants, 27, 29.
 Helping vowel, 86.
Hincks, *Ed.*, 2.
Hiphil, 110, 134; signification of, 135; with suffix, 147.
Hithpäel, 110, 138; as passive, 139; metathesis in, 138; signification of, 138.
Hithpal̄'ēl, 141.
Hithpalpal̄, 184.
Hithpō'ēl, 110, 140, 184.
Hitze, 24.
Hofer, 2.
 Homogeneous consonants, 29.
 Homorganic consonants, 29.
Hōphā'ēl, 110; signification of, 136.
Hōthpā'āl, 110, 138.
Hugfeld, 14, 18, 26, 32, 98.
 Himyaritic inscriptions, 2, 6, 7.

Ibn Ezra (Rabbi), 46.
 Icelandic dialect, 8.
Ilui, 54.
 Imperative, 110, 124, 313; of Qāl, 117; syntax of, 319; with suffix, 151.

Imperativus energicus, 124.
 Imperfect, 110; for present-time, 312; for imperative, 313; for optative, 313; for subject, 313; of Qāl, 118; use of, 311; with suffix, 149; with Waw consecutive, 317.
 Incompatible letters, 95.
 Indefinite pronouns, 106.
 Indo-Germanic, 3, 4, 7; roots, 94.
 Infinitive, 110; construct, 116, 117; syntax of, 324; with subject and object, 326; with suffix, 150; of Qāl, 116.
 Infinitive absolute, 116, 320; after finite verb, 322; in place of finite verb, 323.
 Inflections of masculine nouns, 230.
 Inseparable prepositions, 259.
 Interjections, 96, 286; syntax, 371.
 Interrogative pronouns, 106, 299; words and sentences, 357.

Japanese, 3.
 Jerome, 26.
 Jewish Chronology, 25; pronunciation, 26.
 John, disciples of, 2.
 Josephus, 9.
 Jussive, 110, 118, 192, 306; Hiphil, 165; syntax of, 315.
 Jussive forms, 122.

Kaempf, 11.
Kāmēts see *Qā'mēṣ*.
Kaph with suffix, 282.
Kautzsch, 49, 52, 64, 100.
 Keltec language, 3, 5, 27.
Kēthiwb, 57.
Kamchi, *D.* (Rabbi), 18, 99, 119, 174.
 Kurdistan, 3.

Labials, 29.
Lamed Aleph verbs, 183; affinity with *Lamedh Hē*, 193.
Lamedh guttural verbs, 157.
Lamedh Hē verbs, 185; affinity with *Lamedh Aleph*, 193.
Lamedh with suffix, 261.
 Later books, 15; words, see *Aramaisms*.
Legarmēh, 52.
Lenormant, 6.
 Letters, incompatible, 95; paragogic, 219.
 Lettish tongues, 3.
Levy, *M. A.*, 2, 10, 11, 22, 100.
Lhwyd, 5.
 Linguals, 29; exchange of, 102.

Liskovius, 26.
 Lithuanian tongues, 8, 8.
Lateræ compaginis, 221; *quiescibiles*, 37.
 Maccabean coins, 10, 21.
Madden, 10.
Mähpäch, 53.
 Mancks dialect, 5.
 Mandaeans, 2.
Mappig, 48, 50, 72, 145.
Mäqqéph, 55—57, 87, 88, 106.
 Massora, Text of, 17, 37, 62.
Mēailā, 53.
Mediae radicalis geminatae, 112.
 Mediterranean Sea, 1.
Meier, 2, 14.
Ménant, 3.
Mérekhā, 53; *khephūla*, 53; *mehuppākh*, 53.
Merkel, C. L., 26.
Merx, 22, 56.
 Mesha, king of Moab, 10; inscription, 10, 16, 21, 32, 100, 125, 140, 216.
 Mesopotamia, 1, 3.
 Metathesis in Hithpael, 138.
Méthégh, 54, 55—57, 85, 87; retarding, 88.
Mi'lēl, 63, 116.
Mil'ra, 63, 116.
 Mimetic words, 4, 142.
Min, with suffix, 262.
Mischna, 17, 99.
 Mnemonic words, 22.
 Moab, 8.
 Moabite stone, 10, 16, 21, 32, 100, 125, 140, 216.
Modus energicus, 123.
 Moods, 110.
Morgenland, Gesellsch., 2, 3, 10; *die Kunde*, 3.
Moyer, 46.
Mühlau, 18, 19, 259.
Müller, J., 26.
Münäch, 53, 54.
Munk, 18.
 Mutes, 28.
 Nabataean, 2, 22.
 Nasoraeans, 2.
 Negatives doubled, 357.
Neubauer, 18.
Niphal, 109, 128.
Nöldeke, Th., 2, 3, 8, 10, 22, 220.
Nomina heemantica, 201.
Nomen rectum, 284; *regens*, 284.
 Nominal sentence, distinguished from verbal, 342.
 Nominative, how known, 289.
Nordheimer, 18.
 Norse language, 8.
 Noun, 197; abstract, 203; compound, 201; concrete, 203; from strong stem, 203; from weak stem, 208; impassioned repetition of, 275; of peculiar form, 247; participial, 203; primitive, 201; verbal, 117, 202; with pronominal suffix, 223.
 Numerals, 25, 249; suffix to, 253; syntax of, 294.
Nun demonstrative, 146, 149; epenthetic, 146; paragogic, 177.
 Obscuring vowel sounds, 31.
 Old Testament, interpretation, 16; poetic diction, 14; progress in style, 13.
Öllevyöréd, 53.
Olshausen, 2, 18, 24, 36, 63, 106, 121.
 Omission of *Dág. fo:té*, 64.
 Onomatopoetic stems, 4, 142; roots, 94.
Oppert, Jules, 2.
 Optative, 110, 306, 313; expression of, 331.
 Ordinals, 253, 295.
Osianer, 2.
 Palatals, 28; exchange of, 102.
 Palestine, 17; language, 1, 15.
Palgrave, 220.
 Palmyrene, 22.
 Paradigms of fem. nouns, 242; of masc. nouns, 231.
 Paragogic letters, 219.
 Participials, 207.
 Participle, 110, 340; construction, 330; *Qál*, 127; syntax, 328; with suffix, 151.
 Particles, 254; use of, 352.
 Parts of speech, 91.
Pāshṭā, 52.
Pathach furtivc, 68, 86, 87, 158.
Pā'ul, 127.
Pausanius, 9.
 Pause, 88, 106, 122, 130, 146, 160.
Pāzēr, 52.
Pé, Aleph verbs, 167; guttural verbs, 152, 189; *Nún* verbs, 159; *Jédh* verbs, 189, 178.
Pé'äläl, 141.
 Pentateuch (Samar.), 21, 27.
 Perfect, 110; for future, 308; for relative tenses, 309; of *Qál*, 118; syntax, 307; with suffix, 147.
Perowne, 253.
Pesiq, 52.

Petermann, 144, 146.
Philippi, 220.
Phoenicia, 1.
Phoenician language, 3, 10, 11, 21, 31, 38, 98, 104, 105, 125, 200; alphabet, 24.
Pictet, 5.
Piel, 110; characteristic of, 131; inf. absol., in, 133; intransitives in, 133; primary idea, 132.
Pielal, 141.
Piel, 110, 141, 178, 180, 183, 192.
Pilel, 141, 164, 178.
Pinner, 36.
Plautus (Poem.), 11.
Plurals, 212.
Po'al, 110, 140, 164.
Po'el, 110, 127, 140, 164.
Poetic forms, 15.
Polish tongues, 3.
Folpal, 141, 164.
Position of words in sentence, 344.
Postpositive, 54.
Prætorius, 2.
Preformatives, 111, 119, 162.
Prepositive, 54.
Preposition, 257; adverb compounded with, 360; in poetic parallelism, 385; inseparable, 259; in plural form, 260; of motion, 360; of place, 360; prefixed, 258; syntax of, 359; with suffix, 260.
Preterit, 110.
Primæ radicis, 112.
Primary roots, 93.
Primitive nouns, 201.
Pritchard, 15.
Pronominal suffix of verb, 143.
Pronoun, 98; demonstrative, 102, 299, 305; indefinite, 106; interrogative, 108, 299; personal, 98, 144; reflexive, 304; relative, 105, 301; secondary, 103; suffix, 101, 143; syntax, 296.
Pronunciation, German, 26; Jewish, 26; Polish, 26.
Prosaic accents, 52.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 17.
Pu'el, 110; characteristics of, 131.
Pu'al, 141.
Punic language, 11.
Punctuation, Babylonian, 38; Tibetan, 38.
Pure stem, 112.
Qādhamā, 53.
Qāl, 108, 109, 112.

Qāmēg, distinction from *Qāmēg-Chatuph*, 43.
Qānē-phārā, 52.
Qeri, 17, 57.
Quadrilaterals, 91, 95, 142, 208.
Quinquilaterals, 95, 208.

Radical letters, 92.
Raphé, 28, 48, 50, 65.
Rare conjugations, 140.
Rauener, Rud. von, 4.
Rawlinson, 2.
Reading signs, 48.
Rbhā, 52; *Mugrāsh*, 53.
Reflexive pronoun, 304.
Relative pronoun, 105, 301.
Renan, E., 8, 10.
Repository (Am. Bibl.), 8.
Resh, resemblance to gutturals, 70.
Reuchlin, John, 18, 26.
Rodiger, 2, 3, 6, 10, 36, 110, 162, 186, 259.
Romance dialects, 97.
Roots, 91, 92, developement, 94; Indo-Germanic, 94; monosyllabic, 93; onomatopoetic, 94; primary, 93.
Root-syllables, 93.
Russian tongues, 3.
Saddia (Rabbi), 18.
Sabians, 2.
Samaritan, language, 2, 81, 146; Pentateuch, 21, 27.
Sanskrit, 3, 7, 31, 95, 105.
Schlotzman, 10, 11.
Schrader, Eberh., 2, 3.
Schrader, De Wette, 8, 2, 13.
Schröder, N. W., 18, 200.
Schröder, P., 6, 11, 25, 251.
Schultens, Albert, 18.
Schröer, 10.
Schwarze, 3.
Scriptio defectiva defined, 37; *plena* defined, 37.
Segholates, 229, 233, 252.
Seghōlta, 52.
Semitic language, 1—4, 12; age of, 7; distinctive peculiarities of, 4, 6.
Sentence position of words in, 344.
Septuagint, 17, 26, 27, 38, 40, 42.
Servian tongues, 3.
Serviles, 22; letters, 92.
Shālsheloth, 52.
Shāph'el, 96, 110, 142.
Shemites, 1; alphabet of, 22.
Shewā, 46, 66; composite, 69, 85; simple, 69, 87.
Sibilant sounds, 27, 29.

Sillāq, 52.
Sinnōr, 53.
 Simon, Maccabean Prince, 10.
 Slavic tongues, 3, 8.
Stade, B., 11, 52.
Steinschneider, 18.
 Stem, hollow, 95; words, 91.
Stoddard, 8.
 Stone of Carpentras, 22.
Strack, H., 32, 36.
Strodtmann, 26.
 Strong verb, 112.
 Subject and Predicate, connection of, 342; gender and number of, 346.
 Subjunctive, 306, 313.
 Substantive, 197; used as adj., 287; with adj., 282.
 Suffix, grave, 228; pronoun, 101, 143; to numerals, 253.
 Superlative, 198, 292.
 Swedish vowel sounds, 31.
 Syllables, 77; theory of 77; union, 146.
Syncopē, 61.
 Syntax of noun, 267; of verb, 306.
 Syria, 1.
 Syriac dialect, 3.
 Syrian, 2, 3.
Tacitus, 9.
 Talmud, 99; Babylonian, 2, 17.
Tärchā, 54.
 Targums, 2, 17.
 Tartar, 3.
Tebbir, 52.
Telishā Gedholā, 52; *Qetannā*, 53.
 Tenses, 110.
Tenuis, 65, 66, 86.
Tertiæ radicalis, 112.
 Tiberian punctuation, 36.
 Tigre dialect, 3.
 Tigris, 1.
Tipchā, 52.
Tipk̄ēl, 110, 141.
 Tone, 177; changes of, 87, 168; retrogression of, 88.
 Transposition of consonants, 29, 61.
 Triliterals, 91; extension of, 95.
 Triptota, 219.
Tuch, 2, 219.
 Union-syllable, 146; vowel, 145, 224.
 Verb, 107; anomalous, 194; *Ayin Aleph*, 183; *Ayin* doubled, 161; *Ayin* guttural, 155; *Ayin Wāw*, 175; *Ayin yōdh*, 181; contracted, 159; defective, 196; enallage in pers. aff. of, 832; intransitive, 120; *Lamedh Aleph*, 183; *Lamedh guttural*, 157; *Lamedh Hé*, 185; med. a, 113, 115, 120, 128; med. e, 113, 115, 118, 127, 149, 157, 176, 178, 184; med. o, 113, 115, 127, 176, 178; *Pē Aleph*, 167; *Pē* guttural, 152, 189; *Pē Nūn*, 159; *Pē yōdh*, 169, 173; persons of, 332; passive construction of, 340; strong, 112; syntax of, 306; with accus., 333; with two accus., 336; with prepositions, 337.
Verba, cordis, 340; *primæ gutturalis*, 153; *quescentia*, 167.
 Verbal, denominatives, 107; derivatives, 107; distinguished from nominal sentence, 342; noun, 117, 172; primitive, 107; suffix, always accus., 297.
 Verbs, 201.
 Vocative, how known, 289.
Voces memoriales, 18, 22; *penacuta*, 87.
 Vowels, changes in, 80, 82—84; character and value, 38; classification, 81; helping, 86; half, 80, 81; immovable, 75, 76; quantity, 77—79; origin of names, 35; points, 32—38; rise of new, 85; union, 145, 224.
 Vowel-changes in the noun, 227.
 Vowel-letters, 30.
 Vowel-sounds, obscuring of, 31; Persian, 31; Swedish, 31.
Wallin, 7, 31, 219.
Wāw, changes of, 73; consecutive, 125, 126, 177, 306, 317; copulative, 125, 126; elision of, 169; quiescing in long vowel, 75.
 Weak verbs, 151; relation to one another, 195.
 Weakest verb, 167.
 Welsh dialect, 5.
Wetzstein, 7, 31, 219.
Yehuda Chayyug (Rabbi), 18..
Yérach, ben Yōmō, 53, 54.
Yethibh, 52.
Yōdh, changes, 73; quiescing in long vowel, 75.
Yona (Rabbi), 18, 46, 47.
Zargā, 52.
Zāgēph qātōn, 52; *gādhōl*, 52.
Zeitschrift, see *Morgenland*.
Zeus, 5.

INDEX II.

TEXTS ILLUSTRATED OR CITED.

Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page
1 1 .	65.289.345.347	8 2	314	5 6	295
1 2 .	266.268.345.344	8 3	179.314	5 20	295
1 3 .	. . . . .	8 4	179.322	5 24	356
1 4 .	. . . . .	8 5	150.346.366	6 1	312
1 5 .	. . . . .	8 7	296	6 2	289
1 6 .	. . . . .	8 10	307	6 9	55.318
1 7 .	. . . . .	8 11	70.307.356	6 10	289.318
1 8 .	. . . . .	8 12	168	6 13	341
1 9 .	. . . . .	8 13	307	6 17	329
1 10 .	. . . . .	8 15	337	6 18	127.180
1 14 .	. . . . .	8 16	366	6 19	68.104
1 16 .	. . . . .	8 19	88.244	6 21	310
1 20 .	. . . . .	8 20	281.344	7 7	351
1 21 .	212.224.226.281. 385	8 21	150	7 9	295.307
		8 22 .	195.310.313.356	7 11	55.287.295
1 24 .	. . . . .	8 24	285	7 13	250.266.305
1 25 .	. . . . .	8 24 .	. . . . .	7 15	295
1 26 .	. . . . .	4 1	318	7 19	355
1 27 .	. . . . .	4 5	66	7 20	291
1 29 .	. . . . .	361	. . . . .	66	
		4 6		7 20	
1 29 .	. . . . .	55.308	. . . . .	269.350	. . . . .
		4 7		8 3	323
1 31 .	. . . . .	281	. . . . .	307.358	. . . . .
		4 9		8 4	276
2 2 .	. . . . .	302.307	. . . . .	329.351	. . . . .
		4 10		8 5	295.323
2 4 .	. . . . .	289.325	. . . . .	8 7	171.278
2 5 .	. . . . .	307.314	. . . . .	115.317	
		4 14		8 7	
2 6 .	. . . . .	310.315	. . . . .	298.331	. . . . .
		4 15		8 8	278.359
2 7 .	. . . . .	178.337	. . . . .	251.346	. . . . .
		4 16		8 9	304
2 10 .	. . . . .	310	. . . . .	44	. . . . .
		4 17		8 12	172
2 10 .	. . . . .	88	. . . . .	8 13	66.180.295
2 11 .	. . . . .	280	. . . . .	8 14	287
		4 18			
2 12 .	. . . . .	265.344	. . . . .	8 17	173
		4 20			
2 16 .	. . . . .	314	. . . . .	118	. . . . .
		4 23		8 21	180
2 18 .	. . . . .	824	. . . . .	. . . . .
		4 24		8 22	266.351
2 19 .	. . . . .	299	. . . . .	251	. . . . .
		4 25		8 22	
2 21 .	. . . . .	44.56	. . . . .	44.56	. . . . .
				9 5	312
2 21 .	. . . . .	261	. . . . .	9 6	341
		4 26			
2 23 .	. . . . .	297.333	. . . . .	9 6	
				9 10	
2 24 .	. . . . .	961	. . . . .	9 10	
				9 11	
2 1 .	. . . . .	361	. . . . .	9 11	312.341
				9 14	
8 1 .	. . . . .	348.355	. . . . .	9 14	132
		5 5			

Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page
9 20	. . . . . 281. 340	15 13	. . . . . 298. 303	19 18	. . . . . 117. 327
9 21	. . . . . 191. 224	15 14	. . . . . 329	19 17	. . . . . 314
9 22	. . . . . 289	15 17	. . . . . 350	19 18	. . . . . 256
9 24	. . . . . 178. 293	15 18	. . . . . 300. 308	19 19	158. 178. 266. 308.
9 25	. . . . . 293	15 19	. . . . . 277		310. 212. 322
9 26	. . . . . 261	15 20	. . . . . 277	19 27	. . . . . 307
9 27	. . . . . 191	16 1	. . . . . 318	19 29	. . . . . 276. 326
10 1	. . . . . 318	16 2	. . . . . 318	19 33	. . . . . 150. 236. 282
10 4	. . . . . 276	16 3	. . . . . 260	19 34	. . . . . 199
10 6	. . . . . 1	16 4	. . . . . 165	19 35	. . . . . 296
10 9	. . . . . 318	16 5	. . . . . 263. 285. 298	20 1	. . . . . 220
10 10	. . . . . 318	16 8	. . . . . 312	20 3	. . . . . 328. 329. 266
10 12	. . . . . 281	16 11	. . . . . 199. 241. 329	20 6	. . . . . 193. 338
10 15	. . . . . 1. 318	16 12	. . . . . 281	20 7	. . . . . 155. 265. 320
10 19	. . . . . 318	16 14	. . . . . 332	20 9	. . . . . 314
10 21	. . . . . 1. 9. 297	17 1	. . . . . 318	20 11	. . . . . 179. 311
10 22	. . . . . 1	17 5	. . . . . 336. 341	20 13	. . . . . 347
10 26	. . . . . 104	17 8	. . . . . 267	20 16	. . . . . 295
11 1	. . . . . 318	17 10	. . . . . 320. 324	20 18	. . . . . 307
11 3	. . . . . 316	17 11	. . . . . 166	21 1	. . . . . 318
11 4	. . . . . 356. 362	17 12	. . . . . 165. 320	21 5	. . . . . 341
11 6	. . . . . 166	17 13	. . . . . 322	21 6	. . . . . 157
11 7	166. 274. 313. 367	17 14	. . . . . 89	21 7	. . . . . 309
11 8	. . . . . 338	17 17	. . . . . 257. 294	21 8	. . . . . 130
11 9	. . . . . 332	17 18	. . . . . 332. 368	21 11	. . . . . 165
11 10	. . . . . 318	17 19	. . . . . 241. 353	21 12	. . . . . 361
11 12	. . . . . 318	17 20	. . . . . 308. 346	21 13	. . . . . 346
11 15	. . . . . 318	17 28	. . . . . 180	21 16	. . . . . 192. 362
11 27	. . . . . 318	17 27	. . . . . 180	21 24	. . . . . 131
11 28	. . . . . 285. 318	18 1	. . . . . 291	21 32	. . . . . 351
12 2	. . . . . 155	18 3	. . . . . 266. 299	22 1	. . . . . 318
12 4	. . . . . 295	18 5	. . . . . 368	22 3	. . . . . 304
12 8	. . . . . 224. 300	18 6	. . . . . 220. 235	22 4	. . . . . 318
12 13	. . . . . 320. 370	18 10	. . . . . 364	22 12	. . . . . 330. 340
13 2	. . . . . 278. 366	18 11	. . . . . 351	22 15	. . . . . 296
13 8	. . . . . 224. 302	18 12	. . . . . 304	22 17	. . . . . 191
13 7	. . . . . 277	18 13	. . . . . 366	23 1	. . . . . 295
13 9	. . . . . 142	18 14	. . . . . 305	23 4	. . . . . 182. 270
13 10	. . . . . 328	18 20	. . . . . 285	23 6	. . . . . 193. 268
13 11	. . . . . 305	18 21	. . . . . 257. 276. 316	23 8	. . . . . 151
13 12	. . . . . 276	18 24	. . . . . 272	23 10	. . . . . 331
14 1	. . . . . 318	18 25	. . . . . 326. 384	23 11	. . . . . 308
14 4	. . . . . 291	18 28	. . . . . 121. 336	23 13	. . . . . 308. 319. 332
14 5	. . . . . 318	18 29	. . . . . 121. 295	24 1	. . . . . 318
14 6	. . . . . 237	18 30-32	. . . . . 121	24 2	. . . . . 318. 320
14 10	220. 237. 275. 288	19 1	. . . . . 329. 343. 366	24 3	. . . . . 284. 387
14 13	. . . . . 9. 278	19 2	. . . . . 355. 359	24 7	. . . . . 310
14 18	. . . . . 286	19 4	. . . . . 314	24 8	. . . . . 190. 317
14 19	. . . . . 341	19 5	. . . . . 356	24 9	. . . . . 57
14 22	. . . . . 308	19 7	. . . . . 266	24 12	. . . . . 298
14 23	. . . . . 259	19 8	. . . . . 266. 305. 368	24 15	. . . . . 314
15 1	. . . . . 318	19 9	. . . . . 159. 180. 319	24 23	. . . . . 301
15 2	. . . . . 299. 318. 386	19 11	. . . . . 278	24 27	. . . . . 346
15 7	. . . . . 161	19 13	. . . . . 329	24 40	. . . . . 310
15 10	. . . . . 305	19 14	. . . . . 68	24 45	. . . . . 314
15 12	. . . . . 825	19 15	. . . . . 184	24 55	. . . . . 305

Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page
24 60	155	80 38	. . . . .	121. 244
24 61	351	81 6	. . . . .	100
24 63	289	81 7	. . . . .	165
24 65	103	81 8	. . . . .	349
24 67	285. 280	81 9	. . . . .	298
25 1	339	81 13	. . . . .	280
25 5	55	81 14	. . . . .	851
25 7	294	81 15	. . . . .	322
25 17	294	81 19	. . . . .	166. 307
25 19	318	81 24	. . . . .	358
25 20	318	81 27	. . . . .	153. 159. 340
25 21	130	81 28	. . . . .	189
25 26	288. 326	81 29	. . . . .	87 21
25 27	281	81 30	. . . . .	130. 322
25 31	105	81 31	. . . . .	356
25 33	105	81 32	. . . . .	149. 295. 302
26 1	318	81 35	. . . . .	87 29
26 13	823	81 36	. . . . .	308. 312
26 18	339	81 39	. . . . .	87 32
26 28	189	81 40	. . . . .	193. 222
26 29	159. 192	81 47	. . . . .	88 5
26 32	300	81 50	. . . . .	166
26 33	300	82 5	. . . . .	320
27 1	318. 323	82 6	. . . . .	157
27 4	316	82 8	. . . . .	88 17
27 20	800. 338	82 9	. . . . .	126
27 21	300. 359	82 11	. . . . .	88 21
27 24	357. 359	82 12	. . . . .	332
27 29	348	82 16	. . . . .	269. 298
27 30	807. 866	82 17	. . . . .	275
27 33	830. 334	82 18	. . . . .	157. 301
27 38	300	82 21	. . . . .	88 29
27 37	336	82 27	. . . . .	316
27 38	257	82 34	. . . . .	89 4
27 42	329. 341	83 3	. . . . .	303
27 43	310	83 5	. . . . .	260
27 44	805. 310	83 7	. . . . .	350
27 45	336	83 8	. . . . .	88 25
27 46	325	83 9	. . . . .	312
28 2	57	83 10	. . . . .	89 14
28 19	281	83 11	. . . . .	160
29 1	268	83 13	. . . . .	89 15
29 6	369	83 17	. . . . .	89 17
29 7	280. 323	83 19	. . . . .	300
29 9	286	84 7	. . . . .	89 18
29 10	165. 307	84 16	. . . . .	89 22
29 15	311	84 22	. . . . .	89 23
29 17	348	84 24	. . . . .	89 27
29 21	172. 318	84 30	. . . . .	127
29 36	312	85 3	. . . . .	40 1
29 30	368	85 5	. . . . .	40 2
29 32	150	85 7	. . . . .	40 3
30 15	257	85 11	. . . . .	40 4
30 18	58	85 21	. . . . .	40 5
30 34	316	85 26	. . . . .	40 6
30 36	263	86 2	. . . . .	40 7

INDEX II.

Genesis	Page	Genesis	Page	Exodus	Page
41 21	225. 239	47 3	. . . . .	349
41 23	298	47 4	. . . . .	286
41 25	328. 329	47 9	. . . . .	284
41 26	280. 281. 296	47 11	. . . . .	173
41 28	299	47 17	. . . . .	239
41 29	310	47 21	. . . . .	345. 346
41 33	189. 192	48 6	. . . . .	347
41 34	190. 312	48 11	. . . . .	189. 326
41 39	326	48 22	. . . . .	287
41 40	291	49 8	. . . . .	297
41 42	270. 336	49 10	. . . . .	64
41 43	323	49 11	. . . . .	222. 224. 248
41 49	191	49 12	. . . . .	237
41 51	133	49 13	. . . . .	245
42 1	139	49 15	. . . . .	319
42 6	280	49 21	. . . . .	276
42 11	296	49 22	. . . . .	199. 348
42 13	293	49 23	. . . . .	164
42 18	320	50 17	. . . . .	266
42 19	282	50 18	. . . . .	146
42 25	234. 276. 305	50 20	. . . . .	189
42 28	337			10 27
42 30	274	Exodus		11 8
42 33	337	1 7	. . . . .	335
42 34	316	1 12	. . . . .	315
42 35	234. 276. 329	1 16	. . . . .	195
42 38	370	1 18	. . . . .	121
43 3	321	1 19	. . . . .	121
43 5	329	1 20	. . . . .	347
43 7	314. 322	1 21	. . . . .	298
43 14	282. 309	2 1	. . . . .	13 18
43 15	291	2 3	. . . . .	64. 145
43 16	180	2 4	. . . . .	171
43 25	312	2 6	. . . . .	299. 329
43 26	50	2 7	. . . . .	9
43 29	164	2 9	. . . . .	174
43 32	9 312	2 10	. . . . .	149
44 4	333	2 14	. . . . .	15 5
44 5	361	2 17	. . . . .	150
44 7	312	2 20	. . . . .	118
44 9	302	3 1	. . . . .	329
44 10	302	3 3	. . . . .	816
44 14	351	3 18	. . . . .	212. 9
44 16	146	4 1	. . . . .	312
44 18	312. 384	4 2	. . . . .	63. 106
44 22	311	4 4	. . . . .	156
44 28	311	4 9	. . . . .	280
44 29	311	4 10	. . . . .	150. 268
44 33	172. 312	4 11	. . . . .	182
45 4	302	4 13	. . . . .	304
45 12	280. 311	4 20	. . . . .	220
45 13	311	4 23	. . . . .	319
45 18	319	5 5	. . . . .	311
46 3	314	5 8	. . . . .	366
46 4	322	5 14	. . . . .	66
46 27	276	5 15	. . . . .	812
					115. 127. 336. 345

INDEX II.

	Page	Exodus		Page	Leviticus		Page
Exodus							
18 25	253	33 12	.	192	24 5	.	337
18 26	120	33 13	.	228	25 14	.	323
18 32	366	33 17	.	346	25 21	.	188
19 8	299	34 19	.	129	26 15	.	326
19 13	172	35 2	.	278	26 25	.	181
19 23	180	36 2	.	117	26 33	.	133
19 23	314	36 4	.	305	26 34	.	189
20 3	314.355	36 24	.	294	26 43	.	370
20 4	314	36 25	.	294	26 44	.	368
20 5	314	36 8	.	387	27 23	.	280
20 7	314.324	36 5	.	245	32 44	.	323
20 9	291.324	38 5	.	170			
20 10	314	38 27	.				
20 15	298						
20 20	177.179	Leviticus	1 2	805	1 47	.	139
20 25	347	2 1	.	350	2 33	.	139
21 29	368	2 12	.	342	3 6	.	155
21 36	269.273	3 22	.	195	3 32	.	293
21 37	347	4 2	.	363	4 20	.	158
22 8	370	4 22	.	367	5 3	.	361
22 22	316	4 23	.	173	5 15	.	137
23 1	151	4 24	.	287	5 23	.	345
23 4	150	4 33	.	287	6 7	.	247
23 16	803	4 38	.	173	6 9	.	383
23 20	355	5 1	.	350	6 25	.	316
23 30	145	5 2	.	305	6 26	.	316
23 31	305	5 9	.	192	7 87	.	294
24 10	266	7 38	.	239	8 13	.	155
25 3	63	10 19	.	257	8 19	.	260
25 9	341	11 14	.	84	9 6	.	350
25 40	305	11 43	.	185	9 15	.	326
26 3	127	12 4	.	184	10 4	.	296
26 4	127	13 5	.	256	10 31	.	347
26 6	127	13 19	.	284	11 11	.	185
26 7	127	13 39	.	284	11 12	.	115.172
26 10	221	13 55	.	189	11 15	.	99
26 18	127.137	13 56	.	189	11 17	.	362
26 33	214	14 21	.	137	11 25	.	71.168
26 51	295	14 43	.	134.136	12 1	.	351
27 18	199	15 24	.	317	12 4	.	253
27 31	336	15 29	.	137	13 18	.	359
28 8	246	16 4	.	149	14 2	.	309.332.368
28 39	161	16 20	.	104	14 3	.	85
29 1	179	16 27	.	341	14 7	.	355
29 24	272	18 7	.	192	14 24	.	310.388
29 27	287	18 8	.	192	14 32	.	297
29 29	150	1812-17	.	192	14 37	.	282
29 30	336	19 9	.	150	14 40	.	146
29 25	278	19 20	.	191.323	14 42	.	356
31 4	329	20 6	.	350	15 31	.	180
31 11	150	20 19	.	192	15 35	.	321.323.324
31 18	848	21 1	.	139	15 40	.	310
31 14	347	21 21	.	138	16 22	.	257
32 4	321	23 17	.	50	16 26	.	320
32 6	347	23 32	.	295	16 29	.	345
32 8	347	23 39	.	150	17 5	.	313
33 4							

Numbers	Page	Deuteronomy	Page	Deuteronomy	Page
17 6	. . . . . 179	1 3	. . . . . 295	20 19	. . . . . 257
17 10	. . . . . 165	1 5	. . . . . 339	21 8	. . . . . 142
17 17	. . . . . 305	1 17	. . . . . 121.187	21 10	. . . . . 350
17 28	. . . . . 166	1 23	. . . . . 294.295	21 11	. . . . . 127
20 3	. . . . . 158.332	1 27	. . . . . 328	22 7	. . . . . 158
20 5	. . . . . 147	1 32	. . . . . 356	22 8	. . . . . 333
20 10	. . . . . 320	1 44	. . . . . 166	22 28	. . . . . 283
20 17	. . . . . 316	2 24	63.170.191.339	23 5	. . . . . 362
20 19	. . . . . 305	2 25	. . . . . 338	23 13	. . . . . 127
20 20	. . . . . 272	2 27	. . . . . 316	23 14	. . . . . 127
20 21	. . . . . 181	2 31	. . . . . 338	24 4	. . . . . 139
21 1	. . . . . 130.189	2 35	. . . . . 166	24 19	. . . . . 127.327
21 4	. . . . . 117	3 7	. . . . . 166	25 13	. . . . . 275
21 5	. . . . . 147	3 24	. . . . . 281.338	26 1	. . . . . 172
21 17	. . . . . 314	4 1	. . . . . 115.172.313	26 24	. . . . . 145
21 30	. . . . . 194	4 3	. . . . . 329	26 32	. . . . . 351
22 6	. . . . . 184.302.340	4 11	. . . . . 126	26 43	. . . . . 355
22 9	. . . . . 300	4 22	. . . . . 115	26 48	. . . . . 186.850
22 11	. . . . . 164	4 26	. . . . . 180	26 49	. . . . . 302
22 14	. . . . . 173	4 40	. . . . . 367	26 57	. . . . . 184
22 16	. . . . . 173	4 41	. . . . . 220	26 59	. . . . . 193.226
22 17	. . . . . 164	5 12	. . . . . 324	26 63	. . . . . 191
22 30	. . . . . 302	5 20	. . . . . 126	26 67	. . . . . 381
22 32	. . . . . 296	5 22	. . . . . 137	29 12	. . . . . 326
22 33	. . . . . 298.353	5 24	. . . . . 99	30 4	. . . . . 150
22 34	. . . . . 307	5 26	. . . . . 326.331	30 11	. . . . . 184
23 2	. . . . . 191	6 17	. . . . . 324	31 12	. . . . . 389
23 3	. . . . . 301.346	7 8	. . . . . 328	31 16	. . . . . 288
23 7	. . . . . 156.164	7 18	. . . . . 324	31 29	. . . . . 184
23 8	. . . . . 145	7 24	. . . . . 136	32 1	. . . . . 316
23 13	146.164.173.355	8 1	. . . . . 172	32 3	. . . . . 172.190
23 18	. . . . . 145.223.248	8 3	114.115.178	32 4	. . . . . 277
23 25	. . . . . 164.324	8 10	. . . . . 127	32 6	. . . . . 192.257
24 3	. . . . . 223.248	8 13	. . . . . 190	32 7	. . . . . 214.248.275
24 6	. . . . . 180	8 16	114.115.178	32 8	. . . . . 136
24 9	. . . . . 348	9 14	. . . . . 192	32 10	. . . . . 146
24 15	. . . . . 223.248	9 25	. . . . . 291	32 15	. . . . . 333
24 17	. . . . . 210	9 26	. . . . . 316	32 17	. . . . . 308.338
24 22	. . . . . 88	11 7	. . . . . 281	32 21	. . . . . 306.356
24 24	. . . . . 9	11 15	. . . . . 127	32 22	. . . . . 171
26 10	. . . . . 154	11 28	. . . . . 367	32 26	. . . . . 144.193
26 62	. . . . . 139	14 2	. . . . . 293	32 32	. . . . . 64
27 4	. . . . . 158	14 17	. . . . . 199	32 35	. . . . . 340
27 19	. . . . . 155	14 22	. . . . . 342	32 36	. . . . . 115
31 4	. . . . . 275	15 7	. . . . . 363	32 37	. . . . . 90
31 23	. . . . . 305	15 14	234.336	32 39	. . . . . 296
31 49	. . . . . 281	15 16	. . . . . 149	32 2	. . . . . 261
32 5	. . . . . 341	16 6	. . . . . 364	33 9	. . . . . 60
32 32	. . . . . 99	16 13	. . . . . 284	33 11	. . . . . 177.331.387
32 35	. . . . . 221	17 4	. . . . . 115	33 12	. . . . . 115
32 42	. . . . . 72	17 8	. . . . . 260	33 16	. . . . . 123.293
35 19	. . . . . 825	17 12	. . . . . 157	33 19	. . . . . 288
36 2	. . . . . 341	17 14	. . . . . 127	33 21	. . . . . 168.194
36 3	. . . . . 158	19 1	115.172	33 23	. . . . . 371
50 21	. . . . . 824	19 17	. . . . . 302		
		20 14	. . . . . 285		

Joshua	Page	Joshua	Page	Judges	Page
1 2	. 299	24 32	. . . . .	281	10 4
1 5	. 306				11 5
1 17	306	Judges	*	11 18
2 3	155	1 3	. . . . .	11 23
2 5	325	1 7	. . . . .	11 25
2 8	366	1 19	. . . . .	11 33
2 13	247	1 28	. . . . .	12 5
2 16	153	2 1	. . . . .	12 6
2 17	149	2 20	. . . . .	12 7
2 18	149	3 15	. . . . .	13 3
2 20	282	3 16	. . . . .	13 5
3 5	139	4 18	. . . . .	13 6
3 14	280	4 19	. . . . .	13 7
3 16	339	4 20	. . . . .	13 8
4 2	294	4 21	. . . . .	13 9
4 14	133	5 1	. . . . .	13 11
4 24	184	5 2	. . . . .	13 23
5 8	155	5 4	. . . . .	13 26
5 14	355	5 7	. . . . .	14 6
6 13	322	5 8	. . . . .	14 10
6 15	186	5 10	. . . . .	14 15
6 17	193	5 12	. . . . .	14 16
7 7	155. 339	5 14	. . . . .	14 17
7 9	192	5 15	. . . . .	14 18
7 15	341	5 17	. . . . .	15 1
7 21	190. 280	5 22	. . . . .	15 10
8 3	149	5 26	. . . . .	15 12
8 4	265	5 28	. . . . .	15 13
8 13	287	5 29	. . . . .	15 14
8 27	166	6 3	. . . . .	15 18
8 32	88. 120	6 4	. . . . .	15 25
8 33	279	6 9	. . . . .	16 1
9 8	300	6 10	. . . . .	16 5
9 24	138. 192	6 16	. . . . .	16 6
10 12	814. 345	6 17	. . . . .	16 9
10 24	72. 116. 276	6 20	. . . . .	16 10
10 27	305	6 28	. . . . .	16 14
11 14	136	6 30	. . . . .	16 15
13 4	221	6 31	. . . . .	16 16
13 14	349	6 36	. . . . .	16 21
14 7	180. 328	7 3	. . . . .	16 28
14 8	192	7 4	. . . . .	16 29
14 11	328	7 10	. . . . .	17 2
15 5	221	7 25	. . . . .	17 3
15 45	272	8 1	. . . . .	17 4
17 1	281	8 10	. . . . .	17 5
17 12	325	8 11	. . . . .	17 6
18 15	221	9 2	. . . . .	17 7
18 20	231	9 10	. . . . .	17 8
18 51	287	9 17	. . . . .	17 9
21 32	216	9 18	. . . . .	17 10
21 36	221	9 26	. . . . .	17 13
22 9	188	9 29	. . . . .	17 19
22 17	290	9 45	. . . . .	17 20
22 25	171	9 53	. . . . .	17 22
24 19	274. 347	9 55	. . . . .	17 23

INDEX II.

Judges	Page	1 Samuel	Page	1 Samuel	Page
20 16	271	3 7	314. 315	17 4	366
20 25	252	4 6	106	17 14	293
20 31	160	4 15	348	17 17	295
21 9	189	4 19	171	17 21	272
21 21	349	4 20	318	17 23	329
		5 3	328	17 25	137. 150
Ruth		5 10	185	17 26	103. 283
1 8	332	6 10	193	17 32	310
1 9	320	6 12	121. 174. 322	17 34	278. 290
1 12	309	6 19	307	17 40	282. 298
1 13	180. 315. 350	7 3	316	17 47	347
1 14	185. 194	7 16	186	17 55	301
1 19	225	8 2	292	17 56	301
1 20	118	8 4	285	17 58	281. 301
1 22	100. 276	8 6	322	18 18	300
2 3	287	8 8	311	18 22	148
2 8	120. 122	9 9	333	18 28	149
2 9	193	9 13	121	18 29	380
2 14	159	9 19	296	18 30	171
2 16	164. 324	9 21	293	19 1	326
2 17	291	10 6	193	19 2	153
2 21	122. 270. 298	10 13	193	19 4	239
3 2	224. 310	10 23	292	19 13	274
3 3	265	10 24	70	19 16	274
3 4	122	10 27	365	19 17	149
3 6	149	12 3	301	19 22	281
3 9	311	12 13	115. 157	19 23	297
3 15	156. 172	13 3	279	20 6	129. 130. 321
3 18	122	13 6	332	20 11	290
4 1	179	13 8	172	20 16	335
4 3	276	13 13	309	20 18	310
4 7	307	13 15	184. 283	20 19	339
4 15	148. 295	13 19	322	20 21	352
		13 21	105. 249	20 22	352
1 Samuel		14 1	103	20 28	129
1 6	149	14 8	190	20 31	268
1 8	260. 312	14 10	305	20 38	213
1 9	285	14 14	292	20 40	180
1 13	348	14 16	286	20 42	297
1 14	122	14 19	323	21 2	221
1 16	268	14 22	187	21 3	140
1 20	115. 157	14 24	194	21 8	286
1 24	804	14 28	179	21 9	856
1 28	157	14 31	179	21 14	191. 299
2 3	839. 857	14 33	71. 184	22 7	274. 355
2 4	850	14 36	122. 166	22 9	221
2 8	830	14 45	271	22 13	821
2 13	846	15 5	168	23 3	329
2 16	71	15 6	168	23 11	359
2 19	310	15 9	283	23 28	70
2 23	282	15 19	180	24 6	290
2 26	323	15 20	367	24 9	279
2 28	323	15 23	318	24 11	367
2 29	319	16 1	159	24 12	368
2 33	137. 347	16 16	340	24 15	301
3 2	340	16 18	286	24 18	886

1 Samuel	Page	2 Samuel	Page	3 Samuel	Page
24 18	367	11 25	. . . . .	290
25 5	115. 157	12 6	. . . . .	253
25 7	137	12 14	. . . . .	134
25 8	194. 178	12 15	. . . . .	130
25 10	311. 167	13 5	. . . . .	118. 191
25 11	311	13 12	. . . . .	192
25 14	180. 182	13 15	. . . . .	384
25 15	287	13 17	. . . . .	156. 289
25 18	74. 190	13 18	. . . . .	121
25 22	369	13 20	. . . . .	366
25 24	297	13 26	. . . . .	265
25 26	334. 365	13 31	. . . . .	330
25 27	346. 349	13 32	. . . . .	85 21
25 33	334	13 36	. . . . .	188
26 12	215	13 39	. . . . .	283
26 19	180	14 4	. . . . .	279
27 1	326	14 6	. . . . .	305
27 10	357. 358	15 3	. . . . .	278
28 3	343. 366	15 4	. . . . .	310. 331
28 7	287	15 12	. . . . .	265
28 8	118	15 21	. . . . .	287
28 9	326	15 23	. . . . .	334. 347
28 10	64	15 25	. . . . .	129
28 11	301	15 33	. . . . .	190
28 14	235	15 34	. . . . .	346
28 15	84. 123	16 5	. . . . .	322
30 6	332	16 13	. . . . .	238
30 7	282	17 12	. . . . .	272. 312. 314
31 2	187	17 22	. . . . .	288
31 9	275	17 23	. . . . .	130
37 18	314	18 12	. . . . .	301
			18 16	. . . . .	70
			18 18	. . . . .	289. 315
2 Samuel			20	. . . . .	288
1 9	285	18 20	. . . . .	368
1 23	115	18 22	. . . . .	301
1 26	193	18 25	. . . . .	301. 323
2 8	286	18 29	. . . . .	357
2 21	158	19 2	. . . . .	319
3 1	323	19 14	. . . . .	168
3 8	193	19 18	. . . . .	252
3 27	337	19 20	. . . . .	327
3 34	117	19 27	. . . . .	270
4 7	336	19 43	. . . . .	184
5 10	285. 323	20 9	. . . . .	168
5 21	351	20 19	. . . . .	272. 288
6 1	168	20 20	. . . . .	369
6 3	282	20 21	. . . . .	137
6 6	335	21 3	. . . . .	320
6 11	302	21 9	. . . . .	291
7 5	358	21 12	. . . . .	193
7 18	300	21 13	. . . . .	159
7 23	347	21 14	. . . . .	130
8 4	173	21 20	. . . . .	291. 295
8 36	369	22 24	. . . . .	213
10 9	350	22 33	. . . . .	180. 298
11 11	369	22 37	. . . . .	261
					8 13
				
					291

1 Kings	Page	1 Kings	Page	2 Kings	Page
8 24	370	21 21	180	11 5	121
8 30	364	21 25	179	11 9	252
8 38	121	22 13	291	11 10	252
8 43	121	22 15	358	11 13	212
8 48	115	22 25	193	11 14	89
9 8	165	22 27	288	11 15	252
9 11	193	22 28	299	13 8	185
9 21	318	22 30	324	13 10	205
9 23	330	22 35	174	13 14	334
9 26	271	24 30	312	13 17	194
9 27	44			13 19	325
10 8	282	2 Kings		14 14	184
10 9	328	1 2	359	15 21	358
10 11	104	1 7	106	15 29	199
10 12	104	1 8	268	16 4	158
10 16	295	1 11	339	16 7	178
10 21	357	1 13	339	16 14	280
10 24	347	2 10	134-340	16 18	199
11 5	270	2 18	368	17 13	288
11 15	132	2 21	191	17 15	262
11 22	158	2 22	193	17 29	275
11 33	212	2 24	270	18 1	295
12 12	185	3 4—27	10	18 11	191
12 15	326	3 16	275	18 26	9 14
12 17	318	3 23	323	18 30	290, 341
12 24	121	3 26	349	18 31	280
13 4	328	8 27	312	19 4	184
13 7	47	4 3	226	19 23	224
13 30	371	4 7	226	19 25	71, 193
14 2	99	4 13	325	20 1	125
14 3	158	4 18	278	20 20	358
14 17	220	4 24	159	21 8	326
14 24	279	4 25	103	22 1	294
15 4	326	4 41	170, 366	22 20	151
15 25	296	4 43	324	23 5	366
15 31	287	5 9	287	23 8	221
16 10	295	5 13	320, 345	23 15	185
17 11	161	5 22	319	23 17	279, 280
17 14	193	5 26	345	23 19	275
18 21	343	6 8	226	25 27	295
18 32	336	6 13	216	25 29	198
18 44	145	6 19	173		
19 11	288, 350	7 3	175	1 Chronicles	
19 15	78, 220	7 4	127, 175, 265	4 27	294
20 14	78, 301	7 12	105	5 18	259
20 20	347	8 6	136	6 61	216
20 23	187	8 21	128	7 2	274
20 27	139, 141	9 4	279	7 5	273
20 35	193	9 17	199	7 9	274
20 36	278	9 18	100	9 13	284
20 37	322	9 37	189	11 9	325
20 39	130	10 6	288	11 10	284
21 7	383	10 21	260	11 11	218
21 10	266, 816	10 24	363	11 20	295
21 15	170	10 29	235	11 21	295
21 19	287, 297	11 4	252	12 2	75

1 Chronicles	Page	2 Chronicles		Nehemiah	Page
12 17	326	29 19	179	10 38	277
12 28	252	29 27	303	11 17	137
12 33	275	29 36	256	12 44	245
13 2	339	31 10	180	12 47	245
14 2	184	32 15	355	13 6	129
15 12	303	32 32	358	13 7—11	126, 245
15 24	137	35 4	240	13 21	183
15 27	142, 280			13 23	16
17 4	358	Ezra		13 24	9, 16
17 21	347	2 55	271		
18 5	252	2 64	252	Esther	
19 2	281	2 69	252, 253	1 4	240
20 8	102	3 6	361	1 5	184
21 17	296	3 10	216	1 8	266
25 5	294	3 12	171	3 1	133
25 19	295	4 5	27	3 4	275
26 28	276	4 8	3	3 13	164
27 24	342	5 11	297	4 2	338
27 30	128	6 18	2	4 7	142
29 9	334	7 12—26	2	4 8	44, 79, 240
29 17	278	8 16	364	4 14	359
29 31	159	8 18	50	4 16	309, 354
		8 23	180	8 8	339
		8 25	184, 276	7 2	316
2 Chronicles		8 29	279	7 5	113, 184
2 7	104	10 13	344	8 11	164
3 3	294			8 15	282
6 29	121	Nehemiah		9 1	305
6 33	121	1 7	324	9 8	328
6 40	348	2 7		9 23	349
7 1	105	2 12	354	9 31	178
7 3	323, 327	2 13	126	9 32	178
7 15	348	2 20			
7 21	346	3 6	281	Job	
8 16	279	3 20	339	1 1	305, 307
8 18	271	4 4	382	1 4	250, 307
9 4	121	5 2—4	305	1 5	291, 315
9 10	104	5 5	356	1 6	278, 363
9 11	104	5 7	126	1 7	312
9 20	357	5 8	126	1 13	278
13 7	139	5 13	126	1 14	269, 329, 347, 363
15 8	139	5 8	71, 185	1 15	272
15 15	132				
16 12	193	5 11	126, 257	1 16	329
16 14	276, 366	5 57	271	1 17	329
		7 66			
17 7	364	7 71	72	1 19	270
19 2	325	7 72	252	1 21	185
20 35	138	7 73	72	2 3	358
20 36	290	8 8	15	2 4	312
21 4	363	9 6	297	2 10	355, 357
21 17	293	9 7	297	2 11	276
23 4	121	9 18	347	3 3	88, 168, 303, 315
24 11	191	9 22	237	3 4	268
26 5	325	9 24	237	3 5	149, 351
27 7	358	9 28	282	3 6	189
28 15	177	9 32	290	3 8	338
28 23	187	9 35	281	3 9	314

INDEX II.

Job	Page	Job	Page	Job	Page
3 11	315	8 15	314	14 19	381. 348
3 13	309. 315	8 18	157	14 22	.
3 16	315	8 19	347	15 3	321. 385
3 17	308	8 21	71. 193	15 7	315. 359
3 18	308	9 2	307	15 8	315. 359
3 26	75. 185	9 15	140. 369	15 15	167
4 2	85. 212. 264. 359	9 16	319	15 17	346
4 3	283	9 20	187. 315	15 20	351
4 4	283	9 21	304	15 22	190
4 5	319	9 24	353	15 27	.
4 6	346	9 29	314	15 31	86. 316
4 12	315	9 33	317	15 35	324
4 13	117	10 4	359	16 3	358
4 15	315	10 5	359	16 4	262. 334
4 16	315	10 8	348	16 5	150
4 17	292. 312. 358	10 10	315	16 6	141. 316. 358
4 19	333	10 11	150. 315	16 7	187. 355
4 20	163. 186	10 13	307	16 9	335
4 21	359	10 16	317	16 10	385
5 5	360	10 17	366	16 12	196
5 7	966	10 18	309. 313	16 14	278
5 8	315	10 19	309. 313	16 17	264. 369
5 10	276	10 20	316	16 19	273
5 12	190	10 22	319	17 1	276
5 16	200	11 2	359	17 2	64. 182. 191
5 18	193	11	.	17 9	43. 168
5 19	366	11 5	331	17 10	299
5 22	317	11 6	320	17 15	359
5 24	342	11 7	359	17 16	121
6 2	323	11 12	129. 166	18 2	287
6 3	89	11 17	123. 293. 316	18 4	180
6 5	359	12 5	246	18 7	298
6 6	359	12 4	314. 319	18 8	90. 189
6 8	244. 331	12 6	90	18 12	317
6 10	316	12 7	348	18 21	287
6 12	342. 344. 345. 358.	12 11	304. 366	19 2	150. 192. 193
	359	12 17	330	19 3	339
6 13	359	12 19	330	19 4	370
6 14	346	12 24	284	19 15	149
6 19	285	13 1	304	19 16	814. 334
6 20	348	13 5	317. 331	19 18	316
6 21	333. 355	13 7	359	19 19	800
6 22	156. 172	13 13	301	19 23	166. 331
6 26	158	13 17	321. 322	19 26	363
6 27	224	13 21	157	20 4	182. 358
7 3	333. 341	13 25	290	20 10	177. 348
7 6	292	13 27	235. 317	20 17	288. 317
7 9	319	13 28	333	20 19	366
7 13	307. 362	14 2	319	20 22	184
7 15	293	14 3	355	20 23	261. 317
7 17	318	14 4	332	20 26	350
7 18	305	14 9	185	20 28	317
7 19	116	14 10	121. 319	20 29	283. 298
7 20	260. 362. 370	14 13	331	21 2	322
8 3	359	14 14	315. 358	21 4	346. 358
8 8	71	14 15	315	21 6	346

Job	Page	Job	Page	Job	Page	Job	Page
21 11	. . . . . 90	29 12	. . . . . 304. 315	38 2	. . . . .	300	
21 16	. . . . . 63. 308	29 13	. . . . . 315	38 3	. . . . .	154	
21 21	. . . . . 106. 351	29 14	. . . . . 149	38 4	. . . . .	171	
21 22	. . . . . 343	29 15	. . . . . 347	38 5	. . . . .	367	
21 23	. . . . . 96. 305	29 16	. . . . . 304	38 6	. . . . .	301	
21 25	. . . . . 362	29 21	. . . . . 64. 74. 165	38 7	. . . . .	164	
21 29	. . . . . 115	29 23	. . . . . 292	38 12	. . . . .	363	
21 32	. . . . . 276	30 3	. . . . . 293	38 14	. . . . .	292	
22 2	. . . . . 261	30 6	. . . . . 293. 325	38 18	. . . . .	358	
22 3	. . . . . 359	30 9	. . . . . 338	38 19	. . . . .	303	
22 4	. . . . . 359	30 13	. . . . . 303	38 20	. . . . .	285	
22 6	. . . . . 315	30 14	. . . . . 278	38 21	. . . . .	351	
22 7	. . . . . 315. 845	30 15	. . . . . 341	38 30	. . . . .	139. 292	
22 9	. . . . . 341	30 26	. . . . . 318	38 82	. . . . .	350	
22 18	. . . . . 308	31 1	. . . . . 358	39 15	. . . . .	348	
22 20	. . . . . 224. 369	31 5	. . . . . 180	39 19	. . . . .	362	
22 21	. . . . . 136. 320	31 8	. . . . . 297	40 2	. . . . .	324	
22 28	. . . . . 88. 317	31 10	. . . . . 212	40 8	. . . . .	358	
22 30	. . . . . 310	31 12	. . . . . 303	40 9	. . . . .	358	
23 2	. . . . . 268. 362	31 18	. . . . . 278. 367	40 10	. . . . .	320	
23 3	. . . . . 331. 339	31 21	. . . . . 177	40 17	. . . . .	121	
23 6	. . . . . 355	31 22	. . . . . 50. 72	40 19	. . . . .	317	
23 9	. . . . . 317	31 35	. . . . . 331	40 22	. . . . .	167	
23 10	. . . . . 309	32 6	. . . . . 171	40 23	. . . . .	364	
23 11	. . . . . 315. 317	32 7	. . . . . 350	41 7	. . . . .	291	
23 12	. . . . . 346. 366	32 10	. . . . . 171	41 12	. . . . .	366	
23 13	. . . . . 315	32 11	. . . . . 169	41 15	. . . . .	115	
23 14	. . . . . 298	32 12	. . . . . 264. 347	41 17	. . . . .	194. 210	
24 1	. . . . . 341	32 18	. . . . . 71. 185	41 18	. . . . .	346	
24 5	. . . . . 287	32 22	. . . . . 339	41 22	. . . . .	293	
24 7	. . . . . 291. 349	33 4	. . . . . 193	41 25	. . . . .	74. 190. 277	
24 10	. . . . . 349	33 5	. . . . . 154	42 2	. . . . .	115	
24 14	. . . . . 317. 339	33 13	. . . . . 180. 355	42 8	. . . . .	369	
24 19	. . . . . 308. 370	33 17	. . . . . 328	42 10	. . . . .	226	
24 21	. . . . . 174	33 21	. . . . . 157	42 15	. . . . .	349	
24 22	. . . . . 212	33 25	. . . . . 142	42 16	. . . . .	213	
24 24	. . . . . 164. 166	33 30	. . . . . 179		Psalms	Page	
25 2	. . . . . 330	34 3	. . . . . 368	1 1	. . . . .	307	
25 3	. . . . . 224	34 5	. . . . . 307	1 2	. . . . .	312. 369	
25 5	. . . . . 167. 346	34 6	. . . . . 298	1 3	. . . . .	312. 363	
26 5	. . . . . 361	34 10	. . . . . 365	1 4	. . . . .	278	
26 9	. . . . . 142	34 13	. . . . . 200. 221	1 6	. . . . .	168	
26 13	. . . . . 268	34 17	. . . . . 358	2 2	. . . . .	277	
27 3	. . . . . 285	34 22	. . . . . 327	2 3	. . . . .	128. 316	
27 4	. . . . . 348	34 23	. . . . . 345	2 4	. . . . .	277	
27 7	. . . . . 365	34 27	. . . . . 368	2 5	. . . . .	263. 314	
27 12	. . . . . 323	35 10	. . . . . 274	2 6	. . . . .	298. 338	
27 13	. . . . . 288	35 11	. . . . . 169	2 7	. . . . .	115. 172	
27 22	. . . . . 317	35 15	. . . . . 358	2 8	. . . . .	816	
27 23	. . . . . 261	36 2	. . . . . 158	2 10	. . . . .	367	
28 4	. . . . . 341	36 26	. . . . . 348	2 12	. . . . .	287	
28 5	. . . . . 292	36 32	. . . . . 272	2 2	. . . . .	167	
28 17	. . . . . 357	37 2	. . . . . 322	2 3	. . . . .	200	
29 2	. . . . . 287. 381	37 6	. . . . . 192	2 5	. . . . .	319. 334	
29 8	. . . . . 299. 317	37 12	. . . . . 200	2 6	. . . . .	126	
29 10	. . . . . 115. 351	37 14	. . . . . 335				

Psalms	Page	Psalms	Page	Psalms	Page
3 8	179. 337	18 3	303	32 1	193. 330
4 2	327	18 4	282. 329	32 2	308
4 3	106. 121	18 6	166	32 4	315
4 4	327. 367	18 7	315	32 6	355
4 8	303	18 17	335	32 9	325
5 5	330. 336	18 26	235	32 10	282
5 9	173	18 28	283. 348	33 7	278
5 10	271	18 30	361	33 9	319
5 11	88	18 31	277. 315. 346	34 22	345
5 13	336	18 33	277. 330. 336	35 1	182
6 2	345	18 37	261	35 2	362
6 4	99	18 38	316	35 6	268
6 10	345	18 40	169. 261. 331	35 8	150
7 4	369	18 41	348	35 14	238
7 5	369	18 44	213	35 16	385
7 6	154. 369	18 48	261. 277	35 19	298. 357
7 7	179	18 49	331	35 23	299
7 8	179	19 10	276	36 6	105
7 10	283. 313. 330	19 11	276. 329	36 8	190
7 12	281	20 4	84. 123	36 9	190
7 16	303. 319	21 2	277	37 3	320
8 3	139	21 22	88	37 9	68
8 5	318	22 3	149	37 20	89. 189. 382
8 6	336	22 8	334. 385	37 23	341
8 8	213	22 9	320	37 27	320
9 2	49	22 14	66	37 31	348
9 7	297. 346	22 16	272	38 2	357
9 14	62. 154	22 22	338	38 11	141. 348
9 18	221	22 29	330	39 14	316
9 19	357	23 32	328	40 2	191
9 19	168	23 4	315	40 6	388
9 21	371	24 1	286	40 13	271. 308
10 3	307	24 4	283	41 3	317
10 15	265	24 10	299	42 2	270
11 1	286	24 12	63	42 5	315
11 2	121	25 9	317	42 6	319
11 4	346	25 10	268	42 10	260
11 5	345	25 11	311	43 1	182. 356
11 7	261	26 2	151	43 2	260
12 3	275. 334	26 7	137	44 3	334
12 4	136. 271	26 10	68	44 5	297
12 8	282	26 12	239	44 20	190
13 5	115. 149	27 7	334	44 21	389
14 1	286	27 9	318	44 26	163
14 4	370	27 14	318	44 27	200
14 5	334	28 3	366	45 3	141
14 7	331	29 1	275	45 7	344
16 8	346	29 4	268	45 8	336
16 5	44. 128	29 10	319	45 9	218. 386
16 6	199	31 8	42	45 10	64
16 9	319	31 6	308	45 12	191. 317
17 5	324	31 7	307	45 18	271
17 10	275. 334	31 8	318	45 18	159
17 18	834. 341	31 15	307	46 3	327
17 14	334	31 21	235	47 4	317
18 1	303	31 24	154	48 6	369

Psalms	Page	Psalms	Page	Psalms	Page
49 6	167. 303	69 24	157	94 19	141
49 8	322	69 36	172. 348	96 7	266
49 9	171	71 7	298	96 10	266
49 13	303	72 12	304	102 4	165
49 14	303	72 14	171	102 14	166
49 15	278	72 15	146	102 19	328
49 18	345	72 20	134	102 28	296
49 21	303	73 2	190	103 3	224. 226
50 3	817. 332	73 10	261	103 5	226
50 4	326	73 14	305	104 1	307
50 10	223	73 15	369	104 2	385
50 12	369	73 20	137. 363	104 3	276
50 15	151	74 2	300	104 7	179
50 21	324. 371	74 9	301	104 8	300
50 23	146	74 17	346	104 11	223
51 4	191	74 19	199	104 17	346
51 7	157	74 22	179. 182	104 18	281
51 19	285	76 3	216	104 20	223. 317
55 7	331	76 6	138	104 24	167
55 20	330	76 7	266	104 25	300
55 22	167	76 8	329	104 28	121
56 1	328	76 10	327	104 29	168
56 10	303	77 2	136	105 12	365
57 2	190. 349	77 4	188	105 24	191
58 2	256	78 6	312. 313	106 15	244
58 5	287	78 9	288	108 7	334
58 8	226	78 17	137	108 13	199
58 12	347	78 40	315	109 2	834
59 10	123	78 44	190	109 10	157
60 3	149	79 2	223	109 13	190
60 4	193	79 12	253	109 14	190
60 5	288	80 11	134. 341	109 29	335
60 7	334	80 14	142	109 30	334
60 13	199. 386	81 6	304	110 3	268
61 1	199	81 9	332	110 4	222
61 8	180	81 14	332	112 7	128
62 4	281	82 8	179	118 5	222
62 8	49	83 12	299	114 8	223
63 2	283	84 5	330	116 6	137
63 8	200	86 4	158	116 12	226
65 5	304	87 5	266. 275. 305	116 15	200
65 10	187. 150	87 7	134	118 11	166. 167
65 14	335	88 6	330	118 14	199
66 17	334	88 19	268	118 18	133
67 2	187	89 2	334	118 23	184
68 3	60. 160. 165	89 8	153	118 26	148
68 5	382	89 15	282	119 22	164
68 13	168	89 40	157. 338	119 40	307
68 18	252	90 15	214. 248. 287	119 101	193
68 19	68	91 4	165	119 117	188
68 22	284	91 6	165. 291	119 137	
68 24	263	91 11	68	119 154	182
68 34	288	92 16	200	119 155	349
69 4	165	93 1	139	120 1	200. 319
69 10	148	94 1	136. 172	120 5	336
69 18	381	94 17	206	121 3	314. 317

Psalms	Page	Preverbs	Page	Proverbs	Page
122 6	190	3 8	70	20 16	154. 161
123 1	292	3 10	335	20 22	316
123 4	279	3 18	348	20 28	160
124 4	200	3 25	317	21 15	326
124 5	349	4 4	320	21 20	283
125 3	200	4 21	180	22 10	297
127 2	73. 189	4 25	173	23 17	313
128 3	190	5 4	249	22 21	47. 235. 288
128 5	319	5 13	191	22 23	336
129 6	368	5 22	299	22 24	190
132 4	199	6 12	283	23 1	182
132 12	102. 226	6 17	283	23 15	297
133 1	327	7 2	320	23 22	300
134 2	290	7 13	166	23 24	182. 346
135 7	137	7 27	285	23 29	298
137 3	157	8 3	123. 248	24 5	268
137 5	369	8 13	184	24 10	191
137 6	145	8 17	168	24 27	810. 366
137 7	191	8 27	165	24 28	354
138 6	174	8 29	165	24 31	384
139 1	149	8 30	270	25 5	386
139 2	181. 333	9 6	320	25 17	172
139 5	224	9 10	274	25 19	184
139 8	160. 316. 369	10 4	72. 334	26 2	354
139 11	261. 319	11 3	164	26 7	191
139 15	191	11 25	173	26 26	138
139 19	332	11 26	347	27 9	351
140 2	160	12 21	355	27 16	348
140 10	193	12 25	366	28 1	347. 348
140 13	115	12 26	180	28 14	133
141 4	248	13 4	299	29 6	165. 166
141 5	194	13 5	345	29 12	281
141 8	190	13 10	355	30 3	274
142 2	334	13 21	290	30 6	47. 86. 173
143 3	193	13 23	72	30 30	355
148 10	282	14 3	120	30 31	105
144 2	213	14 10	70	31 3	212
144 3	318. 319	14 13	299	31 4	265
144 8	275	14 20	341	31 10—31	24
144 14	270	15 1	63	31 27	190
145 7	282	15 18	268		
145 18	149	15 20	288. 312	Ecclesiastes	
149 2	272. 274	16 4	280	1 4	329
150 2	285	16 20	325	1 9	305. 306. 355
Proverbs		17 3	366	1 12	277
1 5	173	17 4	169	1 16	383
1 10	192	17 8	267	2 7	350
1 20	128	17 12	324	2 11	383
1 22	308	19 8	325	2 15	383
1 28	150	19 25	172	2 19	358
2 11	145. 146. 160	19 26	830	2 20	157. 839
2 17	104	20 2	285	2 22	105
2 22	333	20 9	814	2 15	305. 825
3 3	817	20 10	275	2 17	277
3 7	317	20 18	820	2 18	105

Ecclesiastes	Page	Canticles	Page	Isaiah	Page		
3 31	. 257	7 13	. . . . .	359	5 14	. . . . .	63
4 1	8 1	. . . . .	184	5 15	. . . . .	319
4 2	8 2	. . . . .	218	5 16	. . . . .	319
4 3	8 4	. . . . .	358	5 17	. . . . .	292
4 7	8 5	. . . . .	148. 149	5 19	. . . . .	123
4 11	8 6	. . . . .	234	5 20	. . . . .	280
5 15	8 7	. . . . .	305	5 24	. . . . .	326. 328
5 18	8 10	. . . . .	184	5 26	. . . . .	350
6 1				5 30	. . . . .	300
6 8				6 1	. . . . .	318
6 9	1 3	. . . . .	274	6 2	. . . . .	216. 295
7 16	1 4	. . . . .	371	6 3	. . . . .	275. 305
7 26	1 5	. . . . .	106	6 4	. . . . .	315
8 1	1 6	. . . . .	164	6 8	. . . . .	151. 274. 301
8 5	1 7	. . . . .	365	6 9	. . . . .	322
8 10	1 9	. . . . .	309	6 10	. . . . .	310
8 12	1 11	. . . . .	335	6 11	. . . . .	309. 312
8 15	1 13	. . . . .	312	6 12	. . . . .	163
9 1	1 14	. . . . .	338. 362	6 13	. . . . .	339
9 4	1 15	. . . . .	150. 348	7 2	. . . . .	178. 272
9 12	1 16	. . . . .	138	7 4	. . . . .	164
9 15	1 17	. . . . .	321	7 14	184. 241. 305. 329	
9 18	1 18	. . . . .	369	7 15	. . . . .	321
10 5	1 20	. . . . .	341	7 17	. . . . .	125
10 10	1 21	. . . . .	222. 245	7 18	. . . . .	125. 300. 311
10 17	1 22	. . . . .	278	7 20	. . . . .	281. 300
II 3	1 24	. . . . .	131	7 25	. . . . .	281. 332
12 4	1 25	. . . . .	292	8 1	. . . . .	89
12 5	1 26	. . . . .	292	8 9	. . . . .	320
12 6	1 29	. . . . .	333	8 10	. . . . .	320
12 9	1 31	. . . . .	235	8 11	. . . . .	117
		2 4	. . . . .	347	8 12	. . . . .	121
Canticles		2 9	. . . . .	317. 319	8 23	. . . . .	200. 221
1 1	2 11	. . . . .	351	9 1	. . . . .	283. 287. 308
1 6	2 20	. . . . .	298	9 2	. . . . .	287
1 7	3 1	. . . . .	329	9 3	64. 165. 235. 292	
1 10	3 6	. . . . .	291	9 6	. . . . .	156
1 15	3 8	. . . . .	41. 272	9 10	. . . . .	319
1 22	3 13	. . . . .	326	9 11	. . . . .	319
2 1	3 15	. . . . .	63. 106	9 12	. . . . .	280
2 3	3 16	. . . . .	133. 190	9 13	. . . . .	319
2 7	3 17	. . . . .	225	10 2	. . . . .	326
2 11	3 24	. . . . .	288	10 10	. . . . .	293
2 12	4 4	. . . . .	309. 312. 368	10 12	. . . . .	284
2 17	5 1	. . . . .	268	10 14	. . . . .	278
3 5	5 2	. . . . .	336	10 15	. . . . .	328
3 6	5 3	. . . . .	319	10 16	. . . . .	171
3 7	5 4	. . . . .	325. 359	10 22	. . . . .	334. 369
3 8	5 5	. . . . .	321. 328. 329	10 30	. . . . .	282. 334
4 1	5 6	. . . . .	334	11 2	. . . . .	284
4 9	5 8	. . . . .	330	11 7	. . . . .	270
4 14	5 9	. . . . .	357	11 9	. . . . .	282. 328
5 2	5 10	. . . . .	234	11 10	. . . . .	338
5 6	5 11	. . . . .	287	12 2	. . . . .	199
5 9	5 12	. . . . .	268. 308	12 6	. . . . .	271
6 8	5 13	. . . . .	308	13 4	. . . . .	369

Isaiah	Page	Isaiah	Page	Isaiah	Page
15 9	326	28 15	. . . . .	292
18 18	133.345	24 2	. . . . .	30 20
18 19	328	24 3	. . . . .	104
18 20	169	24 9	. . . . .	185
14 3	70.341	24 12	. . . . .	184
14 9	350	24 18	. . . . .	186
14 11	239	24 17	. . . . .	31
14 17	380.388	24 20	. . . . .	266
14 19	137.287	25 1	. . . . .	278
14 25	326	25 6	. . . . .	32
14 30	179	25 7	. . . . .	16
15 2	174.249	25 10	. . . . .	178
15 8	365	26 3	. . . . .	33
16 2	278	26 4	. . . . .	30
16 4	347	26 11	. . . . .	239
16 10	333	26 18	. . . . .	32
17 1	329	26 19	. . . . .	49
17 4	268	27 4	. . . . .	245
17 5	272	27 5	. . . . .	156.158.331
17 6	299	27 8	. . . . .	368
17 8	104	27 10	. . . . .	60.319
17 10	336	27 11	. . . . .	278
18 2	134.352	27 12	. . . . .	34
18 5	89.345.349	27 36	. . . . .	4
18 6	182	28 1	. . . . .	5
19 3	166	28 3	. . . . .	33
19 4	274.283	28 4	. . . . .	34
19 8	287	28 6	. . . . .	13
19 9	213	28 8	. . . . .	25
19 10	283	28 9	. . . . .	17
19 11	288	28 10	. . . . .	1
19 17	199.244	28 12	. . . . .	1
19 18	9	28 13	. . . . .	121
20 1	328	28 16	. . . . .	116
20 4	213.219	28 20	. . . . .	338
21 1	325	28 21	. . . . .	72
21 2	179.272	341	. . . . .	118
21 5	324	28 24	. . . . .	338
21 11	236	29 1	. . . . .	38
21 12	90.190.193.194	29 5	. . . . .	5
21 14	169.194	29 7	. . . . .	278
21 17	284	29 8	. . . . .	292
22 1	224.359	29 9	. . . . .	38
22 3	184	29 13	. . . . .	18
22 7	182.268.319	29 14	. . . . .	16
22 8	319	29 18	. . . . .	358
22 10	65	29 19	. . . . .	40
22 11	274	29 21	. . . . .	20
22 13	189.321.324	29 23	. . . . .	278
22 14	369	30 1	. . . . .	40
22 16	222	30 5	. . . . .	23
22 17	322	30 9	. . . . .	338
22 18	278	30 11	. . . . .	40
23 4	357	30 12	. . . . .	1
23 11	187	30 18	. . . . .	150.326
23 12	118.282.288	30 19	. . . . .	41
			2
			191
			303
			305
			88.126
			302

Isaiah	Page	Isaiah	Page	Isaiah	Page
41 10	191	51 10	. . . . .	276
41 28	188.190	51 12	. . . . .	318.319
41 24	303	51 16	. . . . .	171
41 25	71.180.184	51 21	. . . . .	287
41 28	317	52 1	. . . . .	339
42 4	165	52 5	. . . . .	140
42 10	224	52 7	. . . . .	183
42 18	104	52 8	. . . . .	351
42 20	189	52 11	. . . . .	165
42 21	339	52 12	. . . . .	151
42 22	89.275	52 14	. . . . .	235.369
42 24	321.345	52 15	. . . . .	302.369
43 1	224	53 3	. . . . .	137.248
43 8	136.172	53 6	. . . . .	278
43 9	130	53 8	. . . . .	261
43 25	297	53 9	. . . . .	369
44 12	174	53 10	. . . . .	192
44 13	204	53 11	. . . . .	282.340
44 15	261	54 1	. . . . .	167.272
44 18	180	54 5	. . . . .	274
44 21	63.297	54 12	. . . . .	66
44 23	167	55 3	. . . . .	234
44 28	137	55 9	. . . . .	369
45 10	122	56 6	. . . . .	326
45 11	318	56 9	. . . . .	90.194.223
45 13	180	56 10	. . . . .	287
45 15	139	56 12	. . . . .	90.194
45 20	299	57 4	. . . . .	234
45 21	320	57 5	. . . . .	166
45 22	320	57 6	. . . . .	64
46 2	304	57 8	. . . . .	332
46 4	306	57 20	. . . . .	136.321
46 6	276	58 3	. . . . .	60.64
46 11	306	58 9	. . . . .	158
47 1	272.340	59 3	. . . . .	130
47 2	118.154	59 4	. . . . .	324
47 9	327	59 5	. . . . .	84.182.199
47 11	349	59 12	. . . . .	8
47 12	302.320	59 14	. . . . .	180
47 14	148.166	59 16	. . . . .	149
48 8	133.371	59 20	. . . . .	331
48 9	365	60 2	. . . . .	278
48 14	365	60 4	. . . . .	130
48 18	319.332	60 7	. . . . .	150
48 19	319	60 10	. . . . .	150
48 6	165.345	60 11	. . . . .	133
48 13	167	60 14	. . . . .	157
49 21	96.133	61 7	. . . . .	865
50 1	272	61 11	. . . . .	318
50 2	359	62 2	. . . . .	56
50 4	290	63 2	. . . . .	344
50 8	51.63	63 3	. . . . .	137
50 11	65	63 19	. . . . .	185.332
51 1	303	64 2	. . . . .	165
51 2	315	64 8	. . . . .	192
51 9	292	65 14	. . . . .	174
Jeremiah					
			1 5	. . . . .	174.314
			1 10	. . . . .	117
			2 15	. . . . .	348
			2 19	. . . . .	149
			2 27	. . . . .	115.149
			2 35	. . . . .	325
			2 36	. . . . .	168
			3 5	. . . . .	160.332
			3 6	. . . . .	192
			3 7	. . . . .	246
			3 10	. . . . .	246
			3 12	. . . . .	179
			3 22	. . . . .	193
			4 4	. . . . .	165
			4 5	. . . . .	340
			4 11	. . . . .	165
			4 13	. . . . .	167
			5 6	. . . . .	62.188.167
			5 22	. . . . .	146.150
			5 26	. . . . .	164
			6 19	. . . . .	318.346
			6 28	. . . . .	293
			6 29	. . . . .	165
			7 18	. . . . .	321
			7 19	. . . . .	304
			7 29	. . . . .	167
			8 1	. . . . .	284
			8 9	. . . . .	301
			8 11	. . . . .	193
			8 14	. . . . .	166
			9 2	. . . . .	187
			9 4	. . . . .	321
			9 17	. . . . .	185.334
			10 3	. . . . .	349
			10 5	. . . . .	122.193
			10 6	. . . . .	345
			10 7	. . . . .	332
			10 11	. . . . .	2
			10 17	. . . . .	118
			10 22	. . . . .	351
			11 15	. . . . .	224
			12 5	. . . . .	142
			12 9	. . . . .	104
			12 17	. . . . .	134
			13 3	. . . . .	298
			13 17	. . . . .	172
			13 19	. . . . .	189

Jeremiah	Page	Jeremiah	Page	Jeremiah	Page
14 6	. 848	31 22	. . . . .	122	51 50
14 15	. 323. 366	31 33	. . . . .	149	51 56
14 17	32 4	. . . . .	180	
15 10	. 115. 149	32 12	. . . . .	280	
15 14	32 33	. . . . .	184	1 1
16 15	32 35	. . . . .	185	1 3
16 13	33 22	. . . . .	287. 380	1 4
16 16	36 2	. . . . .	303	1 8 . . 168. 180. 384
17 2	85 26	. . . . .	250	1 14
17 3	237 9	. . . . .	304	1 16 . . 190. 241. 275
17 8	38 4	. . . . .	193	1 17
17 11	38 15	. . . . .	124	1 19
17 16	38 28	. . . . .	328	1 20
17 17	38 7	. . . . .	180	2 7
17 18	40 16	. . . . .	192	2 11
18 2	159. 220	41 8	. . . . .	124
18 16	41 12	. . . . .	364	2 18
19 3	42 6	. . . . .	58. 99	2 19
19 5	44 12	. . . . .	163	3 1
19 11	44 17	. . . . .	321	3 7
19 13	44 18	. . . . .	163. 166. 259	3 12
20 9	44 19	. . . . .	145	3 14
21 1	44 23	. . . . .	184	3 33
22 5	44 25	. . . . .	177	3 38
22 10	44 28	. . . . .	301	3 48
22 12	287 44 29	. . . . .	179	3 58
22 14	213. 216	45 11	. . . . .	150
22 15	46 5	. . . . .	166	4 14
22 20	46 8	. . . . .	140. 169	5 1
22 24	46 9	. . . . .	288	
23 29	89. 275	46 20	. . . . .	72
23 4	37	47 4	. . . . .	117. 166
23 6	63	48 2	. . . . .	165
23 13	138	48 11	. . . . .	180
23 14	356	48 22	. . . . .	218
23 17	157. 322	48 31	. . . . .	174
23 37	192	48 32	. . . . .	280
23 39	73. 303	48 36	. . . . .	304
24 7	327	49 3	. . . . .	4 1
25 3	136	49 8	. . . . .	138
25 13	335	49 10	. . . . .	117
25 16	140	49 11	. . . . .	5 10
25 26	279	49 17	. . . . .	193
26 6	102	49 20	. . . . .	5 12
26 9	193	49 24	. . . . .	149. 348
27 16	221	49 28	. . . . .	7 2
27 18	178	50 5	. . . . .	62. 166
28 4	288	50 9	. . . . .	7 17
28 6	190. 316	50 16	. . . . .	7 24
28 9	281	50 20	. . . . .	130
29 8	137	50 24	. . . . .	7 27
29 15	221	50 34	. . . . .	204
29 23	157	51 9	. . . . .	8 17
30 16	185	51 33	. . . . .	9 2
31 7	167	51 34	. . . . .	185. 341
31 21	115	51 35	. . . . .	9 11
				191
				10 3
				10 15
				11 13
				11 17
				178
				298
				11 24
				920

Ezekiel

Ezekiel	Page	Ezekiel	Page	Ezekiel	Page
12 12	313	24 2	305	41 15	145. 226
12 19	285	24 3	170	41 22	344
13 2	184	25 3	185	42 14	262
13 3	356	25 13	221	43 7	290
13 10	336	26 2	185	43 10	290
13 11	100. 105. 158	26 10	287	43 12	282
13 13	105	26 17	184	43 27	193
13 18	213. 218	26 18	212	44 3	290
13 20	100. 226. 234	27 19	64	44 8	126
14 1	350	28 13	184. 199	44 30	326
14 3	130. 181	28 14	99	45 17	178
14 13	310	28 15	296	45 22	137
14 14	310	28 16	71. 193	47 2	167
14 15	149	28 17	189. 199	47 4	288
15 1	63	28 18	236	47 9	265
15 11	63	28 24	178	47 15	280
15 13	63	28 26	178	47 17	290
15 16	63	28 33	84	47 18	290
15 21	63	29 3	297	47 19	290
16 3	272	29 19	166	47 20	290
16 4	70. 138	31 3	165	48 1	280
16 5	117. 174	31 5	115		
16 6	155	31 7	194	Daniel	
16 20	37	31 16	284	1 10	178
16 27	298	32 18	160	1 12	191
16 33	64. 156	32 19	117. 137	1 13	192
16 47	263	32 20	118	1 15	239
16 50	121	32 30	178	2 1	307
16 51	247	32 31	834	2 4	2
16 52	247. 263	32 32	137	2 7	345
16 53	225	33 4	333	2 10	345
16 55	177	33 12	130. 184	2 30	333
16 57	178	33 29	293	3 4	333
16 59	115	33 30	247	5 2	361
17 7	132	34 2	304	5 3	333
17 9	234	34 8	304	7 18	274
17 15	279	34 10	304	7 28	2
18 10	363	34 11	297	8 22	121. 247. 318
18 14	262	34 17	100	8 27	305
20 30	257	34 31	99	9 2	181
20 34	179	35 6	47. 120	9 5	323
20 37	155	35 10	290	9 13	290
20 41	179	36 11	174	9 24	298. 341
20 48	179	36 12	172	9 25	339
21 11	158	36 35	105	9 26	295
21 12	216	37 7	149. 166	10 1	181
21 32	275	37 16	161	10 14	193
22 20	160	38 22	105	11 6	305
23 5	154	39 7	166	11 8	305
23 15	272	39 26	193	11 12	252
23 16	123	39 27	282. 310	11 35	137
23 20	123	40 4	184	12 13	212
23 28	302	40 16	226		
23 44	248	40 19	199	Hosea	
23 48	142. 224	40 43	216	1 2	234. 304
23 49	185. 224. 332	41 7	166	1 6	339

Hosea	Page	Amos	Page	Micah	Page
2 3	247	1 11	. . . . .	145. 325
2 5	292	1 12	. . . . .	4 11
2 11	339	2 9	. . . . .	4 13
2 17	292	3 11	. . . . .	4 14
3 1	154	3 12	. . . . .	165. 366
3 2	64	4 1	. . . . .	216. 278
4 2	324	4 2	. . . . .	298. 332
5 11	339	4 3	. . . . .	6 3
6 1	317	4 8	. . . . .	6 8
6 2	363	4 10	. . . . .	7 3
6 9	73. 192. 236	5 4	. . . . .	7 4
7 4	199	5 6	. . . . .	7 8
7 12	75	5 15	. . . . .	175. 271
7 14	174	5 19	. . . . .	189. 190. 271. 348
8 2	159	6 3	. . . . .	2 14
8 3	150	6 10	. . . . .	2 1
8 7	185	6 13	. . . . .	2 4
9 9	292. 339	7 1	. . . . .	134
9 13	325	8 4	. . . . .	2 8
9 15	348	8 1	. . . . .	155
10 4	189	8 6	. . . . .	165. 298
10 6	341	8 8	. . . . .	2 11
10 10	174	9 1	. . . . .	2 14
10 11	222	9 11	. . . . .	3 7
10 12	319	9 12	. . . . .	134. 166. 194
10 14	72. 178	1 3	. . . . .	174. 241
10 15	293	1 10	. . . . .	3 8
11 4	169	1 11	. . . . .	192
12 1	274	1 12	. . . . .	1 4
12 5	146	1 13	. . . . .	1 12
12 10	292	1 15	. . . . .	1 16
13 2	282	1 15	. . . . .	1 18
13 8	269	2 3	. . . . .	1 22
13 14	285	2 5	. . . . .	1 27
14 3	285	3 6	. . . . .	1 31
14 4	302. 341	3 9	. . . . .	1 35
Joel			3 5	. . . . .	1 39
1 20	348	4 6	. . . . .	2 93
2 2	306	4 10	. . . . .	2 28
2 4	179	4 11	. . . . .	127
2 7	179	5 1	. . . . .	1 17
2 9	179	5 2	. . . . .	2 2
2 21	118	5 8	. . . . .	2 14
2 22	382	6 1	. . . . .	2 1
2 23	319	6 11	. . . . .	2 14
4 11	130	6 12	. . . . .	2 23
4 14	130	6 15	. . . . .	2 14
4 18	275	7 4	. . . . .	2 1
4 21	384	7 6	. . . . .	2 14
Amos			7 8	. . . . .	2 23
1 4	127	8 12	. . . . .	2 28
1 7	127	8 13	. . . . .	2 29
1 9	325	8 12	. . . . .	2 29
1 10	127	8 13	. . . . .	2 30
			8 12	. . . . .	2 30
			8 13	. . . . .	2 30
			8 14	. . . . .	2 30
			8 15	. . . . .	2 30
			8 16	. . . . .	2 30
			8 17	. . . . .	2 30
			8 18	. . . . .	2 30
			8 19	. . . . .	2 30
			8 20	. . . . .	2 30
			8 21	. . . . .	2 30
			8 22	. . . . .	2 30
			8 23	. . . . .	2 30
			8 24	. . . . .	2 30
			8 25	. . . . .	2 30
			8 26	. . . . .	2 30
			8 27	. . . . .	2 30
			8 28	. . . . .	2 30
			8 29	. . . . .	2 30
			8 30	. . . . .	2 30
			8 31	. . . . .	2 30
			8 32	. . . . .	2 30
			8 33	. . . . .	2 30
			8 34	. . . . .	2 30
			8 35	. . . . .	2 30
			8 36	. . . . .	2 30
			8 37	. . . . .	2 30
			8 38	. . . . .	2 30
			8 39	. . . . .	2 30
			8 40	. . . . .	2 30
			8 41	. . . . .	2 30
			8 42	. . . . .	2 30
			8 43	2 30
			8 44	2 30
			8 45	2 30
			8 46	2 30
			8 47	2 30
			8 48	2 30
			8 49	2 30
			8 50	2 30
			8 51	2 30
			8 52	2 30
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			8 54	2 30
			8 55	2 30
			8 56	2 30
			8 57	2 30
			8 58	2 30
			8 59	2 30
			8 60	2 30
			8 61	2 30
			8 62	2 30
			8 63	2 30
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			8 65	2 30
			8 66	2 30
			8 67	2 30
			8 68	2 30
			8 69	2 30
			8 70	2 30
			8 71	2 30
			8 72	2 30
			8 73	2 30
			8 74	2 30
			8 75	2 30
			8 76	2 30
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			8 80	2 30
			8 81	2 30
			8 82	2 30
			8 83	2 30
			8 84	2 30
			8 85	2 30
			8 86	2 30
			8 87	2 30
			8 88	2 30
			8 89	2 30
			8 90	2 30
			8 91	. . . . .	2 30
			8 92	. . . . .	2 30
			8 93	. . . . .	2 30
			8 94	. . . . .	2 30
			8 95	. . . . .	2 30
			8 96	. . . . .	2 30
			8 97	. . . . .	2 30
			8 98	. . . . .	2 30
			8 99	. . . . .	2 30
			8 100	. . . . .	2 30
			8 101	. . . . .	2 30
			8 102	. . . . .	2 30
			8 103	. . . . .	2 30
			8 104	. . . . .	2 30
			8 105	. . . . .	2 30
			8 106	. . . . .	2 30
			8 107	. . . . .	2 30
			8 108	. . . . .	2 30
			8 109	. . . . .	2 30
			8 110	. . . . .	2 30
			8 111	. . . . .	2 30
			8 112	. . . . .	2 30
			8 113	. . . . .	2 30
			8 114	. . . . .	2 30
			8 115	. . . . .	2 30
			8 116	. . . . .	2 30
			8 117	. . . . .	2 30
			8 118	. . . . .	2 30
			8 119	. . . . .	2 30
			8 120	. . . . .	2 30
			8 121	. . . . .	2 30
			8 122	. . . . .	2 30
			8 123	2 30
			8 124	2 30
			8 125	2 30
			8 126	2 30
			8 127	2 30
			8 128	2 30
			8 129	2 30
			8 130	2 30
			8 131	2 30
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			8 134	2 30
			8 135	2 30
			8 136	2 30
			8 137	2 30
			8 138	2 30
			8 139	2 30
			8 140	2 30
			8 141	2 30
			8 142	2 30
			8 143	. . . . .	2 30
			8 144	. . . . .	2 30
			8 145	. . . . .	2 30
			8 146	. . . . .	2 30
			8 147	. . . . .	2 30
			8 148	. . . . .	2 30
			8 149	. . . . .	2 30
			8 150	. . . . .	2 30
			8 151	. . . . .	2 30
			8 152	. . . . .	2 30
			8 153	. . . . .	2 30
			8 154	. . . . .	2 30
			8 155	. . . . .	2 30
			8 156	. . . . .	2 30
			8 157	. . . . .	2 30
			8 158	. . . . .	2 30
			8 159	. . . . .	2 30
			8 160	. . . . .	2 30
			8 161	. . . . .	2 30
			8 162	. . . . .	2 30
			8 163	. . . . .	2 30
			8 164	. . . . .	2 30
			8 165	. . . . .	2 30
			8 166	. . . . .	2 30
			8 167	. . . . .	2 30
			8 168	. . . . .	2 30
			8 169	. . . . .	2 30
			8 170	. . . . .	2 30
			8 171	. . . . .	2 30
			8 172	. . . . .	2 30
			8 173	. . . . .	2 30
			8 174	. . . . .	2 30
			8 175	. . . . .	2 30
			8 176	. . . . .	2 30
			8 177	. . . . .	2 30
			8 178	. . . . .	2 30
			8 179	. . . . .	2 30
			8 180	. . . . .	2 30
			8 181	. . . . .	2 30
			8 182	. . . . .	2 30
			8 183	. . . . .	2 30
			8 184	. . . . .	2 30
			8 185	. . . . .	2 30
			8 186	. . . . .	2 30
			8 187	. . . . .	2 30
			8 188	. . . . .	2 30
			8 189	. . . . .	2 30
			8 190	. . . . .	2 30
			8 191	. . . . .	2 30
			8 192	. . . . .	2 30
			8 193	. . . . .	2 30
			8 194	. . . . .	2 30
			8 195	. . . . .	2 30
			8 196	. . . . .	2 30
			8 197	. . . . .	2 30
			8 198	. . . . .	2 30
			8 199	. . . . .	2 30
			8 200	. . . . .	2 30
			8 201	. . . . .	2 30
			8 202	. . . . .	2 30
			8 203	. . . . .	2 30
			8 204	. . . . .	2 30
			8 205	. . . . .	2 30
			8 206	. . . . .	2 30
			8 207	. . . . .	2 30
			8 208	. . . . .	2 30
			8 209	. . . . .	2 30
			8 210	. . . . .	2 30
			8 211	. . . . .	2 30
			8 212	. . . . .	2 30
			8 213		

Zachariah	Page	Zachariah	Page	Mark	Page
2 17	179. 180	12 10	323	6 39	275
3 4	323	13 4	184	6 40	275
3 8	279	14 10	281	Luke	
8 9	216. 250	Malachi		16 8	268
4 2	250	1 8	151	18 13	339
4 10	180. 272. 280	2 5	165	John	.
4 12	47	2 14	115	5 2	9
5 4	182. 193. 199	2 15	333	6 13	310
5 7	184	3 20	115	10 12	278
5 9	185			19 3	279
5 11	100			19 13	9
6 7	139			19 17	9
7 3	300			19 20	9
7 4	297				
7 5	147. 297. 323				
7 14	133				
8 6	357				
9 5	189				
9 11	355				
9 12	330				
10 5	178				
11 7	282. 288				
11 9	328				
11 17	222	Matthew		Acts	
		2 10	334	8 40	364
		6 33	284	16 16	288
		6 39	275	21 40	9
		6 40	275	22 2	9
		8 34	281	26 14	9
		12 25	281	1 Corinthians	
				1 18	285

INDEX III.

N 50. 61.	אהוב 154	אהוֹרֶן 169
66. 67.	אהוב 168	אהוֹרָה 208
68. 70.	אהובך 149	אהוֹלָה 54
72. 84.	אהובך 149	אהוֹלָה לערפה
86. 100.	אהובך 222	אהוֹלָה 115
103. 105	אהובך 148	אודָר 154
N 50	אהוֹת 266	אהוֹרָה 133
אהוֹמָבָם 150	אהובוֹי 154	אהוֹרָה 192
אב 92. 200	אהובוֹה 156	אהוֹרָע 206
202. 247	אהוֹרְיָה 22 31	אַחֲרָה 92. 247.
אבָרֵד 167	אהוֹרְעָז 28	266
אַכְהָה 194. 167	אהוֹרְלָה 224	אַחֲרָה 288
אַבְיָהָת 214. 271	אהוֹרְלָהִם 22. 24	אַחֲרָה 247. 249.
אַבְיָקָט 226	אהוֹרְרִיחָה 188	250. 305
אַכְבָּר 194	או 265 368	אַחֲרִידָם 247. 258
אַבְרָהָם 169. 173	או—או 368	305
אַבְרִיכִי אַרְם 282	אוֹבִיל 128	אַחֲרָה 5
אַבְרִיר 15. 268	אַיִת 265	אַחֲרוֹת 128
אַבְרָד 15. 205.	אוֹרִי 266	אַחֲרוֹמִי 223
268	אוֹרְפִּי 368	אַחֲרוֹת 247
אַבְלָל 353. 854	אוֹרִיכִיל 160	אַחֲרוֹנִי 247
אַבְלָל 288	אוֹרְלִי 353. 368	אַחֲרוֹנִיךְ 247
אַבְנָן 275	אוֹלְטָם 207. 354	אַחֲרוֹנִיכָם 247
אַבְנָי (פְּשָׁ)	אוֹלִירִיךְ 173	אַיִזָּן 154. 156
אַבְרָהָה 213	אוֹלְטָם 205. 246	אַלְבוֹר 458
אַבְרִינִי 213	אוֹקְפִּיר 239	אַלְמִי 247
אַרְם 202. 305	אוֹקִיפִּים 239	אַלְמָרִיוֹן 247
אַרְם 272	אוֹרְדָּג 224	אַחֲרִיקִי 247
אַסְלִים 207	אוֹשָׁב 172	אַיִזָּר 247
אַלְרִי 274	אות 210 245	אַלְגָּל 168
אַלְרִי 274	289	אַחֲרָה 258. 360
אַדְנִים 274	אוֹרְדוֹתִין 190	אַלְמָרִיךְ 264
אַרְיָה 131	אוֹרְטָם 304	אַלְמָרִיךְ 157
אַרְשָׁן 180	אוֹתָן 257. 314	אַלְמָרִיךְ 211
אַרְשָׁן 168	858	

אַדְדָר	263 337.	אַקְדוֹר	292	אַטְ	92. 200.
	360	אַלְ	187	202. 231.	
אַדְדִי אֲבָן	368	אַכְלָה	814	272	
	353	אַכְלָה	154	אַטְ	265 332.
אַדְבָּרָה	352	אַקְלָה	57	354. 358.	
אַתְּמָה	60. 249.	אַכְלָבֶט	150	367	
	256 296	אַכְלָבֶט	257. 354	אַקְהָה	248
אַחֲרוֹן	247	אַכְנוֹן צָקָן	353	אַקְהָה תְּהִירָה	248
אַיִל	210	אַכְרָבָר	205	אַסְ-וָם	368
אַיִלָּה	202 232	אַלְ	102	אַמְנָן	270
אַיִלָּה	151	אַלְ	117. 264.	אַמְלָל	141
אַיִלָּה	271		314. 316	אַמְלָל	353
אַרְדָּה	354		355. 357.	אַמְקָם	256. 353
אַרְתָּה	354	אַלְ	287. 291.	אַמְקָם	256
אַרְתָּה	354		338 360.	אַמְקָה	184
אַרְיוֹן	22		364	אַפְּרֵר	167
אַרְיוֹן	354	אַלְ	263	אַמְרָה	47
אַרְצָה	354	אַלְגָּבָרִישׁ	105	אַמְשָׁה	353
אַרְקָה	354	אַלְגָּנוֹמְרָט	104	אַמְתָּה	22. 210.
אַרְקָה	257		102. 282	245	
אַרְקָה	354	אַלְגָּדָט	215. 270.	אַגְּגָה	60
אַלְ	270		274. 278	אַגְּתָה	354
אַלְבָּלָל	174		288	אַגְּתָה	221
אַרְמָה	354	אַלְבָּוֹת	270	אַגְּבָה	58
אַרְמָה	200	אַלְבָּוֹת	354	אַגְּוָשָׁה	14
אַרְמָה	212	אַלְבָּוֹת	354	אַגְּוָשָׁה	296
אַרְמָה	305	אַלְבָּוֹת	263. 364	אַנְחָתוֹן קָרֵר	58
אַרְמָה	257	אַלְבָּוֹת	263	אַנְגִּי	297
אַרְמָה	257	אַלְבָּוֹת	205	אַנְגִּי	271
אַרְסִירָם	75	אַלְבָּוֹת	104	אַנְגִּי	330
אַרְסִירָם	354	אַלְמָנִיד	104	אַנְיָחוֹת	271
אַרְסִירָם	248. 268.	אַלְמָנִיד	212	אַנְבָּר	99. 296
	294. 305.	אַלְמָנִיד	212	אַנְקָה	181
	346	אַלְמָנִיד	247	אַנְשִׁים	248
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	281	אַלְמָנִיד	214	אַנְחָה	99
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	275		252	אַסְכָּוֹרִי	204
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	211	אַלְמָנִיד	252	אַשְׂרֵד	204
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	248	אַלְמָנִיד	252	אַשְׂרֵד	205
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	281	אַלְמָנִיד	295	אַסְכָּרִי	133
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	92	אַלְמָנִיד	105	אַשְׂשָׁה	118
אַרְשָׁת הַאֲלָבָה	22 292	אַלְמָנִיד	192	אַמְבָּה	151. 168
	61 257.	אַלְמָנִיד	186	אַמְבָּה	208
	354	אַלְמָנִיד	192	אַמְבָּה	160
	292	אַלְמָנִיד	47	אַסְכָּרִי	222
		אַלְמָנִיד	192	אַשְׂשָׁה	174

אָנָּה	210. 265.	אָלֶף	105. 264.	אַרְגָּנָה	52	
	368		287. 300.	אַחֲרָה	53	
אַמְּרוֹת	193		303. 305.	אַרְקָטָל	140	
אַסְתָּה	167. 194		313. 354.	בּ	79	
אַפְּרִי	194		365. 367.	בּ	61 105.	
אַפְּנִיא	359		368		259.	
אַפְּנִין	50	אָשֵׁר לְ	286	262. 265.		
אַפְּנִין	264. 368	אָשֵׁר לוֹ	301	287. 289.		
אַפְּסִיס	355. 256	אָשֵׁר מִתְ	354	291. 334.		
אַפְּתִּינָה	206	אָשֵׁר בְּשָׁם	354	337		
אַפְּשִׁינָה	158	אָשֵׁר עָמוֹ	302	כּ		
	אַגְּלָל	אָשֵׁר—שָׁם	301. 354	כָּאָ	194	
	258 360	אָשֵׁר תְּחִתָּה כִּי	368	כָּאֵר	178	
אַגְּלָל	260	אָשָׁת	248	בְּאַחֲרָה	296	
אַחֲרֵל	119	אָשָׁת	248	בְּאַין	258	
אַרְבָּעָה	250	אָתְּ	260. 289	בְּאַכְלָה	154	
אַרְבָּעִים פָּאוֹת	252		290. 297.	בְּאַיִר	44	
אַרְבָּעִים רְבָאות	252		360	בְּאַסְטָה	150	
אַרְבָּעִית אַלְפִּים	252	אָתְּ	99	בְּאַסְטָה	258	
	אַרְבָּעִים	אָתְּ	289	בָּאָר	156	
	253	אָדָּו	289	בָּאָר	241	
	אַרְגָּן	אָדָּא	193	בָּאָשָׁה	157	
	206	אָדָּה	301	בָּאָשָׁה	236	
	אַרְהָה־לִי	אָדָּה	14. 194.	בָּאָתָּה	194	
	164		296. 330	בָּבְנָה	221	
	אַרְרוֹן	אָדוֹ	143. 298.	בָּבְלָה	258	
	267		301	בָּבְדָּר	234	
	אַרְחָה	אָדוֹ	90	בָּגָדִי	84	
	14	אָדוֹת	99	בְּגַנְכְּפָתָה	49	
	אַרְחָתָה	אָדוֹת	99	בְּגַדְבָּחָה	28	
	271	אָדוֹן	99	בְּגַרְחוֹת	115	
	אַרְחָתָה		138	בְּגַלְלָה	258	
	235	אָדוֹן	99	בְּגַלְלָה	184	
	אַרְחָות		188	בְּגַדְרָה	853	
	265	אָדוֹן	260	בְּגַדְרָה	258	
	235		אָדוֹן	260	בְּגַדְרָם	325
	אַרְחָות		260	בְּגַדְרָם	210	
	214	אָדוֹן	260	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	140	
	אַרְיָה		221	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	282	
	236	אָדוֹן	194	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	262	
	אַרְיוֹת		194	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	105	
	214	אָדוֹן	194	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	301	
	אַרְנוּבָה		63	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	194. 331.	
	208. 270	אָדוֹן	99	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	886	
	אַרְצָה		84. 297	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	190	
	200.	אָדוֹן	853	בְּהַלְלִיחָמָת בְּ	29	
	אַרְצָה		99			
	200. 220		99. 100			
	221.		193			
אַרְצָן קָנָקָן	285					
אַרְבָּעָה	131					
	211. 248					
	305					
	210					
	אַרְטְּבָרִים					
	136. 187					
	אַרְטְּלָחָה					
	159					
	אַרְטְּלָחָה					
	159					
	אַרְטְּלָחָה					
	206					
	אַרְטְּלָחָה					
	159					
	אַרְטְּלָחָה					
	123					
	אַרְטְּלָחָה					
	188					

מָלֵן	181	מְלֹאָגֵל	201. 268	מִקְרָר	353
בּוֹסִיטָם	178	מְלֹעַ	158	מִקְרָעָה	804
מִין	5	מְלֹעַ	158	מִשְׁרָחָה	132
בוֹשָׁה	175. 196	בְּלָעֵד	255. 360	מִלְאָה	224
בְּשִׂירָם	178	בְּלָעֵד	116	מִרְזָל	208
פִּזְׁזִי	180. 209	בְּלָעֵד	222. 355	מִרְזָלָה	211
פְּלוֹגָה	166	בָּסֶם	262	מִרְנָה	76. 156
בְּחָרוֹקָה	165	בָּמָאָרָה	255	מִרְנָה	46
בְּחָרְנִי	151	בָּמָה	260	מִרְבָּרִי	47
בְּחָרוֹקָה	165	בָּסָותָה	215	מִרְבָּט	216
בְּהָרְדִּיאָה	44	בָּמוֹתָרָה	215. 245	מִרְדָּה	199
בְּחָרָמָן	293	בָּמִירָה	245	מִרְקָה	199
בְּכָתוֹת	128	בָּמְפָתָרָה	245	מִשְׁוָרָה	206
בְּפָטִים	264. 314.	בָּמְפָתָרָה	245	בְּשִׁנְתַּת שְׁדָהִים	295
368		בָּמְפָתָרָה	248	מִשְׁרָד	335
בִּיְ	266	בָּנָן	248. 268	מִשְׁוָה	244
בְּיָוְדָאָשָׁר	302	בָּנָן	248	בְּצָטוֹרָה	175
בִּין	258. 263.	בְּגָגָה	221	מִתְ	248. 268
360		בְּגָגָה	223. 248	בְּזָוֵלָה	204
בִּין	181	בְּגָנוֹ	54	בְּזָוֵלִים	273
בִּין	263	בְּגָנוֹ	54. 178	בְּקָרָה	248
בְּרִיעִי	127	בְּגָנוֹ	222. 248	בְּתָהִרָּה	248
בְּרִיעִי	181	בְּגָנְלִינִים	211	בְּקָדְשָׁם	56
בִּינִי	101	בְּגָנְלִינִים	108	בְּקָדְשָׁם	248
בִּינוֹ	263	בְּגָנִי צָר	271	בְּגָנָה יְגָנָה	270
בִּינוֹ	263	בְּגָנֶל	117	בְּגָנָה צָר	271
בִּינוֹ	263	בְּגָנָה	181		
בִּין	182	בְּסָסָסָהָת	60	בְּגָנָה גָּאָה	63
בִּינִי	171	בְּסָבָדָה	47	גָּאָל	156
בִּינִי	171	בְּקָבְבוֹר אֲשָׁר	368	גָּבָב	94
בִּרְתָּה	209. 248.	בְּקָדָר	258. 360	אֲכָתָה	185
846		בְּקָדָר	258. 360	אֲבָרָהָה	115
בִּרְתָּה	216	בְּקָדְרִי	261	אֲבָבָל	206
בִּרְתָּה	220	בְּעִידָה	258	אֲבָבָלִים	46
בִּרְתָּה	87	בְּקָרִי	190	אֲבָבָרִי	205
בִּרְתָּה	236	בְּקָרִי	90	אֲבָבָרָה	206
בִּרְתָּה	333	בְּקָרִיר	187	אֲבָנָה	205
בִּרְתָּה	209	בְּקָלָל	268. 274	אֲבָנֶל	96
בִּכְבָּרָה	246	בְּקָלְרִיה	274	אֲבָלָה	244
בִּכְבָּרָה	268	בְּקָלְרִיה	274	אֲבָרָבָן	205
בִּכְלָלִים	281	בְּקָרָה	206	אֲבָרָבָן	213
בִּכְלָלְגָּרִי	49	בְּקָרָם	256	אֲבָרָיאָל	201. 222
בִּכְנוֹ	354	בְּקָצָעִים	151	אֲבָרָרִי תְּלָל	274
בִּכְרָבָּה	150	בְּקָצָבִים	209	אֲבָרָהָה	242. 243
בִּלְלָה	355	בְּקָרָה	294	גָּדָר	93
בִּלְלָה	355	בְּקָרָה	211	גָּרִיזָה	244

אַלְמָנָה	183	גִּזְבָּה	159.	160	רְבִיבִית	190
אַלְמָנָה	133	גִּזְבָּה	159		רְבִיבִת	84
אַלְמָנָה	235	גִּזְבָּה	159		רְבִיבִת	171. 209
אַלְמָנָה	271	גִּזְבָּה	159		רְבִיבִת	60
אַלְמָנָה	206	גִּזְבָּה	159		רְבִיבִת	171
אַלְמָנָה	242	גִּזְבָּה	159. 196		רְבִיבִת	202. 200
אַלְמָנָה	213	גִּזְבָּה	159		רְבִיבִת	225
אַלְמָנָה	210. 346	גִּזְבָּה	210		רְבִיבִת	5
אַלְמָנָה	182	גִּזְבָּה			דְּרַרְתִּים	285
אַלְמָנָה	271	גִּזְבָּה			דְּרַרְתִּים	285
אַלְמָנָה	158	לְאַבָּה	156		דְּרַגָּא	58
אַלְמָנָה	336	לְבָקָה	115		דְּשָׁא	86
אַלְמָנָה	93	לְכָבֵר	232. 305		דְּשָׁן	204
אַלְמָנָה	245	לְפָרָה	150		דְּלִין	216
אַלְמָנָה	118	לְפָרָה	222			
אַלְמָנָה	86	לְבָב	107		ח	48. 66.
אַלְמָנָה	218	לְבָב	107		ח	67. 70.
אַלְמָנָה	28	לְבָשָׂה	48. 89		ח	72. 103
אַלְמָנָה	164	לְבָשָׂה	221		ח	50. 72
אַלְמָנָה	54. 209	לְבָבָה	93. 195		ח	72
אַלְמָנָה	164	לְבָבָה	214		ח	144. 276
אַלְמָנָה	242. 246	לְבָבָה	275		ח	103. 104.
אַלְמָנָה	243	לְבָבָה	226		ח	276
אַלְמָנָה	94. 185	לְבָבָה	178		ח	276
אַלְמָנָה	189	לְבָבָה	53		ח	257. 358.
אַלְמָנָה	94	לְבָבָה	62		ח	359
אַלְמָנָה	96.	לְבָבָה	29		ח	207
אַלְמָנָה	354. 355.	לְבָבָה			ח	50. 61.
אַלְמָנָה	368	לְבָבָה	218.	53		
אַלְמָנָה	368	לְבָבָה	182			114. 133.
אַלְמָנָה	368	לְבָבָה	353			124. 128.
אַלְמָנָה	368	לְבָבָה	182			188
אַלְמָנָה	5	לְבָבָה	93		ח	144
אַלְמָנָה	237	לְבָבָה	93		ח	128. 186
אַלְמָנָה	368	לְבָבָה	195		ח	100
אַלְמָנָה	204	לְבָבָה	93. 195		ח	145
אַלְמָנָה	134	לְבָבָה	93. 195		ח	280
אַלְמָנָה	222	לְבָבָה	50		ח	277
אַלְמָנָה	148	לְבָבָה	190		ח	135
אַלְמָנָה	210	לְבָבָה	93. 195		ח	280
אַלְמָנָה	56	לְבָבָה	209. 244		ח	220
אַלְמָנָה	141	לְבָבָה	209		ח	285
אַלְמָנָה	96. 207	לְבָבָה	163		ח	285
אַלְמָנָה	95	לְבָבָה	191		ח	220
אַלְמָנָה	52	לְבָבָה	244		ח	186
אַלְמָנָה	52	לְבָבָה	276		ח	266
אַלְמָנָה	159. 196	לְבָבָה			ח	257

הַלְּבָן	102, 277	הַלְּבָן	144	הַלְּבָן	155, 180,
	280	הַלְּבָן	58		329, 344,
הַלְּבָן	277	הַלְּבָן	13, 100	הַלְּבָן	349
הַלְּבָן	257	הַלְּבָן	282, 297,	הַלְּבָן לְכִשּׁוֹת	325
הַלְּבָן	257	הַלְּבָן	299	הַלְּבָן	256, 276
הַלְּבָן	22	הַלְּבָנִי	174, 196	הַלְּבָנִים	300
הַלְּבָנִי	201	הַלְּבָנִי	172	הַלְּבָנִים	198
הַלְּבָנִי		הַלְּבָנִי	194	הַלְּבָנִי	155
הַלְּבָנִי	158	הַלְּבָנִי	266	הַלְּבָנִיל	174
הַלְּבָנִי	257	הַלְּבָנִי	83	הַלְּבָנִין	174
הַלְּבָנִין בְּקִרְבָּה	280	הַלְּבָנִית	158	הַלְּבָנִיר	173
הַלְּבָנִית	278	הַלְּבָנִית	172	הַלְּבָנִיר	174
הַלְּבָנִית	257	הַלְּבָנִית	141	הַלְּבָנִיר	279
הַלְּבָנִי	194	הַלְּבָנִית	208	הַלְּבָנִיר	278
הַלְּבָנִי	194	הַלְּבָנִית	208	הַלְּבָנִיר	194
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִית	128	הַלְּבָנִס	1, 9
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	88	הַלְּבָנִת	194
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	70	הַלְּבָנִת	194
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	353	הַלְּבָנִות	192
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	196	הַלְּבָנִונ	60, 138
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	172	הַלְּבָנִות	194
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	194	הַלְּבָנִיר	193
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	194	הַלְּבָנִיר	278
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	172	הַלְּבָנִל	281
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	102	הַלְּבָנִיל	137
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	180	הַלְּבָנִיל	179
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	166	הַלְּבָנִיל	192
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	138	הַלְּבָנִיל	104
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	193	הַלְּבָנִיל	257, 359
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	193	הַלְּבָנִיל	352, 353
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	193	הַלְּבָנִות	191
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	185	הַלְּבָנִונ	135
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	185	הַלְּבָנִונ	278
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	68	הַלְּבָנִיל	174
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	192	הַלְּבָנִיל	103
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	192	הַלְּבָנִיל	103
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	279	הַלְּבָנִיל	103
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	135	הַלְּבָנִיל	171
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	200	הַלְּבָנִיל	276
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	138	הַלְּבָנִיל	173, 196
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	165	הַלְּבָנִיל	173
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	139	הַלְּבָנִיל	173
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	100, 296,	הַלְּבָנִיל	115
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	299, 305	הַלְּבָנִיל	127
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	192		
הַלְּבָנִים	257	הַלְּבָנִים	278		

הַלְשׁוֹן	136	הַסְכָּבָב	280	גִּנְעָם	84. 220
הַלְתָמָם	140	הַלְבָבִי	165	גִּרְגָּרָה	237
חַם	93	הַסְבָּוֶךְ	164	גִּרְגִּירָה שָׁאוֹל	63
חַטָּא	296. 100	הַפְּגָן	180	גִּרְגָּרָק	157
חַטָּא	144	צְשִׁיגָן	180	גִּרְגָּרָה	278
חַקְדָּבָר	280	הַסִּירָה	180	גִּרְגָּרָמִי	165
חַמְמָה	330	הַסְּזָנָא	136	גִּרְגָּרָן	166
חַמְמָה	299. 305	הַסְּפָחוֹת	179	גִּרְגָּרָף	191
חַמְיוֹתָה	200	הַעֲבָרָת	155	וְרֵצָה	189
חַמְבוֹתָה	280	הַעֲבָרָתִי	155	גִּרְגָּרָרִי	237
חַמְצָהָה	280	הַלְלוּתָה	166	גִּרְגָּרָת	237
חַמְצָהִי	166	חַצִּיר	278	גִּשְׁאָלָהִיתָה	157
חַמְלָאָה	165	חַצִּים	216	גִּשְׁבָּב	89
חַמְלָקָה	280	חַצְלָלָה	192	גִּשְׁבָּעָנִי	149
חַמְסָס	165	חַלְלָתָה	155	תְּשַׁחַת	165
חַמְצָר	157	חַלְלָה	155	גִּשְׁמָנוֹן	277
חַמְצָט	257	חַלְלָתִי	276	גִּשְׁבָּחָה	187
חַמְקָנָה	280	חַעַלְקָה	192	גִּשְׁבָּבָה	137
חַפְרָה	165	חַעַרְקָה	280	וְשַׁבְּבָה	353
חַפְרוֹתָה	191	חַפְרָה	191	חַשְׁלָגָה	137
חַפְקָהָתָה	179	חַפְרִין	196	חַשְׁלָגָתָה	137
חַקְתָּםָתָם	179	חַפְכָּסָה	207	חַשְׁלָמָה	295
חַקָּן	257	חַפְלָא	193	חַשְׁמָאָיל	142
חַקָּן	130	חַפְלָטָם	276. 296	חַשְׁמָיד	186
חַקָּן	144	חַפְרָ	89	חַשְׁמָיד	186
חַבָּא	138	חַצְטִיד	139	חַשְׁמָנִיתָה	220
חַנְדָּר	194	חַצְלָחָה	209	חַשְׁמָנוֹן	186
חַהָּה	100	חַקְבָּר	279	חַשְׁמָנִיתָה	208
חַהָּה	256	חַקְדָּשָׁה	136	חַשְׁחָה	196
	299	חַקְפָּן	293	חַשְׁרָלִי	136
חַהָּה	257. 266.	חַקְרָמָתִי	87	חַשְׁמָנִיתָה	192
	329	חַקְרִין	196	חַשְׁמָנָה	139
חַרְבָּר	278	חַקְסָוִיָּה	87	חַשְׁמָנָר	61
חַנְיָה	257	חַקְמָרִי	87	חַשְׁמָנָשָׁע	184
הַנְּמָרָדים	276	חַקְצָותָה	136	חַרְאָגָר	139
הַנְּרִינְיוֹרִי	177	חַרְדָּר	172	חַרְאָגָרָה	138
הַרְקָה	257	חַרְקָרִין	136	חַרְמָנִי	181
הַמְּאָזָאָה	276	חַרְרָבָה	151	חַרְגָּלָל	141
הַנְּבָנָה	257	חַרְבָּ	287. 298	חַנוֹן	89
הַנְּרִיְּרִי	47. 257	חַרְאָאתָה	191	חַרְבָּוֹן	189
הַרְקָה	146	חַרְאָירִים	70	חַרְבָּנִים	189
הַרְקָה	177. 179	חַרְבָּ	181	חַרְבָּל	191
הַרְקָה	180	חַרְבָּרָה	181	חַרְבָּרָה	189
הַרְקָה	130	חַרְבָּתָה	181. 256.	חַרְבָּרָה	189
הַרְקָה	160		353	חַרְבָּרָה	189. 194
חַטָּא	266		191	חַרְבָּנָה	208

בְּרִיאָה	165	יְהֹוָה אֶלְמָנָה	155	וַיְלַכֵּךְ	148
בְּרִיאָה	166	יְהֹוָה אֶלְמָנָה	177	גַּם־אֲתָם	130
תְּהִבָּות	193	יְהֹוָה אֶלְמָנָה	180	בְּרִיאָה	89
תְּהִבָּות	193	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	47. 56	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	89
חַדְקָם	138	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	178	בְּרִיאָה	165
חַדְקָם	138	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	185	גַּנְעָנָה	179
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	196	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	155	גַּסְבָּה	164
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	127	גַּסְבָּה	166
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	47	גַּסְבָּה	163
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	168	גַּסְבָּה	177
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	סְתִּים	168
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	לְסָרֶר	179. 180
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	גַּעֲשָׂת	180
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	וְיַדְעָתָךְ בְּתָם	182
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	186	וְיַדְעָתָךְ בְּתָם	182
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	189	וְלַעֲלָל	191
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	157	גַּבְעָה	179
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	172. 174	גַּבְעָה	190
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	185	וְלַפְרָר	191
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	191	וְלַפְרָר	127
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	179	וְלַפְרָר	191
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	187	וְלַפְרָר	174
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	172. 194	וְלַפְרָר	174
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	137	גַּוְרָא	71. 180
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	57	גַּוְרָב	168
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	278	גַּוְרָה	180
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	גַּוְרָבָן	126
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	גַּוְרָם בְּבִנְהָה	335
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	וְלַעֲרָעָה	165
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	וְלַעֲרָעָה	165
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	158	וְלַעֲרָעָה	193
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	186	וְלַעֲרָעָה	193
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	57	וְלַעֲרָעָה	193
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	193	וְלַעֲרָעָה	172
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	74	וְלַעֲרָעָה	172
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	187	וְלַעֲרָעָה	115
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	189	וְלַעֲרָעָה	115
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	189	וְלַעֲרָעָה	115. 172
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	וְלַעֲרָעָה	66
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	172	וְלַעֲרָעָה	189
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	194	וְלַעֲרָעָה	127
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	173	וְלַעֲרָעָה	127
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	171	וְלַעֲרָעָה	171
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	173	וְלַעֲרָעָה	191
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	115	וְלַעֲרָעָה	172
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	120.	וְלַעֲרָעָה	174
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	162. 166	וְלַעֲרָעָה	189
וְתַּחֲזִיכָּה	139	וְיַדְעָתָךְ	150	וְלַעֲרָעָה	194. 163

בִּיהְיָה	191	וַיֹּאמֶר	199	תְּמִימָה	204
בִּיהְיוֹן	191	וְיֵצֵא	231	תְּמִימָה	235
בִּיהְרָה	180	וְיֵצֵא	167	תְּמִימָה	205
בִּלְאָכָר ט	304	זָבְדוֹן	207	חֲדָבָרִים	184
בִּלְעָד	207	זָלְקָדָה	208	תְּמִימָה	203
בִּלְעָד	121	זְבוֹן	16	חַדְתָּה	244
בִּנְיָרֶט	184	זְפָרָה	199	חַנְטוֹן	193
בִּסְטָה	47	זְנוּב	182	חַשְׁמִיט	276
בִּגְזָרָה	265	זִיכְרוֹת	237	זָהָר	75, 195.
בִּשְׁתִּיחָה	127	זִינְתָּה	214	זָהָר	218
בִּסְמָם	115	זִנְמָרִיט	214	זָהָר	195, 218
בִּגְזָרָה	47	זִקְנָתָן פְּרִצְבָּ�ן	149	חַנְתָּה	155, 189
בִּגְזָרָה	47	זִקְנָתָן	29	חַרְבִּים	155
בִּגְזָרָה	47	זִקְנָתָן	155, 158	חַרְבִּי	195
בִּגְזָרָה	193	זִקְנָתָן	243	חַרְבִּי	185
בִּגְזָרָה	127	זִקְנָתָן	244	חַדְרִים	273
בִּגְזָרָה	178	זִקְנָתָן	204, 232	חַדְלָה	236
בִּגְזָרָה	47	זִקְנָתָן	273	חַדְצָן	211
בִּגְזָרָה	207	זִקְנָתָן	52	חַנְתָּה	199
בִּגְזָרָה	50	זִקְנָתָן	52	חוֹרְבָּרָן	223
בִּגְזָרָה	47	זִקְנָתָן	52	חַכְבִּי	73, 192
בִּגְזָרָה	50	זִקְנָתָן	52	חַכְמָה	204, 232
בִּגְזָרָה	192	זִקְנָתָן	272	חַלְבָּה	237
בִּגְזָרָה	169	זִקְנָתָן	142	חַלְלָה	206
בִּגְזָרָה	167	זִקְנָתָן	52	חַלְעִי	213
בִּגְזָרָה	180	זִקְנָתָן	154	חַלְבִּי	210
בִּגְזָרָה	189	זִקְנָתָן	148, 149	חַלְלָה	221
בִּגְזָרָה	188	זִקְנָתָן	96	חַלְלָה	184
בִּגְזָרָה	174	זִקְנָתָן	199, 244	חַלְמִיש	208
בִּגְזָרָה	154	זִקְנָתָן	167	חַלְעִי	184
בִּגְזָרָה	164	זִקְנָתָן	247	חַלְבִּים	232
בִּגְזָרָה	189	זִקְנָתָן	204	חַזְקָרִי אֲבָנִים	282
בִּגְזָרָה	165	זִקְנָתָן	215	חַשְׁבָּן	121
בִּגְזָרָה	165	זִקְנָתָן	215	חַמָּה	248
בִּגְזָרָה	270	זִקְנָתָן חַוְיִילִים	215, 246	חַמְבָּרָד	206, 270
בִּגְזָרָה	102	זִקְנָתָן	141	חַסְתָּה	248
בִּגְזָרָה	284	חַרְחָרָה	352	חַמְלָה	117
בִּגְזָרָה	221	חַרְחָרָה	352	חַמְלָה	117
בִּגְזָרָה	256, 300.	חַרְפָּה	83	חַנְעָן	118
בִּגְזָרָה	359	חַרְפָּה	218	חַשְׁבָּה	252
בִּגְזָרָה	210	חַרְפָּה	14	חַנְעָן	209
בִּגְזָרָה	102, 300	חַרְפָּה	41, 232	חַנְעָן	205
בִּגְזָרָה	108, 282.	חַרְפָּה	207	חַנְעָלָה	222
בִּגְזָרָה	300	חַרְפָּה	244	חַנְעָלָה	222
בִּגְזָרָה	258, 360	חַרְפָּה	71, 86	חַנְיָה	214
בִּגְזָרָה	222, 258	חַרְפָּה	193	חַנְיָה	244

תִּלְיָהִים	214	יַדְעָה	165 166
תִּמְבֵּט	256	יַדְעָע	171
תִּמְגָּדֵל	164	יַדְשֵׁן	115
תִּמְגָּדֵל	62 154	יַדְעָמֶךָ	159
תִּמְקָדֵם	234	יַדְעָת	115
תִּמְשִׁירָה	201 270	יַדְעָתָה	242
תִּמְשִׁירָה	190	יַרְכִּיכְוָן קָשָׁת	121
תִּמְשִׁירָה	190	יִתְ	63
תִּמְשִׁירָה	226	יִרְחֹא	189
תִּמְצָאָר	142	יִרְחֹבָה	272
תִּמְצָאָר	210	יִרְחֹוֹת	137
תִּמְצָאָר	232	יִרְחֹוֹתִית	9 256
תִּמְצָאָר	209 231	יִרְחֹות	66
תִּמְפָּת	243	יִרְחֹותִית	260
הַקְּרָתָנִי	149	יִרְחֹותִית	58
חרב	206	יִרְחֹוחַ צָבָאות	288
חרבָּה	243	יִרְחֹוֹרִים	201
חרגָּל	96	יִרְחֹשִׁיעַ	173
חרגָּל	208	יִרְחֹשִׁיעַ	137
חרט	206	יִרְחֹלְלָה	169
חרטָה	204	יִרְחֹמָרְתִּי	140
חרטָה	95	יִרְחֹלְלָה	172
חרטָה	208	יִרְחֹלְדָּה	83 134
חרטָה	243	יִרְחֹלְהָ	198
חרטָה	204	יִרְחֹלְהָ	199
חרטָה גְּזִירָה	204	רוֹם	248 294
חרטָה גְּזִירָה	205	רוֹסִים	275
חרטָה	204	רוֹסִים	216 2-1
חרטָה חֲשֹׁופָה	213	רוֹסִים	256 353
חרטָה קְשָׁתָה	219	רוֹחָה	270
חרטָה קְשָׁתָה	208	רוֹנְקוֹחַ	242 243
חרטָה חַטָּאתָה	118	רוֹנְקִיפָּה	128, 196
חרטָה חַתָּאתָה	133	רוֹסָף	173
חוֹתָה	204	רוֹסָה	184
חוֹתָה	246	רוֹסָה	173
חוֹתָה	196	רוֹרָה	194
חוֹתָה מָאָז	354	רוֹשָׁב	173
חוֹתָה מָאָז	354	רוֹשָׁבָה	271
חוֹתָה מָאָז	180	רוֹשָׁמָה	181
חוֹתָה טְהֻרָה	245	רוֹשָׁמָה	181
חוֹתָה טְהֻרָה	52	רוֹשָׁמָה	353
חוֹתָה טְהֻרָה	54	רוֹשָׁבָה	158
חוֹתָה טְהֻרָה	314	רוֹשָׁבָה	166
חוֹתָה טְהֻרָה	234	רוֹתְבָלָה	154
		רוֹתְבָלָה	171
		רוֹתְבָלָה	254

רְדוֹת	86. 189	רְלָבִּית	241	רְזַבְּנָה	165
רְקָבִּי	353	רְלָרָה	241	רְעֵבֶר	179
רְתִּינְיָוָן	121	רְלָרְטָן	84	רְעֵמָר	154
רְזָחָקָה	154	רְלָרְטָן	115	רְבָּכְרָה	86. 154
רְתִּינְקָה	201	רְלָרְטָן	149	רְכָמָנָה	121
רְדוֹתָה	15	רְלָרְטָן	205	רְקָנָה	258. 360
רְדוֹתָה	65	רְלָהָה	180	רְקָנָה אֲנָשָׁר	264. 313
רְדוֹתָה	157	רְלָהָה	172	רְבָּגְנוֹרִי	192
רְדוֹן	166	רְלָלָה	174	רְבָּגְנוֹרִי	192
רְדוֹנָה	164	רְלָקְפָּטָן	121	רְכָבָה	171
רְדוֹנָה	166	רְסָם	231. 237	רְצִיכָּן	172
רְדוֹנָה	167	רְזָבָל	165	רְצִיכָּן	171
רְדוֹסִיר	153	רְמוֹת	214	רְקָשָׂה	192
רְדוֹנָה	166	רְמוֹת	248	רְמִישָׂה	190
רְדוֹשָׁב	153	רְמוֹתָן	176	רְסָה	194
רְטוֹב	174	רְפָחָה	190	רְפָהָה הָאָרָר	283
רְטוֹבָה	194	רְמִי	248	רְפָהָן	196
רְטוֹבָה	138. 139	רְמִים	305	רְפָנָה	141
רְטוֹבָה	174	רְמִים	273	רְטָלָה	160
רְרוֹבָב	196	רְמָנוֹן	212	רְתָה	191
רְרוֹבָב	174	רְמָנוֹן	352	רְתָה	171. 383.
רְרוֹלָל	174	רְטָסְטָס	275	רְאָגָּה	342
רְנוֹן קְרִזְלוֹת	288	רְמָנוֹן	176	רְאָגָּה	193
רְנוֹדָה	171	רְמָנוֹן	193	רְזָאתָה	241
רְנוֹדָה	171	רְמָאָצָאָה נִיְּרָה	150	רְזָאָקָה	157
רְנוֹדָה	170	רְמָרָה	164	רְצִיעָה	174
רְנוֹדָה	173	רְמִין	122. 126.	רְזִיכָּה	170
רְנוֹדָה	174	רְמִין	183	רְגִילָּה	174
רְנוֹדָה	194	רְמָרָבָּג	159	רְגִעָּה	169. 174
רְנוֹדָה	146	רְמָרָם	156	רְגָאָרָה	80. 174
רְנוֹדָה	194	רְמָלָחָן	179	רְגָאָרָה	160
רְנוֹדָה	193	רְנוֹתָה	196	רְגִזָּה	174
רְנוֹדָה	193	רְנוֹתָרָה	160	רְקָבָדָה	234
רְנוֹדָה	171	רְנוֹרִי	194	רְקָבָדָה	150
רְנוֹדָה	115. 149	רְנוֹרִיְּרָה	160	רְקָרָר	171
רְנוֹדָה	193	רְנוֹקָה	174	רְקָרָרָה	182
רְנוֹדָה	191	רְנוֹקָה	192	רְקָרָמָה	177
רְנוֹדָה	142	רְנוֹמָאָה	121	רְקוֹה	60
רְנוֹדָה	136	רְנוֹסָבָה	173	רְקוֹטָה	124
רְנוֹדָה	182. 166	רְנוֹסָבָה	162	רְקָטָה	171
רְנוֹדָה	163. 166	רְנוֹסָבָה	187	רְקָמָה	174
רְנוֹדָה	166	רְנוֹסָבָה	167	רְקָמָרָה	240
רְנוֹדָה	150	רְנוֹסָבָה	167	רְקָמָרָה	149
רְנוֹדָה	171	סְדָה	170	רְקָרָה	193
רְנוֹדָה	75	רְנוֹסָבָה	205	רְקָרָה	189. 191
רְנוֹדָה	284	רְנוֹסָבָה	180	רְקָרָה	189

רְאֵה	171	רְשָׁת	165	כִּדְבֹּר	66
רְאַתָּה	298	רְשָׁנָה	128, 171	כִּגְחָה	146
רְאַתָּם	184	רְשָׁנָה	193	כִּלְיִים	105
רְבָרִירָה	190	רְשָׁנָה	193	כִּדְבָּר	262
רְבָרָנוֹן	121	רְשָׁנָה	193	קְדוּמָה	262
רְבָרָנוֹן	171, 342	רְשָׁנָה	257	קְדוּמָה	340
רְבָרָךְ	191	רְשָׁפּוֹטִי הַמֶּלֶךְ	120	פְּלַבְּבָה	61
רְבָרָקְתָּה	154	רְשָׁפּוֹרָה	204	פְּלַבְּבָה	83
רְבָרָשָׂה	150	רְשָׁפּוֹרָה	174	פְּנִזְבָּרָה	85
רְבָרָה	194	רְשָׁרָאֵל	211	פְּתַחְלִים	292
רְבָרָה	194	רְשָׁשְׁכָּר	58	קִרְבָּי	264, 365,
רְבָרָה	194	רְשָׁתְּתוּתָה	192	קִרְבָּי	367, 368
רְבָרָן	165, 166	רְשָׁלְיוֹן	190	קִוִּים	105
רְבָרָעַ	165	רְשָׁלְיוֹן	207	קִילְבָּרָה	211
רְדָבְּגָן	179	רְחָאָה	191	קִילְבָּרָה	292
רְרַאֲשָׁלִים	58, 216	רְחַתְּלָךְ	90	כִּירְתּוֹרִין	74
רְרוֹתָה	194	רְחִيقָה	142	כִּסְמָךְ	262
רְנָהָה	180	רְחִיבָּה	52	כָּלָבָּה	182
רְנָהָה	84	רְחִיבָּה	196	כָּלָבָּה	285
רְנָהָה בְּנִידּוֹמוֹ	53	רְחַטָּה	162	כָּלָבָּה	268, 281,
רְנָהָה	270	רְחַטָּה	160, 161	305, 351.	
רְנָהָה	164	רְחַקְבָּרָה	139	355	
רְנָהָה	270	רְחָרָה	180	כָּלְלָאָכָּן	281
רְנָהָה	270	רְחָרָה	353	כָּלְלָאָרִי	193
רְנָהָה רְרַבְּרִיטָה	232	רְתִירְיָן מָן	293	כָּלְלָבָּה	84
רְנָהָה	245	C	79	כָּלְלָבָּה	270
רְנָהָה	245	C	126, 259	כָּלְלָבָּרָה	305
רְנָהָה יְרֻעָה	171	Cָאָ	51	כָּלְלָאָרִים	281
רְנָהָה יְרֻפְּלָה	90	Cָאָבָּ	278	כָּלְלָהָאָזָּה	281
רְנָהָה יְרֻשָּׁה	170	Cָאָבָּן	292	כָּלְלָהָזָּה	189
רְנָהָה יְרֻשָּׁה	170	Cָאָדָּר	353	כָּלְלָהָזָּה	193
רְנָהָה קְשָׁבָּה	169, 171.	Cָאָדָּר	353	כָּלְלָהָזָּה	248
רְנָהָה קְשָׁבָּה	333, 336	Cָאָדָּר	258	כָּלְלָהָזָּה	248
רְנָהָה לְשָׁבָּה	170	Cָאָרָן	353	כָּלְלִים	248
רְנָהָה לְשָׁבָּה	172, 313	לְשָׁבָּר	264, 302	כָּלְלִשְׁוָלָן	303
רְנָהָה לְשָׁדָּבָּת	62, 166	כְּבָדָרָה	246	כָּלְלָהָזָּה	224
רְנָהָה לְשָׁדָּבָּת	164	כְּבָרִירָה	109	כָּלְלָלָה	141
רְנָהָה לְשָׁהָרָה	165	כְּבָבָּבָה	61	כָּלְלָלָה	66
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	182	כְּבָרָה	256, 353	כָּלְלָלָה	178
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	200	כְּבָרָה	292	כָּלְלָלָה	141
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	211	כְּבָרָאַתְּנָהָה	292	כָּלְלָלָה	299
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	165	כְּבָשָׁה	61	כָּלְלָלָה	281
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	158	כְּבָנָהָרָ	278	כָּלְלָלָה	193
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	190	כְּבָרָבָּרָתָם	292	כָּלְלָלָה	281
רְנָהָה לְשָׁוָּהָם	187	כְּבָרָיָה	258, 360	כָּלְלָלָה	145, 148

כְּפָדוֹת	260. 354	לְבָשָׂתָה	193
כְּפָרִים	292	לְבָשָׂר	185
כְּמָן	5	לְבָשָׂר	319. 368
כְּמָנָה	22	לְבָשָׂר	301
כְּמַעַט	353	לְבָשָׂר	319
כְּמַעַן	257. 353	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַעַן	145	לְבָשָׂר	210
כְּמַחַ	224	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַיִּין	271	לְבָשָׂר	211
כְּמַס	213	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַעַן	10	לְבָשָׂר	216. 231
כְּמַעַן	207	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַעַן	10	לְבָשָׂר	166
כְּמַעַט	215. 232	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַפְלֵל	117	לְבָשָׂר	185
כְּמַס	93	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַסְלֵל	206	לְבָשָׂר	236
כְּמַעַנוֹ	190	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַפְרֵז	234	לְבָשָׂר	200. 353
כְּמַפְרֵז	278	לְבָשָׂר	לְבָשָׂר
כְּמַפְאָ	50	לְבָדָר	171
כְּמַפְרֵז	214	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַפְרֵז	258. 360	לְבָדָר	173
כְּמַפְרֵז	214. 281	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַרְמוֹן	261	לְבָדָר	186
כְּמַפְרֵז	224	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַרְמֵז	211	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַרְטֵל	98. 208	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַרְטֵל	98	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַרְטֵל	5	לְבָדָר	לְבָדָר
כְּמַשְׁׁוֹךְתָּה	220	לְבָדָה	221
כְּמַשְׁׁוֹךְתָּה	208. 232.	לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
כְּמַבְּבִי	240	לְבָדָה	224
כְּמַבְּבִי	240	לְבָדָה	226
כְּמַבְּבִי	236	לְבָדָה	228
כְּמַבְּבִי	79	לְבָדָה	231
מְחַבְּדִיתָה	79	לְבָדָה	280
מְחַרְבָּה	58	לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
מְחַנּוֹת	246	לְבָדָה	313
מְחַנּוֹת	246	לְבָדָה	258
מְלָכִית	246	לְבָדָה	388
מְלָכִית	232	לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
מְלָכִית	208	לְבָדָה	187
מְלָכִית	158	לְבָדָה	188
מְלָכִיות	246	לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
		לְבָדָה	199
		לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
		לְבָדָה	187
		לְבָדָה	85. 117
		לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
		לְבָדָה	280
		לְבָדָה	לְבָדָה
		לְבָדָה	260
		לְבָדָה	117
		לְבָדָה	117
		לְבָדָה	260
		לְבָדָה	358
		לְבָדָה	90

לְגַדֵּת	105	בָּאֲרִיךָ	56	מִירָה	209, 231
לְגַדֵּר	258	בָּאַשֶּׁר	302	מִינְגָּת	207
לְגַנְגִּן	258, 360	בָּאַתָּס	252	מִתָּה	354
לְגַנְגִּיט	353	בָּאַתָּה שְׁנָה	264	מִוּזָּר	166
לְגַעַם	25	בָּקְבָּלָה	221	סְדָלוֹת	137
לְגַרְבָּט	25	כָּרְתָּה	256, 352	מִילָּגָן	207
לְגַתְּפָתָה	187	מִגְרָיו	207	מִנוּסָרָה	207
לְגַתְּחוֹת	134	בָּגְדָּיו	207	מִזְבְּחָה	246
לְגַתְּחוֹת	161	בָּגְשָׁת	209	מִזְבְּחָת	220
לְגַלְלָה	182	מִדְבָּר	207	מִזְחָצָה	352
לְגַזְרָה	161	מִדְבָּרָה	221	מִתְחַזֵּין	381
לְגַזְרָה, אֶת	63	מִדְבָּרָה דֶּבֶק	220	מִתְלָמָד	187
לְגַמְרָה	158	מִידָּר	84	מִתְלָמָד	207
לְגַנְגָּה	86	מִדְרָךְ	255, 359	מִתְלָמָד	220
לְגַנְגָּל	117	מִדְרָין	212	מִתְהַגָּדָה	49
לְגַרְבָּב	260, 351	מִקְשָׁ	209	מִתְחַצְּרִים	187
לְגַשְׁאָלָה	221	מִמְעָל	209	מִתְהַרָּה	353
לְגַשְׁאָתָה	184	מִפְּחָ	106, 301	מִתְהַרָּה	199
לְגַשְׁבָּרוֹת	187	מִפְּשָׁת	305, 358	מִתְחַשְּׁוּת	246
לְגַסְדוֹד	117	מִתְלָדָת	106, 301	מִתְהַזָּה	352
לְגַשְׂוֹן	272	מִתְמִ	106	מִתְמַמָּה	355
לְגַשְׂוֹן עֲבָרִית	9	מִתְמַת	106, 301	מִתְמַתְּמָה	192
לְגַשְׂמָד	187	מִתְמַתָּה	63, 300	מִצְרָא	199
לְגַשְׂמָד	187	מִתְמַלֵּל	329	מִרְ	248
לְגַזְבָּה	171	מִתְמַשְׁתָּה	325	מִרְיָה	106, 300.
לְגַתְּהָה	161	מִתְמַנֵּן	263	מִרְטָב	301
		מִתְמַפְּךָ	54, 53	מִרְטָב	209
		מִתְמַקְבָּעָה	137	מִרְטָב	212, 216.
		מִתְמַרְתָּה	353	מִרְטָב	248
		מִתְמַשְׁשָׁה	305	מִרְטָב	288
		מִתְמַזְזָה	145	מִרְטָבִי	248
		מִתְמַזְזָה	145	מִרְטָבִי	248
		מִתְמַזְזָה	145	מִזְמִימִים יְמִינָה	221
		מִתְמַזְזָה	145	מִלְבָדִין	353
		מִתְמַזְזָה	145	מִלְבָדִים	75
		מִתְמַזְזָה	203	מִלְבָדִים	288
		מִתְמַזְזָה	178	מִרְדָּרִיד	171
		מִתְמַזְזָה	258	מִרְיכָא	58, 54
		מִתְמַזְזָה	258, 360	מִרְיכָא בְּטוּלָה	58
		מִתְמַזְזָה	246	מִרְיכָא בְּטוּלָה	53
		מִתְמַזְזָה	52, 53, 54	מִתְמַזְזָה	194
		מִתְמַזְזָה	209	מִרְקָבָה	142
		מִתְמַזְזָה	187	מִשְׁמָךְ	226
		מִתְמַזְזָה	209	מִשְׁמָךְ	193
		מִתְמַזְזָה	209	מִשְׁמָךְ	113, 184

כְּלָאָה שִׁיר	63	מַן	105. 258.	מְרָאֹת	215
פְּלָאוֹר	184		262. 287	בְּרִזְלּוֹת	201
סְלָאוֹת	184		292		273
בְּלָאָבָּה	224. 226	מְזָאָות	245	מְרִגּוֹן	70
סְלָאָבָּס	35	מְנֻחוֹת	263	מְרוֹתָק	70
קְלָאָה	184	מְנִירָה	246	בְּרִיחָה	70
קְלָאָרֶז	222. 245	מְנֵי	213. 222	בְּרִמְרִים	273
מְלָבִּישׁ	207	מְנוּירָה	245	מְרוֹחָב	207
קְלָבוֹלָה	193	מְנֻחָה	245	מְרִיבָּב	181
מְלָיוֹאָת	184	מְסֻכָּת	164	מְנֻדָּך	209
קְלָחָה	11.	מְסֻרָּה	17	מְרִיבָּה	207
קְלָחָה	211	מְסִזְוֵר	207	מְרִפָּא	193
מְלָקָה	207	מְסֻחָר	137	מְגַאַת	137
מְלָטָס	212. 215	מְסֻחָר	207	מְשָׁהָר	22
מְלָזָן	212	מְנוּזִידִים	137	מְשָׁוֹת	204
מְלָקָה	206. 212	מְנַצְּמָת	5.	מְשִׁירָת	209
	231	מְצִינָן	211	מְשִׁירָת	204
מְלָבָּא	46	מְעִינָנִי	223	מְשִׁירִים	181
מְלָבָּא	213	מְגַלָּל	210	מְשֻׁבָּכוֹ	118
מְלָבָּחָה	243	מְעַלָּל	165. 360	מְשֻׁלְּרָה	207
מְלָכָבָות	201. 246	מְלָלָה	352	מְשֻׁלָּךְ	137
מְלָכָיוֹת	247	מְלָלָה	360	מְשֻׁשָּׁם	352
מְלָבָּרִיְּצָדִיק	11. 222	מְעַנְהִירָךְ	63	מְשֻׁרְמָרִים	166
מְלָכָתָה	242	מְעַרְתָּה	209	מְשֻׁטָּטִים	206
מְלָמְגָלָה	255	מְשִׁיקָן	49. 50	מְשֻׁפְטִים	140
מְלָרִילָה	51	מְטִירָה	341	מְשֻׁטוֹרָה	194
מְלָטָה	169	מְפִיחָה	207	מְשֻׁרְיוֹרִי	50
מְלָקָה	207	מְקָאָה	183	מְתָה	178.
מְלָקָה	232	מְקָאָה	184	מְתָגָן	270
מְלָלִיךְ	51	מְקָצָאתָה	184	מְתָגָן	55
מְלָחוֹרִי	185	מְקָצָאתָה	184. 241	מְקָה	245.
מְלָחוֹת	61	מְקָצָאתָה	184	מְתַעֲנָקִים	138
מְלָחוֹתִים	230	מְגַנָּת	270	מְתַעֲנָקִים	852.
מְמָתָּה	353	מְצִירָה	270	מְתַעֲנָה	353.
מְמָהָה	352	מְצִירָה	181	מְתַעֲנָה	215
מְמָהָה גְּלָאָה	352	מְצִלְתִּים	243	מְתַרְנָנוֹ	178
		מְקָלָה	185	מְתַרְנָנוֹ	281
מְמָלְכָה	201. 207	מְקָרְבָּלִים	239	מְתַרְקִים	139
מְמָלְכָה	246	מְקָרָם	207. 272	מְתַרְקִים	142
מְמָנוֹר	301	מְקָלָה	137	מְתַרְקִים	159
מְמָעָלָה	352	מְקָלָה	55		ג. 121
מְמָעָלָה	352	מְקָרָבָה	239		ג. 146
מְמָרָה	209	מְקָרָבָה	211		ג. 146

אָרוֹת	192	גִּתְּאָמֵן	158	סַ	191
מְאֻרָיו	168	חַדְשָׁה	267	גִּטְבָּה	165
גָּאֵנָה	129	גִּתְלָה	86	גִּזְבָּה	166
אָפָּה	157	גִּתְלָה	165	סְסֶגֶג אַחֲרָה	88
אָמָּה	835	גִּתְלָה	200	גִּזְוָר	179, 180
גִּתְּסָופָה	208	גִּתְלָה	199	עַנְבָּרִים	273
גִּזְעָן	157	גִּתְמָת	156	עַלְלָה	156
גִּזְעָר	157	גִּתְפָּדָר	329	גִּזְלִים	231
גִּזְרָה	157	גִּתְפָּרִים	166	גִּזְבָּרִיה לְהָרָר	63
גִּזְבָּרִים	184	גִּתְרָנוֹת	99	גִּזְרָיְרִי	13, 206,
גִּזְבָּרִים	184	גִּתְרָנוֹת	99	231	
גִּזְבָּרִת	221	גִּתְשָׁהָר	272	גִּזְלָע	158
גִּזְבָּרִת	181	גִּתְשָׁהָר	245	עַשְׂתָּה	153
גִּזְבָּרִת	168	גִּתְשָׁלְדָם	215 243	פְּרִין	196
גִּזְבָּרִת	204	גִּתְשָׁקָם	245	פְּוֹצִיזִים	179
גִּזְבָּרִת	198	גִּתְשָׁקָן	211	קָלָל	328
גִּזְבָּרִת	166	גִּתְהָה	245	קְלָלוֹת	207, 256,
גִּזְבָּרִת	166	חַתָּה	165	271	
גִּזְבָּרִת	166	קְתָה	194	אַמְּלָאָתָר	184
גִּזְבָּרִת	328	קְטוֹחוֹת	190	פְּלָאָהָה	193
גִּזְבָּרִת	130	קְטוֹחוֹת	190	עַפְּגָה	196
גִּזְבָּרִת	284	קְטוֹחוֹת	185	פְּשָׁ	304
גִּזְבָּרִת	352, 360	כִּיר	146	פְּשָׁטוֹת	284
גִּזְבָּרִת	204	כִּיר	146	פְּקָדוֹנִילִט	208
גִּזְבָּרִת	199	כִּיר	146	עַזָּה	271
גִּזְבָּרִת	165	כִּיר	146	עַזָּת	281
גִּזְבָּרִת	190	כִּיר	146	כִּקְבָּצָה	180
גִּזְבָּרִת	198	כִּיר	146	כִּקְדָּמָה בְּבָלָר	36
גִּזְבָּרִת	159	כִּיר	146	קָטָל	119
גִּזְבָּרִת	120	כִּיר	194	קָטָחָם	179
גִּזְבָּרִת	146	כִּיר	270	קָקִיר בְּלָוִות	283
גִּזְבָּרִת	146	כִּיר	360	קָרְבָּתִי	190
גִּזְבָּרִת	159	כִּיר	130	לְבָלָל	165
גִּזְבָּרִת	160, 196	כִּיר	142	קָרְבָּתִי	190
גִּזְבָּרִת	86	גִּזְבָּרִת	238	קָרְבָּתִי	164
גִּזְבָּרִת	237	גִּזְבָּרִת	211	קָרְבָּתִי	270
גִּזְבָּרִת	285	גִּזְבָּרִת	129	גִּזְבָּה בְּקָחָת	206, 270
גִּזְבָּרִת	146	גִּזְבָּרִת	130	רָבָּה	47
גִּזְבָּרִת	146	גִּזְבָּרִת	180	רָמְפָּתָה	193
גִּזְבָּרִת	146	גִּזְמָלָתִים	166	שָׁא	194
גִּזְבָּרִת	178	גִּזְמָלָתִים	165	שְׁאָלָל	130
גִּזְבָּרִת	178	גִּזְמָלָתִים	184	שְׁאָלָל	129
גִּזְבָּרִת	178	גִּזְמָלָתִים	184	שְׁאָרִית	184
גִּזְבָּרִת	328	גִּזְמָלָתִים	184	שְׁאָרִית	165
גִּזְבָּרִת	142	גִּזְמָלָתִים	184	שְׁאָרִית	183
גִּזְבָּרִת	178	גִּזְמָלָתִים	180	שְׁאָרִית	193
גִּזְבָּרִת	329	גִּזְמָלָתִים	128		
גִּזְבָּרִת	129				
גִּזְבָּרִת	193				

אַבְּשָׁר	248	קֶלֶל	258. 264	מִלְּאָמָר	201.
אַבְּשָׁרָה	129	קְדֻשָּׁה	221	עַלְמָה	214.
נְשָׁקָה	188	עַד אֲשֶׁר	368	עַלְמָה	273
כָּהֵךְ	196	עַד אַחֲךְ	354	שְׂעִירָם	214. 215.
כָּנָן	161	קְדֻשָּׁה	245	עִירָה	248
כָּנָן	159	קְדֻשָּׁתָם	100	סְדוֹרָה	224
כָּנָן	161	קְדֻשָּׁתְךָ	353	סְדוֹרָה	224
כָּנָם	161	קְדֻשָּׁתְךָ	247	שְׂעִירָה	298
		עַדְוָתֶךָ	226	שְׂלָל	258.
אַכְבָּב	161	קְדֻשָּׁרִי	87	שְׂלָל	264
אַכְבָּב	167	קְדֻשָּׁרִי	264	כָּל אֲוֹרוֹת אֲשֶׁר	368
סְלָמָנָרִי	167	קְדֻשָּׁךְ	264	כָּל כָּרְבָּר אֲשֶׁר	368
סְלָמָנָרִי	166	קְדֻשָּׁבָם	264	קְלָלָה	342
סְלָמָנָרִי בְּמִזְבְּחָבָרִי	256. 263	קְדֻשָּׁבָת	353	קְלָלָה	354
סְלָלָה	235	קְדֻשָּׁבָת	368	עַלְמָרִין	274
סְגָלָה	52	קְדֻשָּׁה	301	עַלְמָרִין	261. 216
סְרָבָב	140	קְדֻשָּׁה	354	כָּלָקָנָה	354
סְרוֹד	209	קְדֻשָּׁה	175. 195	כָּלָקָנָה	368
סְוָף	16	קְדֻשָּׁה	258. 285.	כָּלָקָנָה	301
סְוָף פְּסִיקָה	52	קְדֻשָּׁה	353	קָטָם	258.
סְוָרָרִים	47	קְדֻשָּׁה	178	קָטָם	258.
סְוָרָה	224	קְוִידָה	257	קָטָם	258.
סְוָרָה	224	קְוָלָה	286	קָטָם	282
סְתָרָה	141	קְוָלָתָה	75.	קָטָרָה	261
סְתָרָה	141	קְוָלָלָה	164. 207	קָטָרָה-אָנוֹ	320
סְכָלָה	207	קְוָלָם	232	קָטָנָה	150
סְכָלָה	95	קְוָלָה	200	קָטָנָה	204
סְכָרָה	27	קְוָלָה	205	קָטָנִים	261
סְלָמָקָה	52	קְוָרָה	179	קָטָנִי	218
סְלָמָקָה	53	קְוָרָה	211	קָטָבָט	261
סְלָמָקָה	218. 256	קְוָרָה	179	קָטָבָט	237
סְלָמָרִיךְ	208	קְוָרָה	179	קָטָבָטִים	237
סְנִירִים	273	קְוָרָה	222	קָטָבָטִים	204
סְנִירִים	156	קְוָרָה	220	קָטָרָה	27
סְנִירִים	141	קְוָרָה	149	קָטָבָבָב	206.
סְנִירִים	50	קְוָרָה	27	קָטָבָבָב	385
סְנִירִים	205. 281	קְוָרָה	208	קָטָבָבָב	385
סְנִירִה	271	קְוָרָה	270	קָטָבָבָב	192
סְנִירִה	210	קְוָרָה	270	קָטָבָבָב	282
		קְוָרָה	199	קָטָבָבָב	192
סְנִירִה	103	קְוָרָה	200	קָטָבָבָב	192
סְנִירִה	206	קְוָרָה	220	קָטָבָבָב	192
סְנִירִה	360	קְוָרָה	245	קָטָבָבָב	112.
סְנִירִה	118	קְוָרָה	181	קָטָבָבָב	180.

עַמְקָה	210	עַמְקָה	196	עַמְקָה	183
עַמְקָה	276	עַמְקָה	196	עַמְקָה	85
עַמְקָה	305	עַמְקָה	190	עַמְקָה	34
עַמְקָה	284	עַמְקָה	52, 53	עַמְקָה	203
עַמְקָה	245	עַמְקָה	138	עַמְקָה	207
עַמְקָה	238	עַמְקָה	271	עַמְקָה	207
עַמְקָה	360	עַמְקָה	169, 178.	עַמְקָה	184
עַמְקָה	238		174	עַמְקָה	236
עַמְקָה	264	עַמְקָה	249	עַמְקָה	194
עַמְקָה	264, 368	עַמְקָה	249	עַמְקָה	244
עַמְקָה	208	עַמְקָה	249	עַמְקָה	201, 205
עַמְקָה	239	עַמְקָה	275	עַמְקָה	201
עַמְקָה	205	עַמְקָה	237	עַמְקָה	206, 243
עַמְקָה	385	עַמְקָה	215	עַמְקָה	84
עַמְקָה	5	עַמְקָה	159, 174.	עַמְקָה	191
עַמְקָה	191	עַמְקָה	194	עַמְקָה	273
עַמְקָה	248	עַמְקָה	264, 318	עַמְקָה	190
עַמְקָה	154	עַמְקָה	223	עַמְקָה	179
עַמְקָה	208	עַמְקָה	215, 238.	עַמְקָה	211
עַמְקָה	135	עַמְקָה	261	עַמְקָה	205
עַמְקָה	828	עַמְקָה	205	עַמְקָה	208
עַמְקָה	189	עַמְקָה	52	עַמְקָה	238
עַמְקָה	189	עַמְקָה	127	עַמְקָה	238
עַמְקָה	190	עַמְקָה	112	עַמְקָה	238
עַמְקָה	190	עַמְקָה	127	עַמְקָה	141
עַמְקָה	191	עַמְקָה	231	עַמְקָה	193
עַמְקָה	250	עַמְקָה	235	עַמְקָה	185
עַמְקָה	253	עַמְקָה	86	עַמְקָה	53
עַמְקָה	188	עַמְקָה	296	עַמְקָה	298
עַמְקָה	251	עַמְקָה	296	עַמְקָה	156
עַמְקָה	246	עַמְקָה	335	עַמְקָה	204
עַמְקָה	193	עַמְקָה	196	עַמְקָה	190
עַמְקָה	246	עַמְקָה	232	עַמְקָה	221
עַמְקָה	210, 272	עַמְקָה	246	עַמְקָה	141
עַמְקָה	353	עַמְקָה	205	עַמְקָה	98
עַמְקָה	204	עַמְקָה	86	עַמְקָה	207
עַמְקָה	112, 154,	עַמְקָה	288	עַמְקָה	170
	167, 194	עַמְקָה	210, 231	עַמְקָה	179
עַמְקָה	248	עַמְקָה	271	עַמְקָה	170
עַמְקָה	205	עַמְקָה	385	עַמְקָה	237
עַמְקָה	156	עַמְקָה	138, 142	עַמְקָה	35
		עַמְקָה	142	עַמְקָה	150

רֹב	18	שָׁאֵל	157	שִׁישָׁה	271
רְדָבֶק	224	שָׁאַלְיָה	244	שְׁרָדוֹת	158
לְנָה	268	שָׁאַלְמָן	157	שְׁרָה	192
תְּחִקָּה קָנוֹת	63	שָׁאַלְמָלָה	244	שְׁרָהָה	163
רְתָלִים	212	שָׁאַלְמָלָךְ	157	שְׁרָהָב	209
רְלָקָה	199	שָׁאַלְמָלָךְ	157	שְׁרָהָה	163
רְטָפָשׁ	142	שָׁאַלְמָלָךְ	244	שְׁרָיוָה	192
רְבָבָה	182	שָׁאַלְמָלָה	157	שְׁרָיוָת	155
רְבָבוֹתָה	181	שָׁאַלְמָלָה	115	שְׁרָרוֹתָה	208
רְבָבָה יְרִיבָה	182	שָׁאַלְמָלָם	115. 157	שְׁרָתָתָה	245
רְיָקָם	256	שָׁאַנְכָּן	207	שְׁרָלִינִי	207
רְמִטָּה	184	שָׁאַנְכָּן	141	שְׁרִים	182
רְמִיטָלָנִי	149	שָׁאַס	165	שְׁרִיר	271
רְנִיאָנִי	213	שָׁאַרְיָה	207	שְׁרִירָה	271
רְרִיָּה	164	שָׁאָתָה	210	שְׁרִיר תְּשִׁירִים	293
רְגִיָּה	167	שָׁאָתָה	210	שִׁישָׁ	182
רְגִיָּה	167	שָׁאָתָה	194. 210	שִׁיחָה	182
רְעִזָּה	93	שָׁבָב	108	שְׁכָבָב	116. 118
רְגָבָב	206	שָׁבָב	170. 60	שְׁכָבָה	150. 236
רְגָבָב	206	שָׁבָב	60	שְׁכִוָּן	128
רְגָתָה	271	שְׁבָה	172	שְׁמִירָה	205
רְגָדָה	226	שְׁבָהָרָה	246	שְׁקָלוֹת	27
רְגָדָבָת	224	שְׁבָהָרָה	134	שְׁבָלָטָם	273
רְגָדָן	141	שְׁבָבָת	294	שְׁכָבָהָת	236
רְקָאָה	94	שְׁבָרִית שְׁבָבָת	63	שְׁקָפָת	236
רְקָאוֹת	207	שְׁבָלָל	47	שְׁבִּין	115
רְקָאָרִי	193	שְׁבָעָה	206	שְׁבִּין	336
רְקָה	193	שְׁבָעָה	250	שְׁבִּין	115
רְקָה	49. 69	שְׁבָעָה	256. 296	שְׁבִּינִי	222
רְקִיזָה	212	שְׁבָבָלָט	232	שְׁכָרָה	206
רְקָם	855	שְׁבָצָה תְּלִקְיִים	295	שְׁכָרָר	85
רְהָקָהִים	243	שְׁבָצָה תְּלִקְיִים	253	שְׁלָל	286
שׁ	170	שְׁבָבָה	170	שְׁלָכָנָה	96
שׁ	170	שְׁדָדוֹ	62	שְׁלָכָר	185
רְשָׁמָר	234	שְׁדָדוֹ	166	שְׁלָכָרָה	185
שׁ	105	שְׁדָה	224	שְׁלָהָבָב	96. 142
שׁ	48	שְׁדָה	232	שְׁלָמְכָה	208
שׁ	48	שְׁדָה	224	שְׁלָמְבָבָה	96. 142
שׁ	105	שְׁדָה	218	שְׁלָלִית	210
שׁ	105	שְׁדָה	*	שְׁלָלָת	296
				שְׁלָלִיר	75

מִלְבָד	207, 239	מִלְבָד	201	מִלְבָד	180
מִלְבָד	151, 158	מִלְבָד	271	מִלְבָד	271
מִלְבָד	66, 86, 158	מִלְבָד	211	מִלְבָד	285
מִלְבָד	16	מִלְבָד	238	מִלְבָד	235
מִלְבָד	60	מִלְבָד	238	מִלְבָד	168
מִלְבָד אֶלְעָל	285	מִלְבָד	281	מִלְבָד	128
מִלְבָד	216	מִלְבָד	201	מִלְבָד	52
מִלְבָד	207	מִלְבָד	276	מִלְבָד	121
מִלְבָד	207	מִלְבָד	141	מִלְבָד	192
מִלְבָד	250	מִלְבָד	164	מִלְבָד	192
מִלְבָד	353	מִלְבָד	164	מִלְבָד	122
מִלְבָד	52	מִלְבָד	141	מִלְבָד	193
מִלְבָד	53	מִלְבָד	211	מִלְבָד	150
מִלְבָד	252	מִלְבָד	116	מִלְבָד	165
מִלְבָד	35	מִלְבָד	199	מִלְבָד	181
מִלְבָד אַלְפִּים	252	מִלְבָד	215	מִלְבָד	210
מִלְבָד	250	מִלְבָד	243	מִלְבָד	218
מִלְבָד אַלְפִּים	258	מִלְבָד	216	מִלְבָד	22
מִלְבָד	255	מִלְבָד	244	מִלְבָד	154
מִלְבָד	220, 301.	מִלְבָד	70	מִלְבָד	209
	353	מִלְבָד	96	מִלְבָד	210
מִלְבָד	214	מִלְבָד	218	מִלְבָד	246
מִלְבָד	226	מִלְבָד	278	מִלְבָד	209
מִלְבָד	158	מִלְבָד	148	מִלְבָד	209
מִלְבָד	118	מִלְבָד	140, 141	מִלְבָד	128
מִלְבָד	212, 216.	מִלְבָד	44	מִלְבָד	173
	249, 273	מִלְבָד	88	מִלְבָד	178
מִלְבָד	221	מִלְבָד	250	מִלְבָד	210
מִלְבָד	61	מִלְבָד	211	מִלְבָד	209
מִלְבָד	252	מִלְבָד	285	מִלְבָד	180
מִלְבָד	151	מִלְבָד	252	מִלְבָד	168
מִלְבָד	118	מִלְבָד	295	מִלְבָד	226
מִלְבָד	285	מִלְבָד	210	מִלְבָד	258 2
מִלְבָד	199	מִלְבָד	182	מִלְבָד	360
מִלְבָד	488	מִלְבָד	210	מִלְבָד	368
		מִלְבָד	196	מִלְבָד	364

רַבְבָּלָה	193	רַבְבָּרֶר גִּלְעָד	199	רַדֵּד	89, 172
רַבְבָּרָה	188	רַנְגִּי	148	רַגְגָּוֹן	209
רַבְבָּרָם	193	רַסְבָּת	168	רַבְבָּרִים	274
רַבְבָּרָה	150	רַקְבָּנְגָּה	130	רַבְבָּרָה	198
רַבְבָּרָה	121	רַכְבָּנְגָּה	190	רַבְבָּרָה	221
רַבְבָּרָה	52	רַעֲמָה	123	רַבְבָּרָה	194
רַבְבָּרָה	53	רַקְרָר	190	רַבְבָּרָה	177
רַבְבָּרָה	89	רַבְבָּרָה	150	רַבְבָּרָה	177
רַבְבָּרָה	182	רַבְבָּרָה	94	רַבְבָּרָה	177
רַבְבָּרָה	209	רַבְבָּרָה	183	רַבְבָּרָה	313
רַבְבָּרָה	94	רַבְבָּרָה	119	רַבְבָּרָה	121
רַבְבָּרָה	190	רַבְבָּרָה	177	רַבְבָּרָה	120
רַבְבָּרָה	358	רַבְבָּרָה	16	רַבְבָּרָה	121
רַבְבָּרָה	124	רַבְבָּרָה	189	חַנְקָה	194
רַבְבָּרָה	163, 166	רַבְבָּרָה	318	חַשְׁבָּרָה	185
רַבְבָּרָה	209	רַבְבָּרָה	192	חַשְׁבָּרָה	191
רַבְבָּרָה	179	רַבְבָּרָה	190	תְּבִ�ָה	60
רַבְבָּרָה	161	רַבְבָּרָה	17	רַבְבָּרָה	139
רַבְבָּרָה	161	רַבְבָּרָה	141	רַבְבָּרָה	190
רַבְבָּרָה	60	רַבְבָּרָה	141		

